A

Collection of TRACTS,

Written by the

AUTHOR

OF THE

Snake in the Grass,

John Brydal Esq; Dr. *S——ll*, &c.

To which is added,

The Assembly Man,

Written in the Year, 1640.

By *Sir* JOHN BIRKENHEAD.

Reprinted with Additions.

LONDON:

Printed and Sold by the Booksellers of *London* and *Westminster*.

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A CASE OF Present Concern In a LETTER TO A MEMBER OF THE House of Commons.

SIR,

AMong the many *Lewd* and *Poisonous Pamphlets* of Late spread Abroad to *Debauch* the *Nation*, there is one more particularly deserves your Animadversion, and of your *Honourable House*; at this Time especially, when your Yearly Celebration of the Memory of the *Royal Martyr* King *Charles* I. is near at Hand.

To Confront you in which, there is Publiſh'd this ſame Year, 1702. *An Abridgment of Mr.* Baxter's *Hiſtory of his Life and Times*, by *Edmund Calamy*; with the Printer's, and no leſs than *three* Bookſellers *Names* Affix'd to it. Wherein that *Bleſſed Martyr* is Repreſented as the moſt *Unnatural* and *Bloody Monſter*, and moſt Harden'd *Hypocrite* that ever the Earth bore.

For all this he muſt be, and worſe, if we could find Names for it, if he was the *Author* of, and gave *Commiſſions* for the Barbarous *Maſſacre* of the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland*, *An.* 1641. And yet ſhou'd ſtand it out, and deny it, not only in his Publick *Declarations* to the World, but in his *Soliloquies* betwixt *God* and his own *Conſcience*, in his Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, and even to his Laſt *Breath*.

Yet all this is Charg'd upon him, firſt, by *Richard Baxter*, that *Arch-Rebel*, who had himſelf born *Arms* againſt him: And now by this *Calamy*, in his *Abridgment* of *Baxter's Life*. Ch. 4. p. 41. Where *Blaſphemouſly* he Charges the *Diſcovery* of this upon *Providence*! For ſpeaking of thoſe who thought this *an horridly Unjuſt and Scandalous Aſperſion upon His Majeſty*, he adds, *But as Providence ordered it, a certain Memorable Particularity help'd to ſet this Matter in a true Light.* Then he goes on to tell what this *Particularity* was, for which I Refer you to the Place, being loath to Tranſcribe it here; but it Ends, and is Summ'd up all in this, *That the Marqueſs of* Antrim *was forc'd to Produce in the Houſe of Commons a Letter of King* Charles I. *By which he gave him Order for the taking up Arms.* And for this, we have nothing but *Baxter's* Word. No *Journal* of the *Houſe of Commons*, or any other *Authority* whatſoever. And had it been in ſo *Publick* a Manner *Expos'd*, ſure ſome other beſides *Baxter* would have taken notice of it. Something of it would have been Inſerted in the *Journals* of that *Houſe*, if not the *Letter* it ſelf.

But ſuppoſe all this was granted, what wou'd it amount to? We muſt ſee the *Date* of this *Letter*, what *Time* it was when the *King* gave *Orders* to my Lord of *Antrim* to take up *Arms*: And to what *End* it was, whether to *Maſſacre* the *Proteſtants*, or to aſſiſt His *Majeſty* againſt his *Bloody Rebels*

Rebels then in *Arms* againſt him in *England* and *Scotland*. We know this *Marqueſs* ſent *Forces* to the Glorious *Montroſs* in *Scotland*, where they did Eminent Service in Reducing the *Unnatural Rebels* there. And we doubt not but he had the *King's* Order for it. And moreover, after the *Ceſſation* made by the *Duke* of *Ormond* with the *Iriſh*, many of them return'd to their Duty, and fought under the ſaid *Duke*, His *Majeſty's* Lord *Lieutenant* there, againſt the *Rebels*. And why might not my Lord of *Antrim* have a *Commiſſion* as well as others? So that till we ſee the *Date* of theſe Pretended *Orders* to the *Marqueſs* of *Antrim*, and the *Contents* of them, no Judgment can be made. They muſt be ſent before the *Maſſacre* of 1641, to Anſwer to the Diabolical *Malice* of theſe *Tongues* ſet in Fire of *Hell*: Therefore let them produce their Evidence.

Will it not become the Juſtice of your *Houſe* to *Require* it? To Vindicate not only the *Memory* of him whom you Celebrate as a *Martyr*, but the Honour of a former *Houſe of Commons* of *England*, who are brought in here as *Witneſſes* to ſo *horrid* a *Scandal* thrown upon the beſt of *Kings*, and *Grandfather* to Her *Majeſty*, who is *Reproach'd* in him, who is her greateſt *Glory*, and of the *Nation*; but the Eternal *Infamy* and *Milſtone* of that *Hypocritical* and *Bloody Faction*, and will one Day *Sink* them, who after having ſo many Years abus'd the unparallel'd *Goodneſs* and *Condeſcentions* of ſo *Pious* and *Meek* a *King* towards ſuch *Incorrigible Rebels*, (which was his greateſt Fault) at laſt, not content to *Murther* him, ſat formally in *Judgment* upon him by their own *Authority*, that they might *Murther* the *Laws* with him, and all that *Reverence* which the whole *World* has ever paid to *Crown'd Heads*, or *Eſtabliſh'd Conſtitutions*; by ſuch an *Example* of a *Mock-Court of Juſtice* as never before was ſeen ſince the Earth was made! And which exceeds all this, They ſtill *Glory* in it, *Repeat* it every Year in their *Calves-Head-Feaſts*, where they *Sacrifice* to the *Legion* that *poſſeſſes* them. And not ſatisfied with the *Royal Blood* they have *Drank*, ſtill *Thirſt* for more. In order to which, and to Juſtifie what they have done, they are never weary in *Raking* into the *Aſhes* of this *Martyr* for our *Church* and our *Laws*; they *Curſe* his *Memory*, and

Blacken it with all the *Lies* the *Malice* of *Hell* can *Invent*. Of which, this is the Greateſt, to faſten the Horrid *Maſſacre* in *Ireland* upon him, againſt whom it was chiefly Deſign'd, and who, of all Mankind, was moſt concern'd for it: And was hinder'd from *Preventing* or *Revenging* it, by thoſe who Accuſe him for it; and Seiz'd the *Money* and *Magazines* he had Provided for that *Expedition*, and made uſe of them to carry on their own *Rebellion* againſt him in *England*. And their *Bell-Weathers* firſt *Invent*, and then *Belch* out their *Curſed Lies* among the *People*.

This Particular, as to the *Iriſh Maſſacre*, was firſt Broach'd by that *Black* Saint *Baxter*, in his *Life*, Publiſh'd ſince the *Revolution* (a proper time!) and Proſecuted by *Roger*, *Cook*, *Oats*, and the whole, *&c.* of the *Faction*. But is ſince more Impudently *Reviv'd* in this Reign, by *Calamy*; becauſe that *Life* of *Baxter*, wrote by himſelf (whereby his *Sins* are kept in *Remembrance*) has been Anſwer'd; and as to this Point particularly of laying the *Maſſacre* in *Ireland* upon the *King*, and as to this Story of the *Marqueſs* of *Antrim*, by the Reverend Mr. *Long* of *Exeter*, in his *Review of Mr.* Baxter's *Life*, Printed *An.* 1697. To which no *Anſwer* has been given by the *Faction*; for they cannot. Yet Repeat the ſame *Slanders* over again, as this *Calamy* now *five* Years after, without taking the leaſt notice that they have been all *diſprov'd* already. For it is one *Maxim* of theſe *Saints* to *Lie ſtill on*,---No matter for being *Diſprov'd*! Some will believe them. Leave thoſe that will not. And *Repeat* it again in the next Company. Print it over and over. It will come into more Hands than the *Defences*! Their Authority is ſufficient with their own *Party*; and their grave *Impudence* with others, who cannot think *Mankind* capable of ſo much *Devil!*

Mr. *Long* has Vouched *Letters* wrote by the *King* himſelf, and others by his *Order*, to the then *Lords Juſtices* of *Ireland*, ſome time before that Inhumane *Maſſacre* there, giving them notice of ſeveral Informations he had Receiv'd of ſome Evil Deſigns of the *Iriſh* ſoon to be Perpetrated, and therefore Commands them to be Watchful over them. And brings the Teſtimony of the *Lord Primate Uſher*, undeniably

deniable *Atteſted* for this. And though the *Diſſenters* ſhew greater Regard to this moſt Learned *Biſhop*, than to any other of ours, yet cannot this ſtop their foul *Mouths*. They Anſwer it not. But, as I ſaid, *Lye ſtill on.*

Mr. *Long* next ſhews, That the *Rebels* in *Ireland* did counterfeit *Commiſſions* from the *King*; but that the *Forgery* was found out; and that they Confeſs'd it at their *Deaths*, as Sir *Phelom O Neal*, who had his *Life* promis'd him at the *Gallows*, if he would but ſay, that he had ſuch a *Commiſſion* from the *King*. Of which I know ſome Witneſs ſtill Living, and of unqueſtionable *Credit*. And therefore he Argues moſt Rationally, That if they had a Real *Commiſſion* from the *King*, what need had they to *Counterfeit* ſuch an one? And why would they not ſave their *Lives* and *Eſtates* by owning of it, when tempted by thoſe who ſtrove to *Blacken* the *King* all that they could, to *Juſtifie* themſelves?

He tells, *p.* 205. That the *Marqueſs* of *Antrim* was not Named in the *Hiſtories* of thoſe times, *either as Commander, Counſellor, or Confederate, till the Ceſſation was Treated of*, July 19. 1643. And gives his Authority. If ſo, he cou'd not be concern'd in the *Maſſacre* of 1641. At leaſt, not ſo as to be taken Notice of. But ſo great and Powerful a Man as he was in that Kingdom, cou'd not have been forgotten, where Men of much leſs Name were Remember'd, as *Actors* in that *Bloody Tragedy*. The chief of whom, the Lord *Muskerry*, the Lord *Macguire*, and Sir *Phelom O Neal* did Teſtifie at their *Deaths*, That they had no *Commiſſion* from the *King*, nor knew of any to Countenance their *Inſurrection*. So that if the *Marqueſs* of *Antrim* had any, he kept it to himſelf, and very Private. For there was not a word of it, till after the *King* was *Murthered*.

There is not any mention made of His *Majeſty*'s having the leaſt hand in that *Maſſacre*, in the horrid *Indictment* Exhibited againſt him at his *Tryal*. If thoſe *Blood-Hounds* cou'd have found the ſmalleſt *Semblance* to have Charg'd him with this, it would have been more to their Curſed Purpoſe, than all they Rak'd together to lay upon him. But they have ſince Exceeded *Themſelves* in *Wickedneſs*, being given

given up to a *Reprobate Sense*! Such *Harden'd Villains* never before bore the Name of *Christians!*

Sir, You must Excuse me, I follow Dr. *Tillotson*'s Advice, who truly says in his *Sermons of Education*, That to Reprove some sort of Sins *Mildly*, is to *Encourage* them; and that the *Censure* ought to bear Proportion to the *Crime*. This is as near as I can remember his Words, the Book not being now with me. But I am sure I mistake not his Meaning. However it is a great *Truth*. And a Man may spare his *Indignation* in some Cases, *Faultily*. He that is not *moved* at the *Treatment* these Men have given to that *Blessed King* (and still *continue* to do) to this *Church* and *Nation*, these *Sixty Years* past, can have no *Natural Affection*, nor would have any *Concern*, if he saw his *Country* sink, and all the *Churches* in the World in a *Flame*! And such an one is not ~~fit to live~~ upon the Face of the Earth He is no *Citizen* of the *World*, who has no Regard to its *Welfare*; and he can be no *Christian*, who lays not to Heart the *Breaches* of *Sion!*

If these *Sinners* shew'd any *Signs* of *Remorse*, or *Repentance*, Reason were that we should bear with them; and though their *Sins* be as *Scarlet*, and not so much as Nam'd among the *Heathen*, yet *Charity* wou'd Plead for their *Forgiveness*.

But when they still *Persist*, and *Repeat* their *Wickedness*, and stand it out against all *Conviction*, then the *Apostle* Directs, That such *Evil Beasts*, who are *always Lyars*, should be *Rebuk'd sharply*. There is no other way to *Reclaim* them, or save others from their *Infection*.

Calamy begins his *Preface* with the *Ill Treatment* that Mr. *Baxter*'s *Narrative of his Life* has met with, yet *Answers* not a word to Mr. *Long*'s *Review* of it. Particularly as to this *Diabolical Calumny* cast upon the *King* in Relation to the *Massacre* in *Ireland*. No. But, *Lye still on!* He *Repeats* it again! That it might not Dye. At this time especially, when the *Faction* begin to be upon their *Mettle*, and may have Use for their *Old Artillery* again!

Therefore Sir, look to it in Justice to the *Memory* of the *Martyr*; for the *Safety* and *Honour* of the *Queen*; for the

the *Preſervation* of the *Peace* of the *Nation*; and for the *Vindication* of the *Houſe of Commons* hereby *Aſpers'd*, to have ſuch a *Letter* from that *King* laid before them, as gave *Orders* for the *Maſſacre* in *Ireland*, and that they took no Notice of it, though they were put to *Silence* by it, as *Baxter* ſays, (in his *Life*, *Par.* 3. *p.* 83. Quoted in the *Review*, *p.* 192, 193.) And lays it upon what he calls their *Egregious Loyalty*, that they would notwithſtanding, ſupport the *Monarchy* in his *Son* K. *Char.* II. (as they who now *Re-publiſh* the ſame, mean it as *Egregiouſly* to the reſt of his *Poſterity*, for the Reaſon is the ſame) but *hark* to *Baxter*! *which* (Letter of K. *Char.* I. ſays he) *being Read in the* Houſe (of Commons of *England*) *put them into a Silence: But yet ſo Egregious was their Loyalty and Veneration of Majeſty, that it put them not at all one Step out of the way which they had gone in. But the People without Doors talked ſtrangely: Some ſaid, Did you not perſwade us that the King was againſt the* Iriſh *Rebellion? And that the Rebels belied him, when they ſaid, they had his Warrant or Commiſſion? Do we not now ſee with what mind he would have gone himſelf into* Ireland *to Fight againſt them?*--- *Whereupon the Parliament's Old Adherents grew more Confident than Ever of the Righteouſneſs of their Wars: And the very Deſtroyers of the King, whom the firſt Parliamentarians called Rebels, did preſume alſo to Juſtifie their Cauſe, and ſaid, That the Law of Nature did Warrant them.*

Here is a *Vindication* (in the third Perſon) not only of the *Rebellion* of this *Faction* in 1641, but of the *Murther* of the *King* in 1648. [From which ſome of the firſt *Saints* of the *Presbyterians*, (after they were *outwitted*, and *worm'd out* by their Younger Brethren the *Independents*) did endeavour, in *Spite*, to free themſelves, becauſe not done by themſelves.] And all upon Account of this *Letter* of King *Charles* I. to my Lord of *Antrim*. Therefore, Sir, I hope it will appear Incumbent upon your *Honourable Houſe* to Examine into this *material* Point; before the *Nation* be too far *Infected*; and more be found to *Feaſt* at the *Calves-Head-Clubbs*, on the 30th of *January*, than to *Faſt* with you. It would ſet your Teeth on Edge to hear how this *Story* of the *Marqueſs* of *Antrim*, ſince this laſt *Reviving*

of

of it, is carried about the *Party*, and *Lapp'd* like *Sweet-Milk*! And many who have not Enquir'd into it, know not what to ſay to it, and are *Deluded* by it. I aſſure you it does great *Miſchief*, and tends to *Alienate* the *Affections* of the *People* from Her Preſent *Majeſty*, the whole *Race* of that *Royal Martyr*, and *Monarchy* in General; which are the Uſes the *Faction* do make of it.

Now Sir, *Paper-Defences* come but to a *Few Hands*, and are well conſidered by *Fewer*. Beſides that this *Induſtrious Party* do *Print* upon a *Publick Stock*; and have *methods* of *Diſperſing* their *Books*, which others have not: For beſides what they can allow to give away, and are *Directed* to whom; they leave *Books* at *Private Houſes*, with ſufficient time to *Peruſe* them; Aud then to return either the *Book* or the *Money*.

Therefore I know no way to ſtop the ſpreading of this moſt *malicious* and *falſe Story*, but your *Honourable* Houſe taking it into Conſideration, and *Examining* the *Bottom* of it. Then let the *Faction* produce their *Evidence* before you; and let the Nation have their *Deciſion* from thence.

Baxter Quotes no other *Authority* for it than a *Falſe* and *malicious Pamphlet*, call'd *Murder will out*, ſuppos'd to be writ by *Ludlow*, one of the *Regicides*, who not only ſat in that *Execrable* High *Court of Juſtice*, but was one of thoſe who actually *Sign'd* the *Sentence* againſt the *King* for the *Cutting off* of his *Head*, The ſame who was (*Whileom*) ſent for over hither to be made a *Major-General* But that Age of *Reviling* and *Trampling* upon *Martyrs* for *Church* or *Laws*, is over, Bleſſed be *God*. When Dr. *O---ts* could be admitted to Preſent *Volums* of his *Billingſgate*, in the *Calves-head Cant*, againſt him, whom he ſtil'd of *Notorious memory* (like *Baxter's Egregious Loyalty*) and was *Graciouſly* Receiv'd, with, *I thank you good Doctor*! by ſome body that Lov'd none of the *Martyr's Family*, but one who did not *Deſerve* it.

Now Sir, ſince the whole of this *Story* muſt *Centre* in *Baxter's* Authority, I deſire to be heard a few Words as to his *Credit*, for I am of *Council* for the *Defendant*, the poor *Martyr'd King*.

1. Firſt,

Firſt, *Baxter* is no *equal Witneſs*, he Pleads for himſelf. He was an Active *Rebel* againſt this Good *King*, during that whole *Rebellion*. And even after, he was ſo Barbarouſly *Murther'd* this ſame *Baxter* did *Canonize* thoſe as *Saints* who brought him to the *Block*.

This he did in his *Saints Everlaſting Reſt*, in the *Edition* of it *Printed Anno* 1649. pag. 83. And in the Edition 1652. *Part* 1. *pag.* 101. Where deſcribing the *Joys* of *Heaven*, from the Bleſſed Company that is there, he ſays, *I think, Chriſtians, this will be a more Honourable Aſſembly than ever you here beheld; and a more Happy Society than you were ever of before. Surely* Brook, *and* Pim, *and* Hamden, *and* White, *&c. are now Members of a more Knowing, Un-erring, Well-Ordered, Right-Aiming, Self-Denying, Unanimous, Honourable, Triumphant Senate than this from whence they are taken, is, or ever Parliament will be. It is better to be a Door-keeper to that Aſſembly, whither* Twiſs, *&c. are Tranſlated, than to have continu'd here the Moderator of this. That is the true* Parliamentum Beatum, *the Bleſſed Parliament, and that is the only Church that cannot Err.* And *pag.* 82. of the firſt Edition, and *pag.* 99 of the other, he names a number of other Names, among the reſt *Bradſhaw*.

Here ſome of the very *Regicids* are Nam'd, as Collonel *White*, who was one of the *High-Court of Juſtice* and ſat upon the *King*, with an *&c.* for all the reſt of them. And *Bradſhaw* the *Preſident* of the *Court*, if they will not ſay that it was ſome other *Bradſhaw* he meant, becauſe he is ſet there among *Scholars*, tho' ſome no more than himſelf.

But the whole *Rump* of a *Parliament*, (having by Force *Secluded* the true *Members* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, and turn'd out the whole *Houſe* of *Lords*, to whom, by a Voluntary *Oath* of their own making, they had *Sworn* to Render them *Secure*, and then *Murther'd* their *King*) are All together here *Sainted*, and made a *Type* of *Heaven*; Whoſe *Conſtitution* they ſuppoſe, or the likeſt thing to it in this World, to be a *Parliament* without a *King*, or an *Aſſembly* of *Short-Gray-Cloak-Lay-Elders*, all in *Parity*, without any *Head* or *Biſhop* over them.

This is their *Heaven!*

The *Kingdom* of *Heaven* they leave to the *Cavaliers*. But they have Choſen a *Heaven* in a *Parliamentary* way! That's better for them. It ſuits better with their *Complexion*. What ſhould they do in a Place full of *Kings* and *Prieſts*, as *Heaven* is Deſcrib'd in the *Revelations!* Why they wou'd be all *Kings* and *Biſhops* themſelves! That is all they ſtrove for upon *Earth!* And wou'd do the ſame in *Heaven*, if they have not chang'd their *Principles*, for there will be *Higher* than they even there, or elſe it will go Hard, And they are for no *Superior*, except the *Holy One!* Which is juſt the ſame *Good Old Cauſe* that *Lucifer* Fought in *Heaven*: He would have none of God's *Deputies* or *Vice-Gerents* over him, tho' it were the *Son* of *God* Himſelf.

But *Baxter*, in his *Scheme*, did not Conſider that there is an *Hierarchy* in *Heaven*, of *Superior* and *Inferior Orders*, *Degrees*, and *Dignities*, even as here. And we muſt be *Subjects* there, as well as here, to thoſe whom *God* has ſet over us.

And who are not Good *Subjects* Here, will not be Admitted There. St. *Jude* ſays, *That the Angels who kept not* (or were not Content with) *their Firſt Eſtate* (or *Principality*, as our *Margin* Reads it) but *Aſpir'd* to an *higher Order*, were Thrown out of *Heaven*, whither no more *Rebels* have any Entrance. And they who cannot be Content with the *Station* God has plac'd them in Here, but *Uſurp* upon their *Superiors*, as *Korah* and his *Levites* againſt *Aaron*; and *Dathan* and *Abiram* with their Company againſt *Moſes*, they *Deſcend* to a Place of *Diſ Order* and *Confuſion*, ſuch as they would bring upon the Earth.

Heaven is no ſuch *Independent* Place, as Mr. *Baxter* has *Fancy'd*, made up all of *Single Perſons*, without any *Government* among them, or any *Superior* but *God*. His *Principles* of *Rebellion* upon *Earth*, have Corrupted his very Notions of *Heaven*. Where they *Submit* to thoſe ſet over them, as the *Ordinance* of *God*. They Submit *Freely*, therefore they are *Free-Subjects*: The Devils *Rebel* for their *Freedom*, therefore they are *Slaves*.

And

And *God* has Given upon *Earth* the Reſemblance of his *Government* in *Heaven*, in a *Subordination* of ſeveral *Offices*, under the King as *Supream*.

And they who are *Rebels* here, againſt this *Inſtitution* of *God*, wou'd be ſo there too, if they cou'd; And therefore they come not thither.

They will find no Precedent there for *Baxter's Parliamentum Beatum*, his *Bleſſed Parliament* of 1648, without their *King*. Unleſs it be what *Milton* has left them upon Record, in his *Paradice Loſt*, where *Lucifer* call'd a *Convention*, and was himſelf their *Speaker*.

But to leave theſe *Fooleries*, I think ſuch a Man as *Baxter* is not to be admitted as a Competent *Witneſs* in the Caſe of a *Martyr*, whoſe *Murtherers* he has *Sainted*. (which is more *Conſenting* to it than keeping the *Raiments* of thoſe that *Slew* him) No, Nor *Ludlow*, who had Embrued his own Hands in the *Royal Blood*; So that they could not do *Juſtice* to Him, without *Condemning* of Themſelves. And had the ſtrongeſt *Temptation* to *Lying*, which is, to *Juſtify* Themſelves.

2. For *ſecondly*, this *Baxter* was a Notorious *Lyar* in other Caſes. Even in this ſame Religious *Life* of his. As *pag.* 119. of the Third *Part*, where he ſays, —— "Many "*French* Miniſters Sentenced to Death and Baniſhment, "came hither for Refuge, and the Church-Men Relieve "not, becauſe they are not for *Engliſh* Dioceſans and Con"formity." Mr. *Long* has taken him to Taſk for this, in his *Review*, *pag.* 211. *&c.* Where he ſhews, 1*ſt*, How very *Liberal* and *Compaſſionate* the *Biſhops* and *Clergy* were to them. And 2*dly*, That they did *Conform*, Received *Epiſcopal Ordination*; And many of them were preferr'd to Good *Livings* and even *Dignities* in the *Church*, of which he Names ſeveral, and the *Places* where they were *Beneficed*. But we need not *Single Witneſſes* for this; the Whole *Nation* knows it. It is as *Notorious* as *Baxter's* ſhameleſs *Impudence*, in *Aſſerting* the Contrary. You will find ſeveral other ſuch like Inſtances in the *Review*, to which, for Brevity, I Refer you.

Now

Now is his *Single Teſtimony*, and that but from Hear-ſay, to be taken of a *Matter* of *Fact* out of *Memory*, and in a Cauſe wherin he and his *Saints*, were ſo nearly Concerned; Who had the *Braſs* to *Lye* ſo *egregiouſly* in the *Face* of the whole *Nation*, in the Inſtance above nam'd; And at the Time when the *Matter* of *Fact* was Freſh, and before every Bodies Eyes! But it was for the *Good Old Cauſe*, which *Sanctifies* every thing!

3, This brings me to my laſt *Topick* I ſhall uſe upon this Head (becauſe I would not Detain you) which is, That *Lying* is a *fourth Property* of theſe *Baxterian Saints*, Inſeperable from their *Eſſence*. The Hiſtory of this would fill Volumes. It is the firſt *Milk* that they *Suck*. It was this which gave *Birth* to their Bleſſed *League and Covenant*, *Nouriſh'd* and *Fatned* it up —— to the *Gallowes!*

Inſomuch, That whatever *Story* they tell (and they have Abundance! Eſpecially pretty little *Private* ones) which concerns their *Cauſe*, either of *Saintſhip* to their own *Armigers*, or to *Blacken* a *King*, a *Biſhop*, a *Clergy-Man*, or any who are well Affected to them; And where they *Produce* not (for they never ſpare for *Vouching*) ſome other *Teſtimony* than their own, you may conclude, That it is an Errant *Lye* and *Slander*; eſpecially when you ſee a ſecret *Joy* and *Satisfaction* Ariſe in the telling of it, which they can hardly *Conceal*; for *Slander* is their *Honey*, they muſt *Lick* their *Lips*.

Therefore, were there Nothing to *Confront* this *Story* of *Baxter*'s, No *Proofs* againſt it, No *Circumſtances* to make us *Doubt* of it, but only his *Telling* of it, and to ſee how *ſweetly* it is *Eccho'd* and *Repeated* by the *Party*; it is ſufficient to make any Man that *knows* them, believe, That there is not one Word of *Truth* in it. He that has *Accuſtom'd* himſelf to *Lying*, is juſtly to be *Suſpected*, even when he tells a *Truth*: And *Truth* Suffers by coming from ſuch *Mouths*.

Now, Sir, I will *Sum up* my *Evidence*, when I have Deſir'd one thing more, which is, That the *Royal Martyr* Himſelf may be heard in his own Defence; not as to this *Particularity* (as *Calamy* calls it) of his *Letter* to my Lord of *Antrim*; for that was not then *Invented*, it was never heard

heard of in all his *Life*; for then it con'd have eaſily been *Diſ-prov'd*. But as to that *Imputation*, which, in the General, had been laid upon his *Majeſty*, of his having *Countenanc'd* or *Abetted* that Bloody *Rebellion* and *Maſſacre* in *Ireland*. Upon which he beſtows the *Twelfth Chapter* of his *In-comparable*, and *Un-imitable* Book of Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ.

But before I go on with that, Let me Obſerve with what *Malice* and *Induſtry* the *Faction*, of late Years eſpecially (when they had not only *Liberty* but *Encouragement*) have bent their whole *Force*, and wrote ſeveral *Treatiſes*, to Rob the *Martyr* of the *Glory*, and Save themſelves from the *Shame* and *Conviction* that is contain'd in that *Book*. And that by ſuch *Honeſt* and *Sincere Artifices*, as they have us'd in this of Charging the *Rebellion* and *Maſſacre* in *Ireland* upon the *King*. This from an *Inviſible Letter* to my Lord of *Antrim*: That from an *Un-Atteſted* ſuppos'd *Memorandum* of my Lord *Angleſey*'s, found or wrote after his Death, in a vacant Page of one of theſe Printed Books. Which is fully *Anſwer'd* in a *Vindication of King* Charles *the Martyr, proving that His Majeſty was the Author of* Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, *Againſt a Memorandum, ſaid to be written by the Earl of* Angleſey: *And againſt the Exceptions of Dr.* Walker, *and others*. Printed. *An.* 1697.

There it is likewiſe Shew'd, and undeniably *Prov'd*, at the Cloſe of the *Second Edition*, That *Milton* and *Bradſhaw* did Foiſt in among the *Devotions* in Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, a *Prayer*, taken out of Sir *Philip Sidney*'s *Arcadia*. And then *Milton* in his *Scurrilous Anſwer* to the *King*'s Book, plays the *Buffoon* upon his *Sacred Majeſty*, for borrowing a *Prayer* out of a *Romance*. And *Henry Hills* who was *Printer* to *Oliver*, has heard *Bradſhaw* and *Milton* Laughing at the *Jeſt* of their Inſerting this *Prayer*; and then *Expoſing* the *King* for it. Which in the ſaid *Vindication* is fully Atteſted. Inſomuch, that the *Hiſſing* of this *Seed* of the *Serpent* is, at Preſent ſtopp'd; and the *King* is ſuffer'd to Enjoy his own *Book*.

But, perhaps, five Years hence, we may have the ſame *Clamour* Renew'd again, without taking any Notice of this *Vindication*; as *Calamy* has Reviv'd that of *Baxter*, in the other Caſe.

Having thus far Clear'd this *Book* to be the *King*'s own Words, Let us now hear what he himself says concerning the *Rebellion* and *Massacre* in *Ireland*. And when you have Read over his xiith *Chap.* upon this Subject (if you can with Dry Eyes) then Judge whether He or *Baxter* is to be Believ'd! He says, *That Sea of Blood which hath there been Cruelly and Barbarously Shed, is enough to Drown any Man in Eternal both Infamy and Misery, whom God shall find the Malicious Author or Instigator of its Effusion—— There was nothing cou'd be more Abhorred to me, being so full of Sin against God, Disloyalty to My self, and Destructive to my Subjects.* And he prays to God, *O Rescue and Assist those Poor Protestants in* Ireland, *whom thou hast hitherto Preserv'd—— And deal with me, not according to Man's Unjust Reproaches, but according to the Innocency of my Hands in Thy Sight. If I have Desir'd or Delighted in the Woeful Day of my Kingdom's Calamities, if I have not earnestly Studied, and faithfully endeavour'd the Preventing and Composing of these Bloody Distractions; then let thy Hand be against Me and my Father's House. O Lord, thou seest I have Enemies enough of Men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy Curse upon Me and Mine, if my Conscience did not witness my Integrity, which Thou, O Lord, knowest right well.*

Now Consider how *Tender* his *Conscience* was, by the deep *Remorse* he Express'd in his *Second Chap. Upon the Earl of* Strafford's *Death.* Tho' he Pass'd that *Bill* with the Consent of *Parliament*, and Approbation of the Generality of the *Nation* indeed, was press'd to it wholly by their *Clamours* and *Importunity*. The History tells that he Intended to have done *Publick Penance* for it; but his *Troubles* came on so fast, as not to Afford him a fitting Opportunity. But He did it upon the *Scaffold*, where he *Publickly* and *Solemnly* did *Confess* it; and own'd the *Unjust Sentence* against Himself, to be a *Just Punishment* from *God*, for that *Unjust Sentence which he had suffer'd to Pass upon Another.* Can any man then believe, That he could have call'd for those Dreadful *Imprecations* upon *Himself* and *Family*, as to the Case of *Ireland*; and stood out in it even to his *Death*, if he had been, in any wise, *Accessory* to it? He knew

knew not when he wrote theſe *Meditations*, that Mortal Eye ſhould ever ſee them. They were the Pouring out of his *Soul*, betwixt *God* and Him alone, when he was in *Priſon*, and none ſuffered to come near Him, but whom his *Bloody Butcherers* pleas'd. So that he had no *Temptation* to Act ſuch *Monſtrous Hypocriſie* with *God*, if he had been otherwiſe Capable of it. Which I dare ſay no Man upon the Earth does believe. And the very *Sons* and *Maſters* of *Lyes* dare not Alledge. And have therefore Endeavour'd, firſt to *Diſcredit* (as *Milton*, by the *Prayer* out of the *Arcadia*) And ſince more *Impudently* (grown *Older* in *Miſchief*) to overthrow the *Authority* of the whole *Book*; in both of which *Wicked Attempts*, they being *Detected*; And the *Genuineneſs* of the *Book* fully *Vindicated*, does, I think, put a full End to all this *Calumny* as to *Ireland*, particularly as to that *White-Bear*, of the *Letter* to my Lord of *Antrim*.

But this Book of *Calamy*'s does not only do *Miſchief* at *Home*, but goes *Abroad*, wherever there are *Phanaticks*; And our *Martyr* will appear a *Monſter* to other *Countries*, unleſs *Vindicated* by ſome *Publick Authority*, of which the *World* may take Notice; Conſidering that the *Reproach* is ſo *Freſh*, juſt now done; and made as *Publick* as the Intereſt of the Whole *Faction* can make it; and that in the *Reign* of his *Grand Child*, who it may be thought, and they will give it out Hereafter, was willing to let it paſs. Why may not this be thought, when in that Pretended *Memorandum* of the Earl of *Angleſey*'s, they have Preſum'd to bring in both his *Sons*, K. *Charles* and K. *James*, as *Witneſſes* againſt their *Father*?

If an *Action* of *Scandalum Magnatum* may be brought in Behalf of a private *Peer*, even after his *Death*, to Vindicate his *Memory*, and the *Honour* of his *Family*: Here are *three Kings* vilely *Aſpers'd*, after their *Deaths*. What proportionable *Satisfaction* ought to be made to them, the *Wiſdom* of your *Houſe* beſt *Knows*, and can *give* it. At leaſt, I hope, that leſs than this cannot be done, to Expreſs their *Diſpleaſure* againſt this *Scandal* (leſt their *Silence* may hereafter be Conſtru'd as their *Approbation*;) And to put ſuch a *Stop* to it, as that it Proceed no farther.

Sir,

Sir, I wiſh your *Houſe* may have the *Honour* of *Puniſhing* and *Suppreſſing* the *Inſolence* of this *Faction* (which has *Reign'd* long enough) and you to make the *Motion*. That *the Mouths of thoſe who ſpeak Lyes, may be ſtopp'd*. January 10. 1702.

The Anniverſary of *Arch-Biſhop* Laud's *Martyrdom*, by the ſame Hands.

Poſt-Script.

THis Paſſage I have inſiſted upon in *Calamy's Abridgment* of *Baxter's Life*, is not the only One of this Nature that is there. No. It is a *Virulent Invective* quite through againſt the *Church* and the *Crown*. The Examining of all which wou'd be a Work by it ſelf.

And it is to be Preſumed, That the *Noble* Lord whoſe *Name* is *Diſgrac'd* by the *Dedication* of this *Libel* to him, knows nothing of it. And that when he do's, he will do himſelf *Juſtice*.

6 AP 58

FINIS.

AN

ABRIDGEMENT

OF



Monſieur *de Ba*

ARISTIPPUS, &c.

THE Court is often Govern'd by a ſort of Men, who Adviſe for themſelves rather than Counſel their Maſter; they anſwer their own Sentiments, and not his Demands. All their Reſults iſſue from the inferior Part, *Intereſt* always carries it with them beyond *Honour* or *Reaſon*; and being ſenſible of no ſtronger Temptation in their Souls than that of *Gain*, they ground their Opinions on the ſame Baſeneſs, and on the ſame mean Conſiderations, that a *Farmer* or *Receiver* would do, were he ſeated in the ſame place.

Let the Ship which carries them Periſh, if it will, and let the *Publick* run the Hazard; they eaſily Comfort themſelves for the *Shipwrack* of the *State*, ſo there be but a *Skiff*, in which they may gain the Shore, and ſecure their own Families. Nevertheleſs, it cannot be abſolutely ſaid, That theſe Men have ill Deſigns againſt the *State*, or that they deſire its Ruine; They Reſerve only to themſelves their firſt and moſt tender

Affections,

Affections, and excepting their own *Intereſt*, I beleieve their *Maſter*'s would be very Dear unto them. But the Miſchief is, that they are never abſent from their *Intereſt*, no more than from themſelves, and this always renders them ſo *Irreſolute*, that they have not *Courage* enough to utter a *Bold Truth*, if it be never ſo little *Dangerous* to the Eſtabliſhment of their *Fortune*, altho' moſt Important for their *Maſter*'s Service.

A moſt wretched and miſerable *Prudence!* They conſider not that a *Spy*, who gives Intelligence, is not more Miſchievous, than a *Centinel* that ſays nothing; And that they are as well the cauſe of the *Prince*'s Loſs by their *Silence*, as others by their *Treachery*. They conſider not, that by leaving him to that Danger, whence they could withdraw him, they do no leſs contribute to his *Ruine*, than thoſe who *Drive* and *Precipitate* him into it. They perceive not, that *Diſloyalty* doth no hurt, which *Weakneſs* is not as capable to perform.

What they do therefore, is not to *Reign*, is not to *Conquer*, is not to *Triumph*; 'Tis only to *Live*; and that alſo after a ſtrange Manner. 'Tis to ſpend the Time from *Morning* till the *Afternoon*, and ſo *Drill* on till the next *Day*. Their Government is neither *Peace* nor *War*, nor a *Truce*; 'Tis a *Reſt* of *Idleneſs*, 'tis a *Dead Sleep*, which by Artifice they procure for the *People*, and which is neither *Good* nor *Natural*.

They know not how to *Cure*, but only how to *Paint* the *Sick*, and make them *Look* well. They would reclaim *Rebellion* by *Careſſes*, and they Glut it with *Benefits* and *Gratifications*; but thereby they render it more *Powerful*, and not one jot the better; They encreaſe its *Force*, but not diminiſh its *Malice*. They ſometimes take from it ſome Men which are to be Sold; and ſuch Advantages as ſignify nothing; And they do not conſider, That it is to Cultivate *Diſorder* thus *ſlightly* to *Touch* its *Branches* and its *Buds*, and not to put the *Iron* to the *Body* and to the *Root*.

Thus they oblige the *Prince* to *deſcend* from his *Throne*, to Treat with his *Subjects*; Of a *Sovereign* they make a *private Man*, and of a *Legiſlator* an *Advocate*. By this *Breach* they throw down the *Partition-Wall*, which ſeperates *Him* from the *People*, and change *Power* into *Equality*. The *Guilty* aſcend the *Tribunal*, and Deliberate concerning their own Fact with the *Judge*; They name the *Place* of the *Confererce*, and it is *Accepted*;

cepted; They chooſe for this *Parley* ſuch Perſons as *They* moſt confide in, and they are *Granted* them; and there they ſpeak not a word either of *Grace* or of *Pardon*, for ſuch Terms would ſeem too *Rough*, and would ſound too *Harſh* in their Ears: But the Offended *Maſter* ſolemnly Declares, That all was done for the good of his *Service*, and thinks himſelf Beholding to thoſe unfaithful *Servants* for the *Injuries* they have done him.

In fine, the Deſign of theſe Men being only to Diſmiſs the *Multitude*, and to divde the *Allies* at any rate, they *Grant* them more than they *Demand*, they are Prodigal of the *Publick Faith*, they Huſband not the *King*'s Name; And after this manner they bring him to the brink of two *Extremities* equally Dangerous: For whether it be, that he will *keep his Word* to the *Ruine* of his *Affairs*, or Eſtabliſh his *Affairs* by the Violation of his *Word*, he is ſtill reduc'd to a moſt Deplorable *Choice*, either to hazard his *State* by being *Faithful*, or to *Forfeit* his *Honour* that he may continue *King*.

Such *Miniſters* have caus'd the end of two *Empires*, have loſt *Rome* and *Conſtantinople* by the fatal *faintneſs* of their *Counſels*; They open'd the Door to all the *Barbarians*, they ſhamefully Purchas'd *Peace* from the *Goths*, the *Vandals*, and other *Northern Nations*; They made no Account of the *Diſhonour* of the *Empire* and of the Infamy of the *Roman* Name, provided they might by the *Sweetneſs* of the *Word* Correct the *Bitterneſs* of the *Thing*; as when they paid *Tribute* to their *Enemies*, they might be permitted to ſay, they gave a *Penſion* to their *Allies*.

Yet let us not *Agravate* their *Guilt*, but rather *Pardon* them in ſome meaſure, and not Accuſe them of *Treaſon*. I believe they would not ſell and deliver up their *Maſter*, but they are not Angry that the World ſhould know they *Can* do it. On ſome Occaſions they make no Difficulty of ſetting a *Price* upon him, they ſuffer him to be *Traffick'd* for; They afford the *Merchants* even ſome *Patterns*, altho' they will part with the whole *Piece*. 'Tis a *Maxim* of theirs, That one may ſometimes Deceive the *Prince* for his own Good; But the Miſchief is, That they do it too *often*, and all for *their own* Ends

'Tis true, the *Subtilty* of the *Underſtanding*, the *Solidity* of *Judgment*, a couragious *Prudence*, and a conſiderate *Bold*[illegible] are not *voluntary* Things; They depend no more on our [illegible] *on*, than a *Healthy* Conſtitution or a fair *Proportion*. Reſponſible for *our own* Faults, and not for tho[illegible]

There is no Man bound to be of Great *Parts*, yet there is none but is oblig'd to be *Good*: And if we cannot for the Glory of the *Publick*, furniſh our ſelves with *Courage* and with *Wiſdom*, we ought at leaſt to contribute our *Innocence* for the Repoſe of *Common Society*.

What ſhall we ſay then of theſe inſolent *Sons* of *Fortune*, who with diſplaid Colours Combat the Authority of the *Laws* and of *Juſtice*, who in the Government of a *State* produce a form'd Deſign for its *Ruine*; who grow *Fat* with the Juice and Subſtance of exhauſted *Provinces*; who Build up their own *Houſe* with the Wrack and Diſſipation of a whole *Kingdom*?

What ſhall we ſay of thoſe inſufferable *Varlets*, who Revenge their leaſt Quarels with the Hands and Arms of their *Maſter*; who Declare all thoſe Guilty of *High Treaſon*, that do not fall proſtrate before them; who by a Bloody and Cruel *Peace*, all Black with Mournings and Funerals, bring the People into *Deſpair*, and reduce the *Honeſter* Sort of Men to be unable to ſave themſelves but in a *Revolt*?

In fine, What ſhall we ſay of thoſe baſe *Courtiers*, who *Triumph* and yet were never *Victorious*; who Enjoy in *Idleneſs* the *Sweats* and *Pains* of Great *Captains*; who at a *Comedy* or a *Ball*, or perhaps at a *Tennis-Court*, expect the News of gaining of *Battles*, and of taking of *Towns*, whereof the *General* muſt give them an Account, and of which they reckon to reap moſt of the *Advantage*.

Obſerve them in an Antient and Modern *Hiſtory*, you will find how all to them is *Prey*, how all is *Plunder*, how they feed on all *Dead Bodies*, (as the Saying was amonſt the *Romans*) and leave nothing but *Loſs* and *Affliction* to deſolate *Families*, to *Orphans* and *Widdows*. Let us once again conſult the long Experience of this old World, an Experience which embraceth ſo many *Ages* and ſo many *Countries*. Let us from thence enquire more particularly concerning thoſe who have Govern'd the World in ſpight of it, and who have *Reign'd* without a *Crown*, without *Right*, and without *Merit*.

Such People commonly introduce themſelves into *Court* by *low* Means, by *Cringing* and by *Flattery*, the *baſeſt* of all *Vices*, and to *Princes* the moſt *Pernicious*. All their Deſign being to make *pleaſing* Propoſitions, they enquire not whether they *Profit* or *Harm*; ſo as they *Pleaſe*, it ſufficeth. And to Eſtabliſh the ſtrict Commerce which they Meditate with the *Prince*,

they

they insinuate themselves into his Mind by the intelligence they endeavour to keep with his *Passions*; and having once got *Possession* of his *Mind*, they seize on all the *Avenues*, and leave not so much as Entrance for his *Confessor*. How weak and tender soever his Inclinations may be to *Evil*, they Water it and Dress it with so much care, that presently there Springs up a great *Tree* from a little *Seed*, and a violent opinated *Habit* from a light *Dispositim*.

At first, they content themselves to Breath in his Ears, that it is not necessary for a *Prince* to be so much an *honest* Man, that it is sufficient he is not *wicked*; that he wou'd put himself to too much trouble to make himself *belov'd*, that he ought only to hinder his being *hated*; That solid and perpetual *probity* is too *heavy* and too *difficult*, but that its *Image*, which changeth not, hath the same splendor as the *Original*, and produceth the same Effect: That from time to time a vertuous Action, which may be of no great cost, being fitly perform'd, may serve to maintain his Reputation. Thence they go further, and leave him not in so fair a way; After having made him esteem *Good* an indifferent thing, they make him approve *Evil* reasonable, they afford *Vice* the *Colour* of *Vertue*.

Now since in the whole World there is no good of so great use, and which so universally Communicates it self as a good *Prince*, nor any Evil which disperseth it self more, and proves more pernicious than an *ill one*; 'tis plain that in all the extent of human Justice, there are no Punishments great enough for those Persons who change this *Good* into *Evil*, and who corrupt so salutiferous and excellent a thing. They had far better have poisoned all the *Wells*, and all the *Fountains* of their Country; shou'd they infect the very *Rivers*, Water might be gotten from elsewhere, Heaven it self wou'd still furnish us with some Drops. But here of necessity we must drink, whether it be *Water* or *Poison*; and against those *Domestick* Evils we are not permitted to use Foreign Remedies; we are oblig'd to continue miserable by the Laws of our *Religion*, and to obey *Furies* and *Madmen*, not only for *Fear*, but also for *Conscience*-sake.

For which Cause, since the Persons of *Princes*, whatever they be, ought to be Inviolable and Sacred, and that the Characters of God's Finger make an Impression, which we ought to Reverence on what Matter soever it be Engraven: Let us turn

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all our hatred againſt thoſe *Flatterers*, which caſt us into ſuch Miſeries without Redemption: Let us lay it on thoſe *Evil Councellors*, who give us ill *Princes*, who provoke *Innocents* to *Murder*, and *Murderers* to burn *Temples*.

Or if they meet with Natures, which are ſuſceptible of ſuch violent Paſſions, and which are in an equal Degree diſtant from *Vice* and from *Vertue*; if they light on ſoft eaſy *Princes*, who are without Edge or Sting, and having no inclination to *Evil*, but are either ſo fond of their *Eaſe*, or ſo diffident of their own *Abilities*, that they throw all the weight of their Affairs upon their *Favorites*, 'tis ſtill ſo much the worſe for the *Subjects*; for theſe *Upſtarts* abuſing the ſimplicity of their pliant *Maſter*; and taking the advantage which their Spirits hath over his, do Reign themſelves openly and without controul; and eſteeming it but as the Right and Title of their unjuſt Dominion; to the weight of *Tyranny* they add the ſhame which accrues from ſuffering it from a *particular Perſon*.

It cannot be imagin'd what Wiles and Artifices they uſe to attain hereunto, and totally to Subject the *Prince* to themſelves: Firſt, the Method is, to ſpur him up with *Glory* in the Eſtabliſhment of *their* Fortune; they give him to underſtand through ſeveral *Speaking Trumpets*, that his *Predeceſſors*, who were nothing more Powerful than he, made ſome far greater *Creatures* of theirs. That its much better to raiſe up *new* People, who have no *Dependance*, and who ſhall only hold from his *Majeſty*, than to uſe Perſons of *good Birth* and known *Probity*, whoſe Affections and Party are already made. That it concerns his *Honour* not to leave his Works *Imperfect*, but to labour for their *Embelliſhment* after having eſtabliſh'd their *Solidity*. That he ought to put them in a condition that they may not be Ruin'd but by *Himſelf*: And in fine, that he cannot abandon a *Perſon* that has been ſo dear to him, without condemning the Conduct of *many Years*, and render a publick Teſtimony, either of his paſt *Blindneſs*, or preſent *Fickleneſs*.

'Tis certain, that having begun to love a thing for the love of it ſelf, time preſently adds our own *Intereſt* to the merit of the thing: The deſire we have the World ſhou'd believe that all our Elections are good, makes that Action become *Neceſſary*, which at firſt was *voluntary*; inſomuch that what has been done againſt *Reaſon*, being not to be juſtified but by *Conſtancy*, we never think we have done enough; and upon this belief which

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we have, tho' we were reſolv'd to diſcontinue our *Affection*, yet it ſeems we are oblig'd to defend our *Judgment*.

Now if theſe conſiderations can ſhake ſtable Minds, and ſometimes make wiſe men fail, we need not be aſtoniſh'd, if they eaſily overthrow a *weak Prince*, who makes uſe only of *borrow'd* Reaſon, and who will yield himſelf to be perſwaded by a very mean Eloquence, provided it favours his *Inclination*.

And now he is engag'd in the making of this *Subject* whom he loves, *Great*; he ſpeaks of him no more, but as of his chief *Enterprize* and his nobleſt *Aim*; he is without minding it, become an *Idolater*, he *adores* what himſelf has made, and is like the *Statuaries* of *Athens*, who of their own Works made their Gods. His Thoughts which ſhou'd be employ'd for *Glory*, and have no other Object but the *Safety* of his *People*, are all at an end in this gallant Deſign: He opens him his *Coffers*, and pours out *Treaſures* upon him, as well to ſpite others, as to benefit him. He has already conferr'd on him all the conſiderable *Offices* of his Kingdom, and all the Ornaments of his Crown: He hath nothing left to give him but his own Perſon, which at laſt he does with ſo abſolute and entire a *Reſignation*, that in the very Monaſteries there is not an Example of a Will more ſubjected, and more perfectly Renouncing it ſelf.

Thus is the poor *Prince* at the Mercy and Diſcretion of his *Favorite*, and beſides is ſo far engag'd that there is hardly any way for him to releaſe himſelf; for the *Courtier* has made all the World either his *Enemy*, or ſuſpected that he might have none but *himſelf* to truſt to; and by having long had the Poſſeſſion of Affairs, which he communicates with no Man, he alone being privy to all, becomes at laſt a *neceſſary Evil*, which the *Prince* cannot be eaſily cur'd of.

After this manner, without ſtrikeing a ſtroke, or having ventur'd further than from the *Palace* to the *Street*, the *Prince* ſees himſelf miſerably fallen into another Man's Power, which is after the loſs of a Battle, the worſt thing that cou'd happen to him. The unhappy Moment, which firſt engag'd him to commence his Affection, and to believe more than he ought, has reduc'd him to this deplorable Extremity. And indeed there is no *Captivity* ſo Miſerable, ſo Baſe, nor ſo Infamous, as that of a *Prince*, who ſuffers himſelf to be taken in his *Cabinet*, and by one of his own *Creatures*. He cou'd not

have exercis'd a more *Cowardly* Patience, nor is it poſſible for him to be more *ſhamefully* Unhappy.

I ſhall go yet farther, when a *King* Eats his People to the very Bones, and lives in his own Dominion as in an Enemy's Country, he does not ſo far Eſtrange himſelf from the Duty of his Place, as when he Obeys another. *Tyranny* differs very much from *Royalty*, yet ſtill it reſembles it a great deal more than *Servitude*; 'tis at leaſt ſome kind of Government, and one way of Commanding Men, tho' not the moſt perfect. But for a *Sovereign* to give himſelf as a *Prey* to three or four *petty Fellows*, and not reſerve ſo much as the Diſpoſition of his own Will, to follow his own Inclinations, nor the Uſe of his own Judgment in the Knowledge of his Affairs; In ſuch a Caſe, I know not what Name to give him, and there cannot be a more miſerable *Interregnum* than his *Life*, during which he does *nothing*, and yet does all thoſe *Evils* which happen to his People.

What a brave thing it was in former times, to ſee a *King* of *Caſtille*, who durſt not walk abroad, nor put on a Sute of Cloaths without the permiſſion of *Alvaro de Luna*? All Favours which others Demanded of him, he was oblig'd to Obtain from his *Favourite*; the moſt he could do was to Recommed his Servants to him, and to do good Offices with him, for thoſe he had a Kindneſs for. What a Gallant Thing it was to ſee ſuch a *Courtier* as he who *Revok'd* the *Elections* of his *Prince*, Reſtor'd again thoſe *Employments*, which his *Maſter* had already given away; and took it as a great Affront that his *Sovereign* ſhould once in his Life read a Paper which he Preſented him to Sign, complaining that it was to *Suſpect* his *Fidelity*, and *Forget* his paſt *Services*.

How many Miſchiefs do you think muſt follow ſuch a one? How many Violences are committed under the ſhaddow of this inſolent *Courtier*, who has not a *Groom* that believes it not to be his Right to Treat *Gentlemen* with Contempt, and by Alledging only his *Maſter*'s Name to commit Outrages with Impunity? Are there any People about him, who do not Prey upon the *Subject*, who do not make Sale of an Audience of his, and who are not Cock-ſure of Enriching themſelves with the *Refuſe* of his *Avarice*, and with the *Superfluities* of his *Houſe*.

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All this while the *Prince* commits no *Sin*, and yet he forbears not to be *Guilty*. His *Ignorance* is *Unpardonable*, his *Pacience* is no *Vertue*, and all the *Disorders* which either he knows not of, or which he suffers, are imputed to him before *God* even as if himself had Committed them. With a great deal of *Reason* therefore, that *Prince* who was according to God's own Heart, desires him in expres Terms, and that in the Fervency of his most Ardent Prayers, That *He would cleanse him from secret Faults, and acquit him of the Sins of others.* Now does not this last Word plainly imply, That *Kings* ought not to content themselves with a personal and particular Innocence, and that it matters not for them to be just as to their own Actions, if they lose themselves by the Injustice of their *Ministers.*

And here I cannot omit an extraordinary Rapture expres'd to this purpose by a Religious Man of *Italy*, in a Sermon he Preach'd before a Prince of that Country, wherein having learnedly Discours'd of the Duties of *Sovereigns*, he all of a suddain breaks forth in these Words: "Last Night, "Sir, I had a strange Vision; Methought the Earth open'd "before me, and I distinctly look'd into the Centure there- "of. I consider'd the Torments of the other Life, and all "that terrible Train of God's Justice; since which my Ima- "gination is scarce well Reassum'd. Amonst the Wicked of "the past Ages, I knew a great many of this: *Detractors*, "*Murderers*, *impious Persons*, and *Hypocrites* ran thither in great "Troops. and crowded at the brim of this *Gulf*; But having "observ'd in their *Lives* the visible Marks of their *Reprobati-* "*on*, I thought it not strange to see them Arrive whereto I had "seen them March. What Astonish'd me extremely above all, "was, that I perceiv'd your *Highness* there in this unhappy "Throng, which was at the Brink of Destruction; And "even as I was thus Surpriz'd and Affrighted by the Novel- "ty of so unexpected an Encounter, I cry'd out to your "*Highness*, Is it possible that a Man should Damn himself by "*Praying* to *God*, and that you should go to *Hell*? You, Sir, "who are the *Best* and most *Religious Prince* in the World? "Whereunto your *Highness* answer'd me with a Sigh, I do "not go, Father, but I am led thither.

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The Fertility of this Subject is so Great, that it would furnish us with a Weeks Discourse; but we must end with this, and conclude, That the Distance is so vast between the *Soveraign* and *private* Persons, that they may be rais'd very high, and yet be still very far below him. Tis good that he who is *neareſt* the *Prince* should be extremely *distant* from him. 'Tis fit there should be many Things which the best Beloved may not Reach.

I confess after all, *Justice* may admit of *Favour*; For *Reason* destroys not *Humanity*, neither does it oppose its self against honest *Affections*, nor Condemns *Familiarty* and *Confidence*. *Philosophy* and *Christianity* agree in all these with *Nature*; and the *Son* of *God* when he made himself *Man*, has by his Example Authoriz'd all this. Let there be a *Favourite* therefore at *Court*, let there be a Man who is the *Prince's Confident*. But let there be none who Day and Night *Besiegeth* the *King*; who by a violent Usurpation *Appropriates* him wholly to himself. He that will have to himself alone, a Good which ought to belong to all, exerciseth the same Injustice as if he hid the *Sun* from the whole *World*.

In short, let there be none about the *Prince*, that will presume to make a perfect *Ward* of him, or a meer *Tool*, to carry on his own Designs; For, what would be in Effect but to be at one and the same time at the *highest Rise* of human Things, and at the *lowest Stage* amongst Men; to be call'd His *Majesty* and His *Highness*, and to be possess'd of nothing but what is little and low; to need a *Tutor* on the *Throne*, and a *Pedagogue* in *Council*.

O God, send this Evil to those of Asia.

But we must speak more like *Christians*, and more charitably. Let us Conclude with a Prayer that Compehends *Asia* with *Europe*, and Embrace the general Good of the whole World:

Lord, turn away from all States, an Evil which is the Cause of so many other Evils; Deny not to Sovereigns the Spirit of Command and Conduct; but give them Understanding enough to Counsel themselves well, or to choose their Counsellors as they ought.

6 AP 58

FINIS

THE New Association.

I. The *State* of the *Case.*

Herod and *Pilat*, who cou'd agree in Nothing elſe, were made *Friends*, when they *Joyn'd* together againſt *Chriſt*.

Herod, who was a *Jew* in *Religion*, wou'd not be the *Executioner*, but ſent Him back to *Pilate*, who was a *Roman*, and ſo a Profeſs'd *Enemy* to the *Jews* and their *Religion*.

Such ſort of an *Aſſociation* we ſee now made againſt the *Church*, betwixt thoſe call'd *Moderate-Church-Men* (whoſe *Character* we ſhall have Preſently) and the *Profeſs'd Enemies* thereof, the *Whigs* and *Fanaticks*.

Theſe *Moderate-Men* are *Aſham'd*, while they bear the Name of *Church-Men*, to put to their own Hands to pull down the *Church*; But wou'd let in the *Whigs* and *Fanaticks* upon her, who wou'd do it *Effectually!*

Delilah wou'd not Murther *Sampſon* her ſelf, only *Bound* him, and ſaid, *The Philiſtines be upon thee.* But ſhe cou'd not have *Bound* him, if ſhe had not firſt Lull'd him *Aſleep*.

Theſe *Moderate Watch-Men* wou'd have us go to *Sleep*, when the *Philiſtines* are at the *Door*, and endeavouring to *Break* it *Open*; While they *Threaten* us *Aloud*, in *Print*, and in the *Streets*, and no *Corner* free from their *Dinn!*

Yet that not ſo Great, as of our own *Watch-Men*, Crying *Peace, Peace!* When there is no *Peace*; and our *Enemies* Preparing *War* againſt us.

What tho' they have *Betray'd* us Before, as oft as *Delilah* did *Sampſon*, what Matters that? *Truſt* them *Once* More! Each of them will give *Delilah, Eleven Hundred Pieces of Silver!*

Beſides, there are Future *Reigns* a Coming (with which they *Threaten* us) And *Wiſe* Men will make their *Court* in Time! Men that are for every *Turn* of *Government*, but ſtill with a Due Regard to the *Next* in View.

Who, by Betraying the Old to Ruine,
Still make their Intereſt with the New One.

II. Of *Prieſt-Craft*. And *High* and *Low-Church*.

This is the *Brief* of the *Cauſe*. Now let us go on to the *Proof* at Large. And we ſhall ſee, That theſe are very *Moderate Men*, with *good Looking to*.

The *Pamphlet* which gave *Occaſion* to theſe *Animadverſions*, and which is very Induſtriouſly *Spread* about the *Town*, bears this Title,

The Danger of Prieſt Craft to Religion and Government, with ſome Politick Reaſons for a Toleration, &c. *In a Letter to a New Elected Member of Parliament.* London, *Printed* this Year 1702. *Price Three Pence.*

This of the *Price Three Pence* is put upon a *New Edition* of it, in a *ſmall Character*, that it may run *Cheap* among the *Common People*. A *Method* of late much made uſe of for *Propagating* what is thought moſt *Material* to Inſtil into the *Mob*. And accordingly this *Pamphlet* is ſo Effectually *Diſpers'd*, that few of the *Fanaticks* or *Common Wealth-Men* want it in their *Pockets*, to Recommend it every where. So that here the *Spirit* of the *Party* is Diſplay'd.

The firſt Thing to be Obſerv'd, is, That by *Prieſt-Craft* here they Mean the *Church* of *England*, and make it Inconſiſtent with *Religion* and *Government*.

But to *Mollifie* the Matter (and yet not much) they Divide the *Church* of *England* into *Two* Sorts of Men, the One they call the *Violent* Party, the other the *Moderate*. [As if they only Quarrell'd with ſome *Perſons* in our *Church* (which we our ſelves may have Reaſon to do.) And not with the *Church* her ſelf, her *Doctrine*, *Government*, *Liturgie*, and whole *Conſtitution*. As if this were not the whole *Conteſt* betwixt us. There may be *Moderate* and *Violent* Men among them, as among all *Parties*. But to go on.]

They call thoſe the *Violent Men* who are Firm to the *Hierarchy*, and wou'd not give up the *Liturgie* and *Decency* of the *Church*, meerly to *Gratify* and *Comprehend*, but not *Reconcile* the *Diſſenters*; who Declare that they wou'd not, even ſo, be *Reconcil'd* or *Conform*; But wou'd be well pleas'd to ſee ſo Great a *Scandal* given to the True Sons of the *Church*, and ſuch a *Step* made towards her *Overthrow*.

Theſe are the *Violent*, who have any Remembrance of what the *Diſſenters* did during the *Uſurpation* of *Forty One*, as ſoon as they Gain'd the *Power*, by the very ſame *Pretences* which they now ſet up; Or even, ſince this *Revolution* in *Scotland*, where they *Rabbl'd* the *Epiſcopal Clergy* in more *Savage* Manner than can be equall'd in Hiſtory. Theſe are the *Violent*, who will take any *Warning* by all this; and not *Truſt* themſelves

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and the *Church*, once more, in the *Mercy* of thoſe, Who ſtill Declare themſelves *Irreconcilable* to Her.

But the *Moderate* Church-Men are ſuch as take no Notice of what they *See* and *Hear*. Wou'd let theſe *Diſſenters* into *Half*, to Try whether they wou'd take the *Whole*. And cou'd live well enough with them, if they had it. Theſe are Men of *Large Thought*, *Comprehenſive Charity*, and a *Chriſtian Latitude*, which cou'd find ſome *Good thing* in the *Alcoran*, for *Peace* ſake.

And the *Diſſenters* ſpeak very *Kindly* of them, and *Sooth* them, that they may make uſe of them for *Scaffolding* to Build their *Babel*, upon the *Ruins* of the *Church*; And then they are to be Thrown into the *Lumber*, and Cry, *Who wou'd have thought it!*

Theſe the *Diſſenters*, in this *Pamphlet*, make the only *True Church* of *England*. But for the *Violent* Party, they are to be Thrown to the *Lions*, not to be *Tolerated* within the Kingdom, and great Pains this *Pamphlet* takes to prove them *Anti Chriſts!* p. 6. *Theſe are ſo many Anti-Chriſts.* But who are theſe? They tell in the ſame *Page*, Thoſe, *Who, tho' our Saviour commanded his Apoſtles not to take two Coats.* Mat. 10. 10. *will be ſatisfy'd each of them with no leſs than four Benefices.* And p. 5. *All that the Clergy do to Advance their Temporal Greatneſs is Prieſt-Craft.* Now let the *Moderate Men* look to it. Theſe *Marks* may reach ſome of them! They will fare all alike when the *Fiſh* is Caught, and be hung up to dry among the old *Nets*. They muſt then *Comply*, or *Out*; *Comply* to the *Uttermoſt*, even to *Abjure* the *Hierarchy*, *Liturgy*, *Rites* and *Ceremonies* of the *Church*, and whatever the *Conquerors* pleaſe to Impoſe upon them. And that *Moderation* for which they *Praiſe* them now, and *Laugh* at them, will then be call'd *Laodicean*, and to be *Spued* out. They will not Truſt their *Kirk* with thoſe who had ſo little *Zeal* to Defend the *Church*, who ſo *Tamely* Gave up, and *Betray'd* her: Or were ſo eaſily *Impos'd* upon, and *Out-Witted*: They will then think theſe the *Worſt* of *Men*, and not to be Entruſted with other Folks Affairs, who had ſo little *Concern* for their own. It has been an old Saying, To *Love* the *Treaſon*, and *Hate* the *Traytor*. The *Hiſtory* of the *Rebellion* in *Forty One*, has Obſerv'd. That thoſe *Biſhops* who did moſt ſtoutly ſtand up in Defence of the *Church* and the *Crown*, found better Quarter from the *Uſurpers* than thoſe who Courted them by Compliances; particularly the Lord *Biſhop* of *London*, Dr. *Juxton*, who had been *Lord High Treaſurer* of *England*, a thing Hateful to the *Fanaticks* in a *Biſhop*, and Advis'd the *King* not to Paſs the *Bill* againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, contrary to his *Conſcience*, though all *England* was then in a *Mob* upon that Account, and Threatned the *King* himſelf; yet notwithſtanding this *Biſhop*'s Reſolute Oppoſition to the *Faction*, he was ſuffer'd to *Adminiſter* to his *Majeſty* in his Preparation for *Death*, to *Aſſiſt* him upon the *Scaffold*, and to *Bury* him; And after to live without Moleſtation, during

their whole Reign; and he liv'd to see the King's Son Restor'd, and to put the *Crown* upon his *Head*.

There is a *Resistance* will *Charm* even *Enemies*, and make the *Devil* fly from us. But some think it is best to be *Civil*, for we know not whose Hands we may come into.

I am Confident that the *Whigs* Love those they call the *Violent* Men better than the *other*, whom they cannot but *Despise*. And do believe that those are the only *True Church of England Men*, who are *True* to the *Church of England*. Therefore they would *Exclude* these who only do *Oppose* them: And let the *Church of England* consist only of the *Moderate* Men, that is, the *Trimmers*, and some *Spies*; And then All is their own!

III. The *Dissenters* the *Violent Party* against the *Church*.

Therefore what they say of the *Violent Party* is the very Thoughts of their *Soul* towards the *Church of England*. And so we must take it. And of these they say, Pag. 7. *The Violent Party of the* Church *of* England *ought the least to be Tolerated*. And speaking of one of them, Mr. S—— against whom they write, They say, *That he ought never to be endur'd in a well order'd State*. Why? Do they Object any thing against him, but his Writing against the *Dissenters*? No, nothing at all but this. And for this, *He ought never to be endur'd*.——But they Enhaunce their Charge against him, That he joyns these *Moderate-Church Men* and the *Dissenters* together. This indeed was Provoking! For it Discovers the *Plot!* But then again, he gives them Both hard Words. He calls the Former, *False and Perfidious Members*, *Shuffling*, *Treacherous Latitudinarians*, &c. And the Latter, *Swarms of Sectaries*, *Propagators of Schism*, *Sharers in Villany and Rebellion*, &c That is, he calls a *Spade*, a *Spade*. Which I confess ought not always to be done. But the Objection had come more Decently out of any other Mouth, than theirs, who have Exceeded all Mankind in this Sort of *Furious* Treatment. Let them Review *the Dissenters Sayings*, if they have not Forgot them. And are they Angry that any of the *Church of England* should endeavour to *Imitate* them, tho' they cannot Come up to them?

But they say, *ibid* Pag. 7. *Is not his Design apparently to set three Nations at Variance? Does not his Stile shew a Furious Zeal bent upon Embroiling the World?*

To see these *Meek Saints* just after their *Furious Zeal* had set these *three Nations* in a *Flame*, and fill'd them from one Corner to another with *Blood* and *Desolation*, Overthrown the *Church*, Murder'd the *King* and the *Laws*, Now *Wipe* their *Mouths*, and Cry out upon a Furious *Zeal* in those who tell us of these Things, and bid us Beware of them! To see them now set up for the *Christian Stile* of *Meekness*, *Mercy*, and *Long-Suffering*, that *Breaths forth nothing but Charity*, and *Union*, and give that for a *Mark* of the *True Church*, as they do, *p.* 6. and 7. They! Whose *Mouths* were *Flaming*

ing Ovens, and *Breath'd forth* nothing but *Fire* and *Sword!* That is, when by *Flattering* and *Fawning*, and all manner of *Diſſimulation* and *Treachery*, they had *wreſted* the *Power* out of their Hands who *Believ'd* them, and *Knew* them not. And even now, when they Pretend to be Afraid of Perſecution, they cannot hide the *Cloven-foot*, but in this very *Pamphlet*, wherein they call for *Mercy*, make the *Church* of *England* to be *Anti-Chriſtian!* And that ſhe ought *leaſt of all* to be *Tolerated*, while they themſelves are Pleading for a *Toleration!* They, who in the *Acts* of their *General Aſſembly*, Ann. 1648. Declar'd all *Toleration* to be *Anti-chriſtian!* But now the Caſe is *Alter'd!* And will be *Alter'd* again, if they again get into the *Power!* When the *Fox* begins to *Preach* ——

IV. They *Threaten* Her with

But what does theſe Gentlemen mean, by ſaying, That this Deſign, *viz.* of Touching upon their *Toleration*, will *ſet three Nations at Variance, and Embroil the World?* This looks like a *Threat*. A *Word* to the *Wiſe* is ſufficient. We know their *Principles*. It is not the *Firſt* time. Therefore we muſt look to our ſelves, before it be too late. Will a *Toleration* Leſſen or Encreaſe their *Numbers?* We muſt take our *Meaſures* accordingly. And if they *Snarle* now, they will *Bite* e're long.

Scotland.

They *Threaten* us, p. 11. with *Scotland*. (**Legion** is Muſtering up his *Forces*) That if there be any Infringement of their *Toleration* here, *It will quite Alienate the* Scots *from Us*; *It will make them believe they have been Abus'd and Laugh'd at*. How ſo! Did the *Church* of *England* think themſelves *Abus'd* and *Laugh'd* at, when *Epiſcopacy* was *Aboliſh'd* in *Scotland*, and the *Preſbyterian* Government not only *Tolerated*, but *Eſtabliſh'd by Act of Parliament* for the *National* Conſtitution? When the *Epiſcopal Clergy* there, were Refus'd not only *Toleration*, but *Protection*, and Expos'd to the Fury of the *Preſbyterian Mob?* When *Epiſcopacy* was Declared an *Inſupportable Grievance*, and our *Liturgy* call'd the *Maſs* in *Engliſh*, and Exploded as *Superſtition* and *Idolatry?* Nay more, when they Pray'd Publickly in their *Pulpits* for the *Reformation* of *England* to their *Model?* Yet did the *Church* of *England* all this while take any Notice, or ſo much as Interpoſe for Ruin'd *Epiſcopacy* in *Scotland?* Did they *Clamour*, as this *Faction* now does, and ſay, That they were *Abus'd* and *Laugh'd* at, for what was done in *Scotland*, Becauſe the Epiſcopal Party were *Perſecuted* there? We ſee here the Different *Spirit* of theſe *Parties*.

Did the Church of *England* upbraid the then K. *William* with the *Breach* of his *Word* in his *Declaration* to *Scotland*, Ann. 1688, wherein he Promis'd to Preſerve their *Government* in *Church* as well as *State*, as it was then Eſtabliſh'd? As the Faction now does to the preſent *Queen* (tho' they have no ſuch Pretence) Ay and Threaten Her too to purpoſe, p. 11.

ſay

ſay they, *As the bringing about this Deſign (viz.* of Touching upon the *Toleration) wou'd weaken the Two Nations, by Dividing them among themſelves, and from one another, it wou'd leſſen the Queen's Reputation at home, and Her Credit abroad. For after She had broken Her Word with her Subjects, in a Caſe of the higheſt Importance, how cou'd any of the* Allies *rely upon it, when She gives it to them only on the behalf of Her Subjects?*

Now ſuppoſe the *Parliament* ſhould not only *Limit*, but quite *take away* the *Toleration*, What *Breach* of *Word* wou'd this be in the *Queen?* How theſe Men ſtrain to throw *Reproaches* at Her!

The *Emperor*, &c. Next they Threaten Her with Her *Allies*. Is it the Emperour they mean, and Her *Popiſh Allies?* Will theſe be concern'd for the *Faction* being kept in order here? Indeed I believe they would. They are the Beſt *Tool* that *Popery* has to work with in theſe Kingdoms. They were firſt ſent hither by the *Papiſts*, and ever ſince propagated by them, on purpoſe to Divide and Diſtract the *Church* of *England*, their only Subſtantial *Enemy*. The *Inſtances* are Many, and *Proofs* Undeniable of their *Emiſſaries*, as *Heath*, *Cummin*, &c. in Q. *Elizabeth*'s time, (ſee *Foxes and Firebrands*) who firſt begun to Vilify our *Liturgy*, and ſet up the *Extempore way* in Oppoſition to it; and after, eſpecially in the *Rebellion* of *Forty One* (their Full Harveſt) there came over Swarms of them, and Broach'd the various *Sects* amongſt us, and Preach'd in their *Meetings*. They ſent their *Holy League* into *Scotland*, in the Year 1638, whence it came out, in a New Edition, Entituled, *The Solemn League and Covenant*, which is in the very Words of the other, altering only the Circumſtances of Time, Place, and Perſons. And it is the Receiv'd *Maxim* of the *Politicks* at *Rome*, That the firſt ſtep to be made towards Deſtroying the *Church* of *England*, is giving Toleration to the Diſſenters; and we now ſee, That it has been Practis'd by as many as had that Deſign. Therefore it is probable, that the Reſtraining of the Diſſenters here would not be very Grateful to the Emperor and other Popiſh *Allies*. But then, for the ſame Reaſon, it would vex *France* and *Spain*. *Utrum horum* ——

Holland. Well but here is *Holland* behind, one of our *Allies:* And it would diſoblige them.

What would? To grant the ſame *Toleration* here that is allowed there? *Viz.* That none who keep to any other *Communion* of *Religion* than that Eſtabliſh'd by the *States*, ſhall be Capable of any Office or Publick Employment in the *State*. They could not be offended with Us for what they do themſelves. And they well know the *Reaſon* and *Neceſſity* of it. That it is this which keeps their *Government* Entire and Secure. If all the Various *Sects* there Tolerated, were let in to Compoſe their *Aſſembly* of *States*, they would ſoon find themſelves what we are,

a *Nation divided*; and if that be not Remedied (by our *Saviour*'s Rule) not to last long. But of this more by and by.

Did the *Church* of *England* in the *Last Reign* and *Miniſtry*, *threaten* the *Government* with what they had in Proſpect when the next *Succeſſor* ſhould come to the *Crown*? Perhaps that would have been Improv'd as if they had known more than they ought of the Nearneſs of the *Change*. But the *Whigs* are *Bolder*. They give yet the ſtrongeſt Reaſon of all to frighten the *Parliament* from medling with their *Toleration*, juſt after what is above quoted, p. 11. in theſe Words. 'Beſides, if they ſhould 'effect this Deſign, they muſt Reſolve either to maintain Perſecution, 'or to let it fall again: If they Reſolve to let it fall again, why, they 'will provoke their Enemies to no Purpoſe, and render themſelves Ri-'diculous. If they reſolve to carry it on, they muſt at the ſame time 'determine to break through the Act of Settlement; becauſe they know 'very well that if the Houſe of *Hannover* ſhould come, they would In-'fallibly deliver the Nation from ſo Grievous a Burthen. *Hannover.*

Note, 1. Here they declare themſelves *Enemies* to the *Government*, at leaſt, if they are *Perſecuted*, that is, not *Tolerated* to the Full. A good *Chriſtian* Principle! And of *Security* to the *Government*.

2. They give lawful Warning, That if the *Parliament* begin with them, they muſt make thorow work, elſe they will but *Provoke their Enemies, and render themſelves Ridiculous.*

3. They give us to underſtand, That they keep good *Correſpondence* with the Houſe of *Hannover*; and know their Mind, as they word it, *Infallibly*. Their *Trafficking* at that *Court* is not Unknown, and what *Agents* they have ſent thither. But their *Boaſting* of it in *Print*, and *Daring* the *Parliament* with it, Argues that they think themſelves *Secure*, and paſt all *Diſappointment*.

If the *Church* of *England* had let ſuch Words fall in the former *Reign*, they might have met with a *Diſappointment!*

But theſe Men dare do any thing!

V. Of Perſecution.

I would now ſpeak a few Words with them, upon what they call *Perſecution*.

Firſt, It ſeems they were Reſolv'd to have up this *Cry*, meerly to *Blacken* the *Government*; and to Sound the *Allarm* to their *Party*. For there was not the leaſt *Shadow* or *Appearance* of any thing like it, when this was blown about in many *Pamphlets*, and in their *Converſation*. It was before the late *Addreſs* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, if their *Guilty Conſcience* can take any *Umbrage* from that, as meant againſt them. The *Queen* had not infring'd their *Toleration* in any one Tittle; on the contrary,

trary, She receiv'd their *Addreſſes*, and Return'd *Gracious Anſwers*, of which they Boaſted; the very *Quakers* had their *Addreſs*, with *Her Majeſty's moſt Gracious Anſwer*, Printed, and Cry'd by the *Hawkers* about the Streets And as to the *Preſbyterians* in *Scotland*, Her Majeſty has even *exceeded* in Her *Royal Favours* to them, beyond what ſhe was obliged to by *Law*, or any other Conſideration, beſides Her *Reſolution* to *Fulfil*, even to *Nicety*, not only what She had *Promiſed*, but what might any wiſe be expected from Her.

Where then was the Ground of this *Cry* of *Perſecution* a Coming? There was none other but this, That Her *Majeſty* in Her *Speech* to the *Parliament*, had Declar'd her ſelf to be ſincerely in Her *Principles* of the Church of *England*, wherein She had been Educated. And they *Believ'd* Her. This, This was enough! There need no more be ſaid! They care not for *Toleration*, if they have no *Handle*, no *Hopes* of *Undermining* and *Deſtroying* the Church, if thoſe in the *Government* will not *Aid* and *Aſſiſt* them *covertly* to *Sap* Her *Foundations*, till they ſee her one Day (and they have it in View) *Tumble* down at once, and themſelves put in her Place. Nothing ſhort of this will content them. *Probatum eſt.* Let them give any other Reaſon if they can, for all this *Out-Cry* that they have rais'd about *Perſecution*, to *Spirit* up their *Legion*. They who *Cry* before they are *Hurt* ———

But *Secondly*, Let us conſider a little of their Great *Pretence* of *Tender Conſciences*, and *Perſecution* for *Conſcience-ſake*, with which they Catch the *Populace*. I ſhould be as far as any Man from *Diſtreſſing a Tender Conſcience*, tho' Erroneous. Nor would I be *over-ſcrupulous* to *ſuſpect* thoſe who did pretend it; for we cannot ſee the Heart, and I would rather Err on the Right Hand, Therefore it is eaſie to *Deceive* Men *Once*; but if they do it *Twice*, it is our Fault.

Now when we have ſeen Men upon this Pretence, from *Toleration* riſe to *Seize* the *Power* that Protected them: And then *Tyranize* and give no *Toleration* to thoſe, who had before given it to them; We have all the Reaſon in the World to ſuſpect them, when they ſet up the ſame *Pretences* another time.

But even then, ſhall we *Perſecute* them, and Reward them as they have Served us, and give all Preſumptions that they Dare, of their Readineſs to do it again, as ſoon as in their Power? No, not even in that Caſe would I Perſecute them, (tho' they could not juſtly complain if I did) but rather return *Good* for *Evil*.

But then all the World would blame that *Government*, and not Pity their *Fall*, who would ſuffer it to be in their Power, to ſerve them the ſame Trick over again.

The ſmalleſt Puniſhment could be Inflicted upon them for their *Treachery*, and former *Rebellion*, would be to be *Diſ-arm'd*, and not truſted in

in any *Office* or *Poſt* of the *Government*, whereby they might be Enabled to *Rebel* again. Which indeed is not ſo much a *Puniſhment* as a *Kindneſs* to them, to keep them from *Miſchief*, like taking a *Sword* from a *Mad-Man*, or a *Knife* from a *Child*, who cuts his *Fingers* with it.

It is the *Indiſpenſible Duty* of every *Government* to ſecure their *Subjects*, by all Lawful Means, from the *Danger* of theſe, and, as much as is in their Power, to diſable ſuch from the *Capacity* of Diſturbing the *Government*, and filling the Nation with *Blood* and *Deſtruction*. Whoſe *Blood* will be Requir'd by *God* at the Hands of thoſe *Governours*, who by their *Negligence*, and want of due *Care*, ſuffer it to be *Spilt*.

VI. Of *Excluding* from the *Legiſlature*.

But above all things, theſe Men are to be kept out of any Share in the *Legiſlature*. Neither to Sit in *Parliament* themſelves, nor to have any *Voice* in the *Election* of *Parliament-Men*. For by this, they are enabled at all times to Corrupt the very *Fountain*. Every *New Parliament*, the whole *Nation* is in a ſort of a *Civil War* by the *Conteſt* and *Struggle* of theſe Men at Elections, to get in *Creatures* of their own. And they ſometimes get in ſo many, as *Fight* it *Inch by Inch*, in the *Houſe of Commons*. And when once they come to gain a *Majority* (and they have not been far from it, *within our Memory*) then is the *Church* and *Government* Diſſolv'd, and *They* muſt be *Trump*. And if they *Get* it, they will not *Loſe* it. For they will *Exclude* thoſe who will not *Exclude* them, They have a *Preſident* in *Forty One* of *Secluding Members* and *Purging the Houſe*. Themſelves made it, and they know how to Repeat it, they are not Guilty of ſlipping an *Opportunity* that may never come again.

In ſhort, there muſt either be an Eternal *Struggle* betwixt theſe *Two* Contending *Parties*: And that is not *Peace*; or one of them muſt (there is one of them will) *Exclude* the other from the *Legiſlature*, when they can.

Then, and not till then, the Diſſenters will be as *Peaceable* with us, as they are in *Holland*, where they complain not of *Perſecution*. They think they are very well dealt with, to have a free *Toleration* for their *Religion*, tho' they are totally *excluded* from the *Legiſlature*, or bearing any Publick *Office* in the *Government*.

The *Royal* and *Epiſcopal Party*, during the *Uſurpation* of *Forty One*, would have been glad of ſuch a Compoſition; and in *Scotland* ſince that time, when the *Preſbyterians* bore the Sway who never would allow of any ſuch *Toleration*.

Whoever out of pure Conſcience cannot comply with the *Church* and *Worſhip* that is Eſtabliſhed in any *Nation*, ought to be very thankful for a *Toleration* to Serve *God* in their own way, and not to think it any *Grievance* that they are not Entruſted with the *Legiſlature*, or *Govern-*

ment, it is unreasonable to expect it. And it is not allowed in any *Nation* of the Earth, that I have heard of, except with Us.

How Ridiculous is it to pretend a Scruple of *Conscience*, because they will not make me *Lord Mayor*, or *Parliament-Man*, or let me *Vote* at Elections!

Of *Birth-Right.* But then they say, That this is Excluding them from their *Birth-Right.* Why should they be debarr'd from Serving their Country, who are as *Capable* as other Men?

Ans. They are not so *Capable*, because not so fit to be *Trusted*, as being of a *Communion*, and consequently of an *Interest* quite Opposite to that of the *Government Establish'd.*

2. They see this not only to be the *Rule* of all the World, but that even in *England*, the *Papists* and others are Excluded, who have *Birth-Rights* to Plead as well as other *Dissenters.* And there is at present much greater Danger to the *Government* from the other *Dissenters* than from the *Papists.* And moreover, We must say it (let *Whigs* and *Dissenters* be never so *Angry*) That, since the *Reformation*, *England* has suffered more by them than by the *Papists*; Whose *two* Popish *Reigns* shed not the Hundred Part of the *Blood*, nor destroy'd *Liberty* and *Property* in any Proportion to what the other Dissenters did in *Forty One*; There being at this Day hardly a Family in the Kingdom, which has not had *Father*, *Mother*, *Son*, or *Near Relation*, *Destroy'd*, *Plunder'd*, *Imprison'd*, *Banish'd*, and *Undone* in that Cursed *Rebellion*; Whose *Scars* Sixty Years have not worn out.

3. This *Pretence* of *Birth-right* goes upon that *Whig-Principle* (strenuously Asserted in this *Pamphlet*) That all Men are Born *Free*, as *Job* says, *Like a wild Asses Colt*; and Consequently cannot be obliged but by their own *Consent*; with which all *Laws* are suppos'd to be Tyranny, and the Government is against our Natural *Freedom*, and *Birth-right*, as not being *Founded* upon our *Consent.*

But if being *Born* under *Laws*, and a Government whose *Legislature* has an *Absolute Despotick*, and *Unaccountable Power* over our very *Lives* as well as our *Estates*, without staying to Ask our *Consent*, if this is to be *Free-born*, then all the World are so, and ever have been so since *Adam*: Otherwise, not one, unless a *King* be Born after his Father is Dead.

If our Fathers can Preclude our Birth-right, and tye us up by their *Acts*, then is no Man *Free*, but *Concluded* by that *Government* which was *Established* before he was *Born.*

If our *Fathers* cannot so Tye us, but that every Man is still *Free-Born*, then is it impossible to Found any Government upon the *Election* of the *People*, because there are every day Men *New-born*, and every day, coming to that *Age* (whatever that *Age* is, or whoever has Power to determine

determine it) wherein their *Consent* ought to be *Asked*, and their *Dissent* Allow'd, if they like not the *Government* which they find *Establish'd*; and so they are Free from it, and it has no *Authority* over them; And if the *Government* pretends, in any thing to *Command* them, They have a Natural Right to Rise up in Arms against it, as an Usurpation upon the *Rights* of the *People*, and the *Birth-right* of every *Man*.

These are *Wild* and *Extravagant* Notions, set up either by Men that cannot *Think*, or by those that have *Designs*. What *Birth-right*, what *Freedom*, what *Liberty* or *Property* has a Man, but what is given to him by the *Laws* of the *Land*; and by the *same* may be taken away?

Therefore there is no Breach of *Birth-right*, if the *Dissenters* are *Excluded* from their having any Part in the *Legislature*. At least, no more than in others being *Excluded*, as has been said before.

I have this further to add upon this *Point*, That there is no other Way to Secure the *Government*, and to settle Peace in the *Nation*, at least to Preserve it to Posterity. For while the *Dissenters* have their *Votes* in the Electon of *Members* to serve in *Parliament*, or can sit there Themselves, they will ever be Struggling, and sometime or other they may gain the Ascendant; and as said before, gaining it but Once, is enough for them; they will not lose the Opportunity to perpetuate it: We see now plainly, they tell us, That they have it in *View*, and that very *soon*.

And then, if *Laws* should now be made to *exclude* them from *Offices* or *Employments*, or whatever else; yet whilst they Sit in *Parliament*, and if they have the *Benign Influence* of a *Rising Sun*, they are in a *Capacity*, and in a *Fair way* to *Reverse* and *Retort* them all: Then let them be thrown into the Den of *Lions*, who sent *Daniel* thither!

The *English* in *Ireland* could never settle their *Government*, or have *Peace* and *Quietness*, till they got those *Irish* who would not Comply with the *Communion* of the *Church Establish'd*, expell'd out of the *Parliament*; Excluding them from other things wou'd not do.

If any think to tie up the *Dissenters* here with *Oaths* and *Tests*, they will soon be Convinc'd by the *Sacramental Test*, these Men who pretended *Tenderness* of *Conscience* more than any, could comply *Occasionally* with what they thought *Idolatry* (or they Ly'd) to get themselves into *Power*; and their Chief Preachers have, in Print, Justified the *Practice*.

Therefore there is no way but to *Exclude* All who go to any other *Communion* than that *Established* in the *Nation*. As it is in all the *World*, and more than that, in *Holland*, whence the *Whigs* and *Fanaticks* draw most of their *Precedents*.

And the *Exclusion* ought to be not only from *Offices* and *Employments* in the *Government*, but Chiefly to give them no *Access* to the *Legislature*, either *Directly* or *Indirectly*, either by having any *Share* in it Themselves, or *Voting* for those that have.

Then our Elections will be *Peaceable*, and our Parliaments will be *Easie*, and *Unanimous*, and never till *Then*.

And here is no *pretence* at all to call this Perſecution, or any *Infringement* upon their *Birth-right*.

This is ſupported by the Concurrent *ſenſe* and *practice* of all *Ages* and *Nations*, and of the *Fanaticks* themſelves, whenever they had the *Government*; and therefore they can in no Reaſon *Complain*.

It is a *Neceſſary* and a *Moderate* CAUTION which all *Governments* ever have obſerv'd, for their own *Preſervation*, and the *Safety* of their *Subject*; and never *Grumbled* at, I believe, by any People in the World, but our *Diſſenters*.

Did the *Primitive Chriſtians* in their *Apologies* to the *Roman Emperors*, complain of their not being admitted into the *Senate*, or Intruſted with the *Offices* of the *Government*, notwithſtanding of their *Great Numbers*, and *Un-queſtion'd Abilities* for thoſe *Employments*? And they had *Loyalty* too to Plead, That they never had *Rebell'd*, or Cauſed *Violent* and *Bloody Revolutions* of *State*.

Did they ſet up their *Birth-Right*, and ſuch *Childiſh* Pretences? Even when they were able to have Aſſerted it by Arms. No, But when their *Kings* were pleas'd to Employ them, in their *Armies*, or *Civil Affairs*, they Serv'd them faithfully, tho' *Heathens*, *Idolators*, and *Perſecutors*; But put in no *Claim* of *Right* to any ſuch *Employments*, or thought themſelves *Injur'd* when they were not ſo *Employ'd*. No, They were neither *Whigs* nor *Fanaticks*.

VII. A fair *Teſt* propos'd to the *Diſſenters*.

Bot now, tho' I before ſpoke againſt *Impoſing* of *Teſts* upon the *Diſſenters*; yet I wou'd *Recommend* a *Voluntary One* to them, and, however they may take it, I think a *Friendly One*, if they are *Honeſt*, and have no *evil Intention*.

If they are, in earneſt, Afraid of their *Toleration*, as they Pretend; they know the *Ground* of their *Danger*, and it is in their own Power to Remove it. If the *Government* be Jealous that they intend to *Screw* themſelves into the *Power*, and to bring about ſuch another *Revolution* as *Forty One*: And if they *Truly* and *Honeſtly* do intend no ſuch thing, then let them, of their own Accord, and without being *Forc'd* to it.

1. Deſire to be *Remov'd* from any *Share* in the *Legiſlature*, neither to Sit in *Parliament*, nor to *Vote* in the Elections of *Parliament Men*. Theſe *Offices* have *(fairly)* no *Emoluments*, but *Trouble* and *Charge* in them.

2. To be Remov'd from all *Offices* of *Truſt* in the *Government*. Whereby they will *Obviate* any *Jealouſy* may be Conceived againſt them of *Evil Deſigns*, &c.

3. The

3. To *Renounce* the *Principles* of *Forty One*, in what *Manner* and *Words* the *Government* ſhall think fit to Direct: Eſpecially the Doctrines of *King-Killing*, and *Depoſing* of *Kings*.

4. That this may the better be believ'd, that they wou'd put down their *Calves-Head Clubs*, in which they *Feaſt* every 30*th* of *January*, and have *Lewd Songs*, which they *Prophanely* call *Anthems*, New ones Compos'd every *Tear*, in *Ridicule* of the *King's Martyrdom*, and in Juſtification of thoſe *Principles*, and *Praiſe* of thoſe *Patriots* by whom it was Perpetrated! I have ſeen ſome of theſe their Horrid *Anthems*, brought from ſome of their *Calves Head Feaſts*, and others are ſince *Printed*, with the *Hiſtory* of them.

5. That they would Call in and Cenſure by ſome *Publick Act* of theirs, to be known to the World, thoſe *Books* lately Writ by ſome of their Preachers (*How* ever *Eminent* among them) in Defence of what they call *Occaſional Communion*, That is, To Joyn in our *Worſhip*, and Receive the *Holy Sacrament* according to all the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* of the *Church* of *England*, meerly to *Qualify* themſelves for Places of Power and Advantage; when, at the ſame time, they give theſe *Rites* and *Ceremonies* of the *Church*, as the *Cauſe* of their *Separation*, for that their *Conſciences* are ſo Tender, they cannot Comply with them; and many of their *Books* are *extant*, which make *Kneeling* at the *Sacrament* to be Downright *Idolatry*; and call our *Common-Prayer-Book*, the *Maſs* in *Engliſh*: Yet juſtifie the Complying with this, as oft as the *Law* requires it, for a Good Place, or to get any of their Party into Power.

This gives Men ſuch an *Idea* of their Probity and Honeſty, as not to Truſt any thing that they *Say* or *Swear*: And renders all their Pretences to Tenderneſs of Conſcience, a meer *Jeſt*; And ſhews it to be *Faction*, and not *Religion* which they are Hunting after.

Now were it not better for them, and is it not *Friendly* Advice, rather to have theſe *Books* for *Occaſional Communion* call'd in and *Cenſur'd* by *Themſelves*, than by the *Parliament*, and, perhaps, *Burnt* by the Hands of the *Common Hang-Man*? But the *Choice* is left to Themſelves.

If theſe few *Advices* were Comply'd with, tho' but *Occaſionally*, for *Once* (and they are not worſe than *Idolatry*) then the *Government* being Eas'd of *Apprehenſions* from that *Party*, as to *Diſturbance*, and *Evil Deſigns* in *Temporals*, would leſs Grudge them a *Toleration*, as to what was purely *Spiritual*. But if they ſhew, That they cannot have the *One* without the *Other*, it will be a ſhrewd *Temptation*, and put the *Government* even upon a *Neceſſity* of Taking *Both* from them; becauſe it cannot otherwiſe be *Secure*.

If they ſhou'd Comply with theſe *Advices*, they'd be *Better* and *Wiſer* Men than, I confeſs, I think them. They wou'd Certainly do it, if nothing *Troubl'd* them but the *Tenderneſs* of their *Conſcience*.

But

But they have other *Designs*. And their *Strength* lies in their *Legion*, for *they are Many*. With this they think to *frighten* the *Government*, as before shew'd in the *Pamphlet* we have Examin'd, and they tell us, That they will *set the Three Nations at Variance, and Embroil the World*, if we Touch their *Toleration*, Or, whether we do or not. For it has not been *Touch'd*, But they see a *Church* of *England-Queen*, and a *Church of England-Parliament*, (the *People* having been left to their own *Free Elections*) And this they cannot Endure! And *Threaten* us with *Embroilments!* But who shall *Make* them? None but *Themselves*. That is Plain. They can Name none other. Do they think that the *Church of England* will make *Embroilments*, because they are *Pleas'd*, and the *Government* on their Side? We know then who they mean that are to *Embroil*. And they think, That this will *Terrify*.

But we hope they have *Wiser* Men to Deal with.

The *Elections* of this present *Parliament*, without *Court-Managements*, shew Plainly that the *Majority* of the *People* are for the *Church* of *England*, as well as the most *Considerable* for *Honour* and *Estates*. There is no *Clearer*, nor so *Sure* a way to know the *Inclination* of the *People*.

And the like appears most Remarkably in the *Election* now made in *Scotland* (with which Country, *Legion* wou'd now *Threaten* us) the FIRST *Election* they have had since the *Revolution*. And now we see the Reason plain, why the *Faction* never durst venture it in all the last *Reign*.

VIII. The *Strength* of this *Samson* Discover'd.

The *Faction* have no *Strength* to make any *Disturbance*, except one *Long-worm Policy* of theirs, with which they wrought out all their *Designs* in *Forty One*, which is, To make the *Government* afraid of them, to *Boast* of their *Numbers* and *Threaten* High.

If this takes, they have Gain'd their *Point*.

Then nothing must be *Refus'd* to them! Then *Evil-Councellors* must be *Remov'd*; and every *Prerogative* of the *Crown*, by *Piece-meal*, as they *Plum'd* K. *Charles* I.

Then they will Usurp the Name of the *People* to themselves. And whatever is *Refus'd* to *Them*, is *Refus'd* to the *People!* The *Rights* of the *People* are set up in Opposition to the *Crown!* And then it is Easie to see, how the Matter will go! And, by these Means, (if suffer'd to go on) the *People* will come Really to be on their Side, as they did in *Forty One*, and think it is *Their Rights*, that are Contended for. Then the *King* is the *Publick Enemy* of the *People!* And no *Power* must be *Intrusted* in his Hands, without the *Inspection* of those *Patrons* of the *People!* Whomsoever they *Blacken*, are *Black*, are *Traytors* to the *People!* And, in their Names, they will Demand their *Heads*! And they are *Traytors* who *Refuse* them, who *Speak* in their *Defence*, or have any *Conversation* with those *Accus'd* by the *People*!

Thus

Thus the *King*'s Friends are *Diſheartn'd*, *Frighted*, *Bully'd*, None dare ſtand by him, or Adviſe him, for that is the moſt Capital Offence! Such are immediately *Enemies* to the *People*, are for ſetting up *Arbitrary Government* and *Popery*.

Then the *Faction* are ſure never to be *Contented*, tho' All they Aſk be *Granted* them. It was either too *Soon*, or too *Late*, or there was ſomething in the *Manner* had an Evil *Aſpect*, as *Encroaching* on the *Liberties* of the *People*! And *That* is Ground to Aſk *Something elſe*, for their further *Security*! And ſo *in Infinitum*, till they have got the whole *Government* into their Hands. And then All that have any *Pretence* of *Right* muſt be Deſtroy'd, not only the *King*, but the whole *Royal Family* that they can Reach, for this will then be Neceſſary for the Support of their *Government*! And all that have been Faithful to the *King* muſt no more be *Truſted*, their *Eſtates* muſt be *Sequeſtred*, their *Perſons* put under *Bail* for their *Good Behaviour*, or elſe *Impriſoned*; and the moſt *Active*, or whom they moſt *Suſpect*, muſt to *Death*.

This is a ſhort *Hiſtory* of *Forty One*. And ſhews by what Methods the *Faction*, at firſt *Inconſiderable*, came to *Over-Run* All. And it was only by their being at firſt, Thought more *Conſiderable* than they were, and the *Government* being *Afraid* of them.

But if they were now as *Conſiderable* as they would make themſelves; The *Government* is then in the greater *Danger*, and have the more Reaſon to *Begin* with them, to take Power out of their Hands in Time, before they Grow too Strong for it. Since it is *Viſible*, That there is no *Compounding*. That they muſt have *All* or *None*. That the more is *Granted* them, is but giving *paſſage* to the *Water*, to *Flow* in more *Violently*.

King *Char.* I. is to be *pity'd*, and in ſome manner *excus'd*, becauſe he was the *Firſt* that Try'd the *Experiment*, How far *Yielding* and *Condeſcention* would do with this *Faction*. And indeed, it would ſeem impoſſible (but to thoſe who have Try'd it) That there could be Men upon the Face of the Earth, whom all the *Charms* of *Vertue* and *Goodneſs*, which *Shin'd* in that *Prince*, and *Granting* to them All that they could *Deſire*, ſhould render ſtill more *Unreaſonable*, more *Ungrateful*. And more and more *Impoſing*, till they *deſpoiled* him of every thing, and at laſt of of his *Life*. Nor are they ſatisfied with his *Blood*, which they *Quaff* over again *Yearly* in their *Calves-Head-Feaſts*, and initiate their Children in theſe *Bloody Myſteries*, and Hatred of *Monarchy* and *Epiſcopacy*.

The *Son* of this Bleſſed *Martyr*, K. *Char.* 2. Inheriting his *Father*'s CLEMENCY, went on to Try over again the ſame *Experiment* with the ſame *Wicked Faction*, He gave them an *Indemnity* for all they had done againſt his *Father* and *Himſelf*: Yet kept a *Steady*, tho' not *Severe* Hand of *Government* over them, for about Twelve Years, in which time they *dwindled* and were *dwindling* away even to nothing; a little more *Time* had Perfected the Cure.

When

When, Lo, the *King* in the Year 1672, gave them a Full and Free *Toleration* for their *Religion*. Immediately they *Reviv'd*, gain'd *Strength*, and their Numbers Encreas'd *Prodigiously*. And they, as ſoon, fell into their old *Road* of Forgetting all *Benefits*, of *Calumniating* and *Aſperſing* their *Benefactor*, and *Plotting* againſt him (for now they had a *View* of Getting the Power again into their Hands) till they *Pinn'd* him up to the *Wall*, at the *Oxford Parliament*, and he Narrowly *Eſcap'd* with his *Life*: As he did, by a Great *Providence* from their *Rye-Houſe* **Aſſaſſination**: Which *every one* of thoſe *Few* that *Suffer'd* for it, did *Confeſs* at their *Death*; and yet the *Faction* to this Day do *Deny* it, and call it a *Court*, and a *Sham-Plot* (as the *Papiſts* do the *Gun-powder-Treaſon*) for it is one *Grace* of theſe *Saints*, to *outface* the *Sun*, never to be out of *Countenance*, and to *Lye* ſtill on, tho' they be never ſo oft *Detected*, even to Demonſtration! They will get ſome ſtill to Believe them. It is the Principle of that Party to Believe *Nothing* that makes againſt them, and every thing that makes for them. But to go on:

The King being forc'd to Do, or Die, ſet himſelf to the Curbing of the *Faction*, after the *Diſſolution* of the *Oxford Parliament*: And notwithſtanding they thought their *Power* and *Numbers* ſo *Formidable*, he in the few Years he Liv'd afterwards, had them perfectly under his Feet; without any Force of *Arms*, or any *Diſturbance*, only by the *Awe* of his *Authority*, and keeping the *Laws* in their due *Channel* and *Vigour*.

For, as ſaid before, the *Faction* have no *Strength* but what they Receive from the *Connivance* of the Government, and the *Opinion* that they are too Hard for it, and force it to be *Afraid* of them. Without this, they dare not look *Authority* in the Face, and are eaſily *Subdued* if they ſhould.

After the *Death* of this *King*, his Unfortunate Brother K. *James* the *Second* let the *Faction* looſe again, by a New *Toleration*: For which they *Hoſanna'd* him, even to *Blaſphemy*, as may be ſeen in their Printed *Addreſſes*; telling him, That he had *Reſtor'd God to his Empire*, meaning over *Conſcience*; That His *Majeſty had an Empire in their Hearts, divided with God!* They wiſh'd there were Windows in their *Breaſts*, that he might ſee their *Loyalty*, the *Truth*, and *Sincerity* of that *Fidelity* and *Gratitude*, *&c.* which they then *Vow'd* to him.

And as a farther *Proof* of this, and to ſhew their *Breeding*, there was a *General Silence* obſerv'd in their *Meetings*, and in their *Writings* during his Reign, of ſaying any thing againſt *Popery*: While the *Church* of *England* ſtood in the Gap, and were Blam'd and Accus'd by ſome of them for it, who, by theſe means made their Court.

For they never Preach againſt *Popery* in *Spain*, or any Place where it *prevails*; but when it is Down, then they are Unmerciful! Or where they have any Body to Blacken with it, in order to the Carrying on of their *Deſigns!* Thus

Thus the *Three Nations* were *deafned* with their *Clamours* of *Popery* againſt K. *Charles* the Firſt who always was a True *Son* of the *Church* of *England*, and Died a *Martyr* for Her: But they ſaw no *Danger* of *Popery* in the *Reign* of K. *James* the Second—— till he was *Gone!*

And then they Open'd and Purſu'd Him to the *Grave*, and After, even to this Day.

And their Chief Objection againſt him (which was the Chief indeed, but it came ſtrangely from them) was that very *Toleration* he had granted to them! And that for which they had before Cried him up to the *Heavens*, they now for the ſelf-ſame thing Blacken him even unto *Hell*, as being a Breach of the *Laws*, and his *Coronation-Oath*, intended to introduce *Arbitrary Government* and *Popery*: For which laſt, it was the propereſt *Method* indeed that could be taken.

This ſhews the *Good Nature*, the *Truth* and the *Sincerity* of theſe Men, how far they are to be *Truſted* or *Won* by *Obligations!*

In the next Reign, the *Toleration* granted by King *James*, (and for which the moſt of any thing, he was *Abdicated*) was Enlarg'd, and much more Encourag'd. To which we owe the great Encreaſe of the *Faction* ſince, not only in *Number*, but in *Power*, and *Inſolence*, and were juſt come to have *Out-faced*, and *Over-grown* the *Church*.

The *Abatement* of which *Hopes*, under the preſent *Auſpicious Reign* (tho' without any Infraction upon their *Toleration*) has *Enraged* them, like a *Tyger*, when the *Prey* is pull'd out of his *Mouth*.

Therefore we hear them *Roar!* —— They ſtaid not till the *Government* ſhould begin with them, or give them any the leaſt *Pretence* of Invading their *Toleration*, or any of their *Rights* or *Privileges* whatſoever; nor were they afraid of it. But they knew the *Queen* would not joyn with them, or be made a *Tool* of to deſtroy the *Church*; therefore they were reſolv'd to *begin* with *Her*. She had not been two Days upon the *Throne*, when they began to call her *Papiſt*, or, which is worſe, *Popiſhly Affected*; becauſe they knew She was the Direct *Contrary*, that is, Truly *principled* in the *Doctrine* of the *Church* of *England*, which they call *Popery*, becauſe it is an *Ill Word*, and will ſtir up the *Mob*; as they had Experimented in *Forty One*, againſt her *Royal Grand-father* of Bleſſed Memory: In the ſame Manner they have begun with her; and cry out of *Perſecution* intended, That whatever *Reſtraint* ſhould be put upon them afterwards (for which they ſhould give Cauſe) might paſs as *Perſecution* for *Conſcience*, and to introduce *Popery!* Bleſs us!

Therefore the *Government* need not be Afraid to *Begin* with them; for they have *Begun* with it already. And will go on to *Slander*, to *Calumniate*, to *Alienate* the *Affections* of all they can; till they ſhall be ready for ſomething elſe! Which *God* prevent. And which only can be prevented (in all Human Proſpect) *By diveſting thoſe Men of the Power, who*

 have

have ſhewn us they want not this Will to deſtroy the Church and Government: Who, *Threaten* us with *Foreign* Proſpects of Future *Reigns*; And that all we can do now, is only to Provoke our *Enemies* (as they call themſelves) *and render our ſelves Ridiculous.*

Nay, they have ſhewn, That there is enough done already to Provoke them. For they are Provoked. And ſpare not to ſhew it Therefore if the *Government* do not go on, they will Fulfil the Remainder of this *Prophecy*, which is, *To Render themſelves Ridiculous.*

Theſe *Modern Whigs*, have far *Out-ſtripp'd* their *Fathers* of *Forty One*, (being *Inſtructed* and *Encourag'd* by their *Examples*) who began not ſo Early, nor Bare-Faced; nor with ſuch *Aſſurance.* If they are *Dwarfs* to them in *Wickedneſs* (as our *Moderate Church-Folks* wou'd perſwade us) they ſtand upon the *Giant*'s Shoulders, and ſee Farther; are more Expert, and have a nearer way to their Buſineſs. Nor can we find them at all Deficient in their *Talents* of *Management*, in their *Modeſty*, *Induſtry*, *Pretences*, *Repreſenting* their *Adverſaries*, and *Lying* a *little!* For which I Refer to *The True Picture of a Modern Whig.*

Now let who will perſwade Her *Majeſty*, That theſe *Sons* of thoſe who Slew the *Prophets*, and ſay, *If they had been in their Fathers Time* —— are not (as in the Caſe when this was ſpoken) Exceeding their Fathers, and filling up their Iniquity; And therefore, That She ought to *Truſt* them, and put *Power* into their Hands; That this is the only way to *Molliſy* them, and make them Eaſy. I wou'd beſeech Her *Majeſty*, to lay in the other *Scale*, how this *Method* ſucceeded with Her *Royal Grandfather*, Her *Uncle*, and Her own *Father*, and in ſhort, with all whoſoever *truſted* them ſince they came into the World, either in this, or in any other *Nation:* In any of which if they can ſhew, That they ever came in otherwiſe, or Prevail'd, than by *Rebellion*, and *Overthrow* of the *Government*, they will Oblige the World with a *Diſcovery!* All the Difference we can find, in this Caſe, betwixt their *Principle*, and that of *Mahomet*, is, That the one is for *Propagating* their *Religion* by the Power of the *Sword*, and the other, of the *Symeter.* But both Agree in the *Creſcent*, that like the *Half-Moon*, they will ever be Encreaſing, and uſe what Power they have to the Gaining of More; Thus *Conqueſt* with them is a *Lawful Title.*

This is the True *Engliſh* of their Deſiring *Power*; And this has been the *Fate* of All who ever *Truſted* them with it. And wou'd any Adviſe the *Queen* to Try this *Experiment* over again, who cannot give one *Inſtance* wherever it Succeeded otherwiſe in all the World; eſpecially in thoſe Inſtances beforementioned, which are ſo near to Her *Majeſty.*

Wou'd any Endeavour to make Her Majeſty *Afraid* of them, when that is the only thing can give them the *Power* over Her?

And,

And, besides what has been above said upon this Head, Her *Majesty* has now one Great Advantage more than any of Her *Royal Predecessors*, which is, the Happiness of a True *Church of England Parliament*, who have Promis'd to *Take Care of Her*.

The *Faction* could never Prevail against K. *Charles* I. till they had got so many of their Number into the *House* of *Commons*, as to carry the *Ascendent* there: And then they *Excluded* the Rest. They *Voted out*, first, the *Bishops*, and then all the *Lords*, whom they had, by a *New Oath*, *Sworn* to *Maintain*. The *War* then was betwixt *King* and *Parliament*, they having *Usurp'd* that Name unto themselves; And by that carry'd All before them.

The *Parliament* was against that *Toleration* Granted by K. *Charles* II. *An.* 1672. And *Prevail'd* at last to have it *Recall'd*.

As they were likewise against the *Toleration* Granted by King *James* II. which Occasioned that *Breach* betwixt them.

And they shew now, That they were not well Pleas'd with that Granted by K. *William*, who got it Confirm'd by *Parliament* (which K. *James* had Labour'd in vain) the first since *Forty One*. But the *Faction* then Prevail'd: And it took the whole Force of the *Church Party* to keep themselves from being quite *Over-Run*: And if *Providence* had not *Seasonably* Interpos'd, they had not been Able to *Struggle* much longer.

This shews the *Inclination* of *England*. Which Appears *Visibly* in this *Free-Parliament*.

And while they stand with Her *Majesty*, who can *Hurt* Her? Who can make Her *Afraid*?

Who can give an *Instance*, wherever the *Faction* Prevail'd against *King* and *Parliament*? No, Never. Or ever durst *Attempt* it. They have no way, but by *Screwing* themselves into the *Parliament*. There only, *Now*, they can *Begin* their *Mischief*. And we are not out of *Danger* while they can have Access thither. At least, We can never be in *Peace*, till that *Door* be *Barr'd* against them.

Which has made me Insist so much upon it here. And the rather, because here is no *Pretence* of calling it a *Persecution*, with which they have Begun to *Clamour*. And the same *Restraint* has been put upon others, who have less Deserv'd it. And none can Complain of it, whose Scruple is on the Score of *Conscience*.

If this Point were once Secur'd, neither *Simeon* nor *Levi* could do us any Harm, neither the *Moderate Church Man* nor the *Modern Whig*, could *Betray* or *Supplant*.

It is more than Probable, That we should then *Soon* come to be of one *Communion*, at least, we should be one *People*, as it is in *Holland*, having one *Fix'd* and *Settl'd Government*, without *Struggle* and *Opposition* of *Contending Parties*, who *Strive* for the *Mastery*.

The ſame *Tenderneſs* of *Conſcience* which Allows of *Occaſional Conformity*, could *Comply* with *Conſtant Conformity*; Since they do it now, as oft as the *Law* Requires it for *Places* of *Power* or *Profit*; And therefore it is not to be doubted, but that they will ſtill do it, as often as the *Law* ſhall *Require* it, if there is any thing to be Gotten by it.

IX. The *Reaſon* and *Deſign* of *Writing* this.

It may now be ſaid to me, That my *Foundation* is too *Narrow* for my *Super-Structure*. That the Pamphlet I have Nam'd at the Beginning, is not of that Weight, as to have all that I have ſaid Built upon it. That therefore the *Giving-up* or *Slipping* of that Pamphlet, will *Overthrow* all the Pains I have taken.

Anſ. That *Pamphlet* was but the *Occaſion* whence I took *Riſe*. And my Buſineſs has not been the *Confutation* of that Silly *Pamphlet*, but to ſhew thence the *Spirit*, the *Principles*, and *Deſigns* of the *Faction*; who have Printed it, and do Recommend it.

2. There are a Multitude of other Pamphlets ſpread about the Town of the ſame *Nature* and *Tendency*. And to Anſwer them All, one by one, would be an Endleſs Work; beſides that it would be to no purpoſe, becauſe they All ſpeak the ſame Thing. And to Anſwer *One*, is to Anſwer them *All*. But the *Faction* gives us ſo *Many* of them, to *Infect* the More, and that ſome or other of them, may be in every Body's Hand.

3. They *print* an *Obſervator*, which comes out *Twice* a *Week* here in *London*, wherein their Principles are *Summ'd* up, their Malicious *Inuendo's* againſt the Preſent *Government* and *Miniſtry*; And their Implacable *Hatred* againſt the *Church*, which they Repreſent under the Name of the *Higher Flyers*, as this Pamphlet does of the *Violent Party*, that they may *Batter* Her the more *Effectually* and *Securely*.

This *Obſervator* has drawn in his Horns ſomewhat of *Late*, and ſpeaks more *Covertly*; but not leſs *Dully* or *Maliciouſly*. And whoever will be at the Drudgery to look over theſe *Obſervators*, will find all the *Rage* and *Venom* that *Hell* can Spew out againſt the *Church*, under the Name of *High-Flyers*, *Violent Men*, *&c.* as the *Heathen Perſecutors* Sew'd the *Chriſtians* in *Bear-Skins*, and then ſet the *Dogs* upon them. Thus theſe our *Meek* and *Modeſt* Perſecutors, while they Cry out againſt *Perſecution*, are doing all that is in their Power to *expoſe* all the *True* and *Faithful Sons* of the *Church of England*, to the *Fury* of the *Mob*, and *Deteſtation* of *Mankind*; Repreſenting them as *Dogs*, *Wolves*, *Serpents*, very *Devils!* Not to be *Tolerated*, but *Devoured* without *Mercy!*

Now what can be Done, or what has been left Undone by the *Faction*, to *Poyſon* the *Nation*, and *Alienate* the *People* from the *Church* and *Government!* And to Shew, That this is the *Senſe* of their *Party!* They

Ply

Ply us with *Warm Cloaths*, *Swarms* of *Pamphlets*, one *Freſh*, before the other is *cold*, And, that None may Eſcape, with *Weekly Obſervators*, All of the ſame *Strain* and *Kidney!* Beſides what we meet with in their *Daily Converſation!*

This is the Exact *Method* with which they *began* in *Forty One.* And of which the *King* took Notice in his *Declaration*, in Anſwer of the Declaration of the two Houſes about the *Militia*, *May 5th* 1642. where he ſpeaks thus,

" That he very well underſtood how much it was below the High and " Royal Dignity wherein God had Placed him, to take Notice of, much " more to Trouble himſelf with Anſwering thoſe many Scandalous, Se- " ditious Pamphlets, and Printed Papers, which were Scatter'd, with ſuch " great Licenſe throughout the Kingdom (notwithſtanding his Majeſty's " earneſt Deſire, ſo often in vain preſs'd for a Reformation) though he " found it Evident, that the Minds of many of his weak Subjects, had " been, and ſtill were Poyſon'd by theſe Means; And that ſo general a " Terror had poſſeſs'd the Minds and Hearts of all Men, That whilſt " the Preſſes Swarm'd with, and every Day Produc'd, New Tracts a- " gainſt the Eſtabliſh'd Government of the Church and State, moſt Men " wanted the Courage, or the Conſcience to Write, or the Opportunity " and Encouragement to Publiſh ſuch Compoſed, Sober Animadverſions, " as might either Preſerve the Minds of his Good Subjects from ſuch " Infections, or Reſtore and Recover them, when they were ſo In- " fected.

This you will find in that Admirable *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, by the Late Earl of *Clarendon*, lately Printed. *Vol.* I. p. 408.

This *Hiſtory* (perhaps the Beſt *Human*, in any Age) ſhews, as in a *Mirror*, moſt *Lively*, the *Complexion*, the very *Heart* and *Soul* of the *Faction*, their *Diſſimulation*, and *Inſolence*, the Manner of their *Management*, how they *Encreaſe* under the leaſt *Favour*, and how Eaſily they are to be *Suppreſs'd*, when no *Way* is given them by the *Government*, and their *Beginnings* not *Neglected*, as *Then*, ſo *Now* to *Poyſon* the *Nation* with their *Seditious Pamphlets*, and *Debauch* Undiſturb'd. This is like *Proclaiming* of *War*, what follows is *Action.*

Fœlix quem faciunt, Aliena pericula Cautum.

Nov. 5.
1702.

FINIS.

A

A Supplement,

On Occaſion of

The New Scotch *Presbyterian Covenant.*

Acheronta Movebo.

Ego te intus & ex cute novi.

SInce the foregoing Sheets went to the Preſs, the following *Aſſociation* of the *Faction* in *Scotland* has come to my Hands, with which I preſent the Reader with two or three Lines of the Letter which Inclos'd it, to ſhew that the ſame is carrying on with Might and Main through all the Party in that Kingdom, and it follows in theſe Words.

THe Provincial Synod of Lothian and Tweddale, conſidering the preſent State and Condition of Chriſt Church both at home and abroad, and the great Affairs now under Deliberation anent the Two Kingdoms of Scotland and England, do judge it their Duty to Excite and Stir up one another, to recommend to all their Presbyteries and Miniſters with in this Synod, to be frequent and fervent in their Prayers to God, that he would now and always manifeſt his Favour to, and mercifully take care of his Reformed Churches and People in all places of the World; and that he would preſerve and bleſs our Gracious Sovereign Queen Ann. Direct her Counſels, and would conduct and guide thoſe who are Conſulting about the Affairs of theſe Nations; and that he would mercifully preſerve and maintain what he hath graciouſly wrought for the People of this Land.

And the Synod appoint for mutual Edification and ſtrengthning one another's hands in the Lord's Work, That each Miniſter and Probationer do Judicially in their Reſpective Presbyteries, profeſs and declare their Reſolution, and engage in the Lord's Strength to defend and maintain, and all the Days of their life, by God's Grace, to perſevere in the Doctrine of this Church, according to our Confeſſion of Faith, and the purity of Diſcipline and Worſhip, and presbyterian Government of this Church, ſo happily eſtabliſhed by law All which we are perſwaded are founded on the Word of God, and we diſown all principles contrary thereto: and that this profeſſion and engagement be Recorded in the reſpective presbytery Books, and ſubſcribed both by Miniſters and probationers

The Synods of Glaſgow and Fife; and as I am informed, all other Synods in this Kingdom have made Acts of the ſame Nature, Nemine Contradicente.

Edin. Nov. 10 1702.

Let

Let me now make ſome few *Obſervations* upon this.

1. This is directly the Old *Solemn League and Covenant*, in a New *Dreſs*; But in *That*, they ſpoke more Dutifully towards King *Charles* I. than in *This* to Queen *Ann*. For *There* they *Swore* to *Maintain* and *Defend His Majeſty's Perſon and Authority*. But then there followed, *In the Preſervation of the True Religion*; by Vertue of which *Limitation* they afterwards Juſtified their taking of *Arms*, and all their Proceedings againſt the *King*: Becauſe (as they ſaid) they *Swore* to the *King*, with a *Limitation*, but to their *Preſbyterian Government*, in Terms *Abſolute*, and without any *Limitation*.

Here they give not to Queen *Ann* ſo much as the *Compliment* of their *Allegiance*: But to the other, of their *Preſbyterian Government*, they *Engage* themſelves without any *Limitation* or *Reſervation* whatſoever, *All the Days of their Life*, as being *Founded on the Word of God*; And if ſo, no doubt, *Un-alterable* by any *Power* upon *Earth*. And they *Diſown all Principles contrary thereto*. Now all Men know, That the *Principles* of the *Preſbyterian Government* are *Republican* in the *State* as well as in the *Church*; And wherever they have Prevail'd, they have Aboliſh'd *Monarchy* as well as *Epiſcopacy*; They cannot ſhew *One* Exception. Which makes good the *Maxim* of the *Wiſe* King *James* I. *No* BISHOP, *No* KING. For both are the ſame *Species* of *Government*, that is, *Monarchy*, the one in the *Church*, and the other in the *State*: And it is utterly *Inconſiſtent*, where the *Church* and the *State* are *In-Corporated*, to be for the *one Sort* of *Government* in the *One*, and the *Oppoſite* in the *Other*.

And therefore, by this their *New Engagement*, as by their *Old League and Covenant*, they are Obliged, to the utmoſt of their Powers, to Extirpate *Monarchy* in the *State*, as well as *Epiſcopacy* in the *Church*.

Nay more, to carry on the ſame *Lord's Work* in *England*, when they can, as they before ſent their *Covenant* hither. For,

2. They go now upon the ſame Grounds, that is, their *Correſpondence* with, and *Direction* from, the *Faction* in *England*; who may come, in time, as they did then, to appear *Openly* in Behalf of their *Good Brethren* in *Scotland*, whom they had before ſet on work.

Tho' it ſeems that *Epiſcopacy* is not the ſame in *England* and in *Scotland*; yet we are ſure that the *Faction* is.

And they have already begun to Eſpouſe their *Dear Brethren* in *Scotland*; And *Threaten* us with them, as in the *Pamphlet* before Conſidered, and ſeveral others; as well as in their Daily *Converſation*.

And they have now an Opportunity, on Pretence of the *Union*, to Flock hither, and Employ their *Emiſſaries*, to Concert *Meaſures*, and Receive the *Neceſſary Orders*: Of which this *Engagement* is the firſt *Proof*.

Thus when the *King* permitted their *Commiſſioners* to come to *London*, to ſettle the Points of the *Pacification* in *Forty One*, they *Adjuſted* their Mat-

ters

ters with the *Heads* of the *Faction* here, and then *Miſchief* began to *Brew*.

This is ſo Literally the *Method* with which they Began *Forty One*; (But now make much more Diſpatch) That I tremble at the Conſequence, if Proper *Remedies*, be not, *in Time*, Apply'd.

3. For Subjects, of their own Heads, without the *Supreme Authority*, to Enter into *Engagements*, *Covenants* and *Aſſociations*, has in all well order'd States, been ever counted a *Rebellion* and *Treaſonable*: Since it do's, *ipſo Facto*, Diſſolve the *Government*, and Tye ſuch *Engagers* and *Covenanters* to other *Terms* and *Conditions*, than the *Law* has Appointed; and conſequently of which the *Law* cannot *Judge*. This ſets them *Above* the *Law*, and puts the *Legiſlative Power* wholly into their Hands. For that *Power* cannot be *Parted*. And He or They who can make *one Law*, may make a *Thouſand*, nay muſt make All our *Laws*, and may *Repeal* them *All*. And to ſhew that this *Engagement* is made as a *Law*, it bears the *Name* and *Authority* of a *Provincial Synod*, which *Appoints* that it be done *Judicially*, and, *in the reſpective Preſbyteries*, for the greater Solemnity, and *Recorded in the reſpective Preſbytery-Books*, as a ſtanding Law to them, and *Subſcribed both by Miniſters and Probationers*. Theſe *Probationers*, are young Men, who are a fitting for the *Miniſtry*, whom they Allow too ſometimes to *Preach*. So that they have order'd the *Tincture* to ſearch to the very *Roots*.

And to *Fix* it for ever, they have *Founded it on the Word of God*; which will take with the *Populace*, and make them think it, as it is here call'd; *The Lord's Work*. And then we know what to Expect from their *Zeal!* As we have ſeen it, more than once, before this time, and from the ſame Hands.

4. This makes Good what is ſaid above in this Paper, That the *Faction* will not ſtay for *Provocations*, but are Reſolv'd to *Begin* firſt, with a *Government* they do not like, in Proſpect of another which they Underſtand better.

For what *Provocations* can the *Faction* alledge in *Scotland?* The *Queen* prevented them in Kindneſs, and promis'd them of her own Accord, and before it was aſk'd of her by any *Deputation* from that Kingdom, to preſerve to them their *Preſbyterian Government*, and all the other *Rights* and *Privileges* which they had obtained in the laſt *Reign*. She ſtuck to their *Rump-Parliament*, which had been *Metamorphoſed* out of a *Huddl'd Convention*, and wou'd not ſuffer it to be Touch'd, tho' it was grown the very *Grievance* of the *Nation*, which appear'd by the *Proteſtation* againſt it of ſo many Noble *Lords* and *Gentlemen*, the firſt for *Quality* and *Eſtates* in the *Kingdom*; But Her Majeſty Expreſs'd her High *Diſpleaſure* againſt them for ſo doing, and ſupported that *Whig-Convention* againſt them; and let it live out all its Days. And when a new *Parliament* was Choſen, wherein the *Inclinations* of the *People* did ſhew themſelves, as the *Faction* well knew they wou'd; whenever they had a *Free Election*, then the *Queen* did

Prorogue

Prorogue them (without ſuffering them once to come together) till *March*, and then to *April* in the next Year; thereby to gratifie the *Faction*, who are not out of Hopes of having it *Diſſolv'd*; or, which they wou'd like better, not ſuffer'd to *Act*, till they ſhould have time enough to *Poyſon* the *Nation* ſufficiently towards a *New Election*, which they have Effectually begun by this their *Engagement*; into which all Perſons will be drawn (as in their former *Covenant*) and they who refuſe, made firſt *Malignants*, and then *Delinquents*; the *Mobb* will be Hunted at them as *Papiſts*, or (which is as bad there) *Prelatiſts*.

The unexampled Favours of the *Queen* to that *Faction* in *Scotland*, has Aſtoniſh'd many here. And her *Perſeverance* therein upon all *Occaſions*, particularly in her Choice of the *Commiſſioners* from that Kingdom for the *Union*, who are moſtly Profeſs'd *Preſbyterians*.

They have carried the *Aſcendent* in every thing ſince Her *Majeſty* came to the *Crown*; even as tho' the *Faction* had Govern'd *Here* too.

Or, as if they had not *Inſulted* and *Villified* the *Princeſs Ann* to the laſt Degree, in all the former *Reign*, and help'd forward many of thoſe *Indignities* then unworthily caſt upon her *Royal Highneſs*, which Her *Majeſty* (come of the *Forgiving Kind*) has not only *Forgotten*, but (*Marvellouſly!*) *Rewarded*;

But *Experience* has made good this Obſervation, *That we are not to fear Evil ſo much from thoſe whom we have Injur'd, as from thoſe who have done Injuries to us.* For it ſhews *Their* Nature; and they cannot *Truſt* another for that *Forgiveneſs* which they find not in their own *Temper*.

Thus all Her *Majeſty's* Goodneſs to theſe Men, has been Return'd; for inſtead of *Gratitude*, they are now more *Mutinous* than Ever. Now they ſee new *Dangers* to the *Reform'd Churches Abroad* as well as at *Home*, with which they *preface* their *Engagement*, to ſtir up the *People* with ſtrange *Amuſements*. But what greater *Danger* are they in now, than in the laſt *War*, under King *William*? Have we more *Popiſh Allies* than he had then? Are we carrying on the ſame Cauſe with the *Pope*, the King of *Spain*, the Duke of *Savoy*, and other *Perſecutors* of the *Proteſtants*, as we were then? Is the *Pope* the *Head* of our *Confederacy* now as he was then? And has the *Queen* Sworn *never to make Peace with* Lewis *the* 14*th, till he has made Reparation to our Holy Father the Pope, for all the Indignities offer'd by him to the Holy See?* Which is the firſt *Article* of thoſe *Sworn* to at the *Hague* in the *Congreſs* of the *Prince's Confederates* held there by themſelves or their *Ambaſſadors* the 4th of *Feb.* 1691. Indeed if the *Queen* had taken ſuch a *Solemn Oath*, never to give over till ſhe had *Reſtor'd* the *POPES Supremacy* in *France*, as King *William* did in 1691, (which was then beat down, and had been from the Year 1682, when the whole *Gallican Church* in *Synod* Aſſembled, made their Memorable *Decrees* againſt it,) the *Faction* wou'd have had *Umbrage* ſufficient to have Raiſed up their *Clamours* to the

Skies, of the Danger of the *Reform'd Churches Abroad*, &c. And this was the greateſt *Victory* obtain'd by K. *William* in that *Ten Years War*; for the *French King* was oblig'd by the Force of that *Confederacy*, to ſubmit himſelf to the *Pope*, and the *Biſhops* and *Clergy* of *France* to write a *Renunciation* of their ſaid *Decrees*. And ſo thoſe *Steps* made there towards a *Reformation* (as far as ever our *Henry* the 8*th*, had gone) were *Defeated*, and *Popery* once more, *Re-Eſtabliſh'd* there to the full.

Yet the Faction ſaw no Danger, no Harm in all this! We heard none of their *Out-crys*, none of their *Engagements* for the *Reform'd Churches* then!

Nor yet, when at the *Treaty* of *Reſwick* the *Proteſtant Churches* in all the *French Conqueſts* then Reſtor'd, were expreſly *Debarr'd* from the *Publick Exerciſe* of their *Religion*, and their *Churches* given to the *Papiſts*. Though the chief Pretence of the *War* was ſaid among us to be for the *Reſtauration* and *Security* of the *Proteſtant Churches* Abroad: And after this *Peace* a more cruel *Perſecution* was ſet up againſt them than before; and in Places where it had not been before, as in the *Palatinate*, where above a *Thouſand* Proteſtant *Churches* were taken from the *Proteſtants*, and given to the *Papiſts*; and thoſe *Princes* pleaded this very *Treaty* of *Reſwick* for their Warrant. And the *French King* boaſted of this in his Letter to the *Arch-Biſhop* of *Paris* upon the Peace, which was Printed here, *That as he had Extirpated Hereſie out of his own Dominions, ſo he had Eſtabliſhed the Catholick Faith in other Countries, with the Conſent of Sovereigns of a different Perſwaſion.*

Yet all this mov'd not the *Faction* here. No not a whit. They ſaid the *King* could not help it, though at the ſame time they Boaſted how he had humbl'd *France*, and forc'd them to a Peace!

In ſhort, they were reſolv'd to be pleas'd with every thing that he did, for they knew *why*, and for the ſame Reaſon to be pleas'd with nothing that this *Queen* does. They *Grudge* even her *Succeſſes* againſt the *Common-Enemy*, that they might *Reproach* her; they cannot conceal it in *Converſation*. Upon the firſt Rumour of he *Taking* of *Cadiz*, How did they *Magnifie* K. *William*, as being all his *Contrivance!* And upon the Diſappointment, how did they *throw* at the *Queen*, and the *Miniſtry?* I ſpeak of nothing but what is generally known.

5. The *Cauſe* of their *Averſion* to the *Queen*, is her being *Educated* in the *Church of England*. and, as they believe, truly *Epiſcopal* in her *Principles*: And therefore, though She let them Enjoy all they have in Poſſeſſion, yet that will not do their Buſineſs, for they have ſomething elſe in View.

But the cauſe of their Inſolence, in making *Engagements*, and ſtirring up the *People* againſt her, in Return for all her *Goodneſs* and *Favours* (very *Extraordinary*) towards them, is no other than thoſe very *Favours* which Encourage them, otherwiſe they would not, they Durſt not have ſo Preſum'd. For,

1*ſt*. It

1*ſt*. It is the *Nature* of the *Beaſt*; they have ever done ſo: *Stroaking* will make ſome Dogs *Bite*. And whether any ever far'd otherwiſe at their Hands, who were not of their Stamp, *they who have try'd them can determine*. But,

2*dly*, They argue, That all comes from her *Fear*, for they cannot think She *Loves* them; they know there is no Reaſon. And having had the Word from the Faction in *England*, they cry, If *Frighting* her will do it, ſhe ſhall have enough of it. Come, we will make *Engagements* and *Aſſociations*, and make them run through the Country; and we will have thoſe about Her Majeſty, ſhall tell her, That the next will be to *Arms*; and then what the Conſequence will be, if, during a War Abroad, Inteſtine *Troubles* ſhould ariſe! Therefore, that theſe Men muſt be *Pleas'd* and kept *Quiet* for a time, they may be conſider'd afterwards, when there is *Peace*, and all things *ſettled* (which they will take care ſhall never be till they have *All*) and the *Parliament* there ſhall Sit, but not too haſtily, to *Provoke* them. And if this takes, then their New Engagement will go on and Proſper, will be thought *Lawful*, if the *Law* take no notice of it; their *Party* will appear *Formidable*; and by *Ways* and *Means* may come to carry the *Aſcendent*, even in the *Parliament*. Their *Intereſt* will grow ſtronger every day; and they that are for the *Church* and the *Crown* will grow *weaker*, their Hearts will be *Diſcouraged*, and many of them be tempted to go over to the Gaining ſide, as we have ſeen in former Caſes. If they may not be oppos'd *Now*, that time will never come; for it can never be with that Advantage as at the Beginning, to *Nip* it in the *Bud*, before a *Drop* become a *River*, and that *River* become a *Sea*.

Will Her Majeſty truſt their Goodneſs to make her *Glorious*, as they often *Promis'd* and *Perform'd* to her *Royal Grandfather!* Can ſhe Expreſs more *Tenderneſs* and *Regard* for them than ſhe has ſhew'd already! Even to the Diſturbance of ſome of her beſt *Friends?* O let her not go on to Diſoblige *Theſe*, in hopes of gaining her *Enemies!* She ſees how far this *Deaf Adder*, whom ſhe has *warm'd* in her *Boſom*, has been *Charm'd* by her *Exceeding* Goodneſs, to *Hiſs* out new *Engagements* and *Covenants* againſt her, and think to *fright* her with their *Forked Tongues*; that is all the *Strength*, all the *Security* they have. The *Queen's Friends* are many, in a manner *all*, as may be ſeen in the *Elections* of both *Kingdoms*; let the *Law* then take hold of that *Engagement*. You will ſee the *Faction* immediately upon their Knees. Let the *Queen* Adhere to, and Encourage both her Faithful *Parliaments*, who then can hurt her? When was it ever known that the *People* were againſt the *Parliament*, when the *King* ſtood with his *Parliament*? But if the *Parliament* be check'd in curbing of the *Faction*,——I have no more to ſay, but wiſh my ſelf a *Falſe Prophet*, in what may follow; and they will find cauſe to be Pleaſed who had no Hand in the *Advice*.

6. As to the *Union*, now ſo deſirable in both *Kingdoms*, and with Reſpect to which, this *Engagement* was fram'd, as is told in the beginning of it, there is a full *Bar* put in our way, by thoſe whoſe *Complexion* and *Principles* ſuit better whith any thing than *Union*.

They tell us plainly, They will not part with their *Preſbytery*, even though a *Parliament* ſhould ſay ſo, for that it is the *Word of God*. But will they admit of an *Union* then, if *England*, the greateſt part of the one *Kingdom* remain *Epiſcopal* with her *Liturgy*, *Ceremonies*, &c? They have not told us that, but we may gueſs their Meaning. That either their *Presbytery* muſt prevail here (as it did in *Forty One*) or elſe no *Union*. And if that be the Caſe, if the *one* or the *other* muſt *ſubmit*, then whether a *Zealous* and *Reſolute* PRESBYTERY, or a *Moderate* and *Yielding* EPISCOPACY; whether they who ſtand ſtiff to *one ſide*, or they that are of *no ſide*, are moſt likely to prevail, I leave the *Learned* to diſpute.

II: Not *Perſons*, but *Principles* are here Expos'd.

Will it be needful here to put a Caution, That what I have ſaid, is meant againſt a *Cauſe*, and not againſt *Perſons*? No underſtanding Reader, ſure, would ſo miſ-conſtrue it. But to prevent all miſtakes, I do freely own, That I do know ſeveral *Honeſt*, *Generous*, and *Well-meaning Men* among thoſe call'd *Whigs* and *Diſſenters*, for whom I have a great *Value*, and would ſerve them readily and freely, were it in my Power; and could Truſt them with any thing concerning my own Particular, or of a Friend's as ſoon as any other. There are thoſe that by *Education*, and other *Accidents*, have *ſorted* among them, the *Goodneſs* of whoſe *Natural Tempers*, all the *Ill Principles* of their *Sect* cannot Quite *Deface*, but it ſhines through, like a *Beauty* from under a *Mourning Veil*. Theſe are to be *Pity'd* and *Lov'd*, they are to be placed among the *Unfortunate*, who have rather kept *Ill Company* than that they are *Ill Men* themſelves. And theſe, when proper Methods are applied, are moſt eaſily Reduc'd.

But then we muſt beware that we meaſure not the *Principles* of the *Party* by the *Good Diſpoſition* of theſe *Few*. That will lead us into great *Miſtakes*. We muſt Examine firſt, the *Principles* themſelves, and then the *General Practice* of the Party, purſuant to ſuch *Principles*; for they who act contrary to the Receiv'd *Principles* of any *Church* or *Party*, are *Nonconformiſts* to it, let them call themſelves never ſo much of it, or let their *Number* be never ſo *great*.

Therefore it is the *Principles* of the *Republican* and *Phanatical Party* that I have *Battl'd*; and the *Practice* of the *Generality* and *Chief Leaders* among them, purſuant to their pernicious *Principles*, which ſet up all *Schiſm* and *Confuſion* in the *Church*, and allow of *King-Killing*, and *Rebellion* in the *State*, and *Glory* in it when they have done. And theſe are not to be *ſpar'd*, nor their *Principles* leſs *Expos'd* for the ſake of ſome *Deluded*

luded, tho' otherwiſe *well-meaning* Perſons, that may be drawn in among them, and yet ſuch Perſons are reaſonably to be diſtinguiſhed from others of them, who are in *Grain*, as a Man *black'd over* is from a *Blackmoor*, the one may be *waſh'd* clean; to attempt the other is *Labour in vain*

I Appeal for this to Experience. How many Inſtances can be given of *Old-Rooted-Preſbyterians*, or *Managers* in the *Common-wealth-Trade*, that have come about for *Places* or *Preferments*, who have ever prov'd *True* at the *Bottom*; or loſt an *Opportunity* to *Betray* and *Expoſe* the *Monarchy*, but eſpecially the *Church*?

Quo ſemel eſt Imbuta.——

The *Jews* did compaſs Sea and Land to make *Proſelytes*; And yet had a Proverb among them, *Not to Truſt a* PROSELYTE *to the Third Generation.* Which was the Time appointed for an *Edomite* (tho' our *Brother*, and whom we were therefore not to *Abhor*) to be thoroughly *Cleanſed*, before he was to be Admitted *into the Congregation of the Lord.* Deut. xxii. 7, 8.

III. The Deep *Tincture of Rebellion.*

The *Leven* of *Rebellion*, whether againſt our *Superiors* in the *Church* or in the *State*, has that *Witch-craft* in it which *Taints* the *Blood*, and is not *purg'd* out in one *Deſcent.*

And among all the *Sins* of *Human-kind*, there is none *ſticks* ſo *cloſe*; and of the *True Converts*, from which, ſuch *Rare Examples* are to be found in any *Hiſtory*, either *Sacred* or *Prophane.*

I do not remember one in all the Volumes of the *Holy-Bible.* Unleſs you will Reckon ſome *Achitophels*, *Shimei's*, or *Abſaloms.*

The firſt *Schiſmaticks* under the *Law*, were *Korah* and his 250 *Levites*, who roſe up againſt *Aaron* the *High-Prieſt*, and were Conſumed by *Fire* from the *Lord.* And *Dathan* and *Abiram* with their Company of *Rebels* againſt *Moſes* the Supreme *Civil Magiſtrate*; were *Swallow'd* up by the *Earth*, and Deſcended *Quick* into the *Pit.* But the *Congregation* who were Deluded by them, like the Men that follow'd *Abſalom*, in *the Simplicity of their Hearts, knowing nothing*, were Deliver'd, and Repented.

The *Ten* Schiſmatical *Tribes*, who made new *Prieſt* to themſelves; and *Rebell'd* likewiſe againſt the Houſe of *David*, never Return'd from their *Schiſm*, which led them likewiſe into *Idolatry*, till they were utterly *Deſtroy'd*, and their *Names* loſt in the World, even to this Day: Yet in the worſt of their Time, there were 7000 who did not Bow the Knee to *Baal.*

The *Poſterity* of *Cain*, who *Separated* himſelf from the *Family* and *Government* of *Adam*, as well as from the Eſtabliſh'd *Worſhip* and *Communion*, expreſs'd by his *Going out from the Preſence of the Lord*, never *Return'd*, but kept on in a Different *Communion* and *Government*, and *Corrupted* the *World* till it was Deſtroy'd in the *Flood*, except ſome of the *Poſterity* of *Seth*, in whom the *City* of *God*, and true *Church* were Deduc'd.

The

IV. The first *Sin* of *Adam*, and of *Lucifer* was a *Rebellion* against the *Lord*, not being Content with the *Station* wherein *God* had Plac'd them, but Aspiring *Higher*, even to be *In-dependent*, if they cou'd; to be *Absque Jugo*, without any *Yoke* or *Restraint* put upon them, which is the Signification of the word *Belial:* And therefore it is not to be thought Strange, that we have so many of his *Sons* (the common *Epithet* for *Rebels* through the *Scripture*) appear in all Ages; *Sons* of *Liberty* and *Property*, above the *Yoke* of *Government* and Laws. These are *Literally Sons* of *Belial*. Therefore this *Sin* is Term'd *Witchcraft* and *Idolatry* (1 *Sam.* xv. 23.) being a setting up of *our selves*, and a *Worshipping* of *our selves*; being *Possess'd* with the same *Pride* which Tempted the *Devil* to *Rebel*, Impatient of that *Yoke* of *Government* under which GOD has Placed us, for our *Good*; Which we *Feel*, with *Sorrow*, when we Break loose from it, and bring a *Thousand-fold* more Evils upon our selves than those we thought to Avoid; till we are *Forc'd*, at last, to Confess that the *Folly* of *God* is *Wiser* than *Men*. And that it is Better for us to be under that *Government* he has Appointed, tho' sometimes, for our *Sins*, He does Punish us by it, and suffer us to be *Evil Treated by Tyrants:* yet that this is better than to be at our own *Liberty*, to *Destroy* and *Ruine* one Another, without *Limit* or *Restraint*, and to let the *Beasts of the People Ride over our Heads*. Better *One Devil*, than a *Legion*, than a *Hell* broke Loose.

The *Sons* of *Belial*.

They have Consulted together with one Consent, they are Confederates against thee Gebal, and *Ammon*, and *Amaleck*, &c.

Resist the Devil and he will Flee from thee. There is no other way to Deal with these *Sons* of *Belial*, whose *Rebellion* is a *Witchcraft* upon them; And as few of them, as of any other *Witches*, have *Repented*.

You can never *Trust* them, and they will not *Trust* you. Fair Words is but *Hypocrisy* on both sides. If they can get the *Power*, they will. Therefore you must put it out of their *Power*.

And if you cannot Begin with them to Day, you will be less able to Morrow. They are *Associating*, Gathering *Strength*, and So much you Lose. They *Debauch* many, who wou'd be on your side, if you wou'd tell them so. But while you express no *Displeasure*, they think it no *Offence* to Joyn with them. And when once *Engag'd*, they will not be so easily *Retriev'd*.

I can say no more. If no *Experience* will serve to make us *Wise*; If all that this *Faction* has done, be no *Warning* to Us for the future; If they must again be *Trusted*, if it be *Determin'd* upon this *Land* (for our many *Sins*) That we must again be put under their *Power*, I have only this *Consolation* left.

Liberavi Animam Meam.

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And I *Pray*, *That the Righteous may not Perish with the Wicked in that Day.* Amen.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

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THE

THE

New Association.

PART II. &c.

With farther *Improvements.*

IN the *Supplement* of the *New Association* you have the *Scotch-Presbyterian-Covenant* lately Begun and Sign'd at *Edinburgh*, which is in the Shire of *Lothian*, and the Place where that *Provincial Synod* is held. I now present you with that since Fram'd and Sign'd at *Glasgow*, by the other *Provincial Synod* Assembled there, last *October*, 1702. Which follows in these Words,

---

Octob. 1702. ACT of the Synod of *GLASGOW* and *AIR.*

I. The *Scots Presbyterian Covenant.*

THE Synod of Glasgow and Air, taking to their Consideration the Deplorable want of Success of the Gospel, in the Gracious Holy Faith, as might be Expected, and also the Prevalency of the Kingdom of Darkness through the abundance of Atheism, Impiety and Prophaneness, the Bane of this Degenerate Age; notwithstanding of our merciful Enjoyment of the Purity of Ordinances since the happy Revolution, and that the Ministers of the Gospel, particularly in these Bounds, have bèn expos'd to the mistakes of many weak and well-meaning People, as if they did not maintain a just Zeal for the true Presbyterian Principles, whereby their Edification hath bèn Marred in the Dispensation of the Gospel-Ordinances; As also how necessary it is for the Ministers of Christ, in order to the prevailing of

His Kingdom to be Zealously and Affectionately United for the Preservation of the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church, which the Lord hath Remarkably own'd since the Reformation of Religion in these Lands, unto the Conversion of many Souls, and Edification of his own People in the most Holy Faith; And lastly, That a motion of this kind hath bein for some time, lying under the Synods Consideration, therefore the Synod doth earnestly intreat, beseech and obtest to all the Ministers within their Bounds with the Reverend Eldership to be Contentiously Zealous in Reforming of Profanity and Ungodliness, and to hold Hand to the Execution of the several Acts of Assembly, former Acts of the Synod, and Acts of Parliament made there anent, that the mis-led People, and the World may know our Constancy to the true Principles of the Covenanted Work of Reformation in this Land.

We the Ministers of this Synod do declare our Adherence to the Doctrine, Worship and Discipline of Presbyterian Government, and just Rights of the Church in Opposition to Popery Heresie, Error, Prelacy, Erastianism, Schism, and Profanity, and whatsomever is contrary to sound Doctrine and Godliness, and Promise through the Grace of God we will Persevere in our Adherence to the same, all the Days of our Life. And the Synod Recommends to, and appoints, the several Presbyteries within their Bounds, with the first Convenience to meet on a Day to be set apart for Humiliation, mutual Up-stirring and Prayer, that the Lord may graciously avert deserved Wrath, pour out a Spirit of Repentance and Reformation, and make the Inhabitants of the Land a People prepar'd for the Lord, and particularly that the Lord would bless and preserve Her Majesty's Person and Government to be a lasting Mercy to these Lands and the Churches of Christ therein, and that this Act being insert in the several Presbytery Books within this Synod, and subscribed by every Minister on the forsaid appointed Day, and by every Entrant to the Ministry, in time coming immediately after their Ordination.

The Synod appoints that every Presbyter take a Copy of the forsaid Act with them, in order to the Expediting the Contents thereof, and the Clerks be allow'd to give their several Correspondency from our Synod, A Copy thereof.

Let

II. Further Proceedings of the *Faction* in *Scotland.*

Let me here Add a ſhort Account of the further Proceedings of that *Faction*, which came in a Letter from an Honeſt and Underſtanding Gentleman at *Edinburgh*, Dated *Dec.* 5. 1702. as follows:

" The Preſbyterians here, are Mightily afraid of QUEEN *ANN*; " And, as I hear, have their Partiſans, the Young Preachers, Employ'd " to go through the Country, and at Afternoons, or Evening-Meetings, " to preach up the Doctrine of RESISTANCE. They Brag loudly of " their Strength, and that if any thing ſhould be done to their Preju- " dice, they have Six and Twenty Thouſand good Men to own their " Cauſe and Quarrel. Though no body believes it, for to ſay the Truth, " they have not gain'd Ground ſince this Revolution: And at their " Beſt before it, you know, they were not able to Raiſe the half of " that Number: And at preſent the generality of the People have not " that Eſteem of them as before. In *Fife*, I can Aſſure you the Great " Body of the Gentry are downright *Epiſcopal*, and have choſen Com- " miſſioners that way Inclin'd, one of them, *viz.* *B*——*n* of *B*——*r*, " who was never in any *Preſbyterian* Church. In ſeveral Shires when " it was propos'd to give their Commiſſioners Inſtructions that there " ſhou'd be no Alteration of the *Church-Government*, it was waved or " Rejected, *&c.*

And in a *Letter* which I have ſeen from thence of a later *Date*, it is ſaid, That in ſeveral Places, they have not only given *Inſtructions* to their *Commiſſioners* (or *Repreſentatives*) but exacted their *Promiſe* to *Vote* for the *Reſtauration* of *Epiſcopacy*, &c.

But that the Spirit of the *Faction* does *Rage*, in a manner unknown before. That the laſt 30*th* of *January* the *Mobb* got up at *Glaſgow*, and Inſulted the *Epiſcopal Meetings* for keeping that Day in Memory of the *King's Martyrdom*, and were rather *Countenanc'd* than *Corrected* by the *Preſbyterian Magiſtrates* and *Miniſters*. At *Edinburgh*, the *Epiſcopal Miniſter* who *Preach'd* that Day in one of their *Private-Meetings*, calling the *King* a *Martyr*, and ſaying he was in *Heaven*, a *Preſbyterian* there cryed out, *You may look for him in Hell, for ſuch a Tyrant cou'd not go to Heaven.* They never offer'd the like in all the *Laſt Reign*. But now do it on purpoſe to Affront the *Queen*, whom they ſuppoſe to Retain ſome Veneration for the Memory of Her *Grandfather*, and conſequently of his *Principles*. They tell Her plain enough their *Love* to Her. They *Truſt* not a Word She ſays. They are *Reſolv'd*——

This then is the State of the *Faction* There (as it is Here) *Implacable* in their *Principles*, and *Indefatigable* in their *Endeavours*: But *Terrible* only in their *Noiſe*, unleſs that *frighten* the *Government* to give Way to them, till they obtain that *Power*, which they now vainly *Boaſt* that they have.

And ſince they put the *Iſſue* upon the *Inclinations* of the *People*; Let that be the *Iſſue*.

Let the *Repreſentatives* of both *Nations* in *Parliament* Aſſembled, give the *Queen* their *Advice*; and let no Private *Faction* or *Party* have Power to Perſwade Her *Majeſty* to take *Meaſures* contrary to that; or to believe, That there can be a truer way to know the *Inclinations* of the *People*.

She has Granted them a *Free-Election* of their *Repreſentatives* in *Parliament*; (which they cou'd never obtain in all the laſt *Reign*) and to pretend, That theſe ſo *Choſen*, cannot let Her know the true *Senſe* of Her *People*; is to ſay, That it was not a *Free Election*. And then! When ſhall we have ſuch an one?

If we ſee a Neighbour *Prince* Arming *Extraordinarily* in time of *Peace*, entring into *Leagues* and *Confederacies*, &c. the Wiſdom and Policy of *Nations* obliges any within his Reach, to enquire into the Matter, and even to *Demand* a *Reaſon* for ſuch *Preparations*; though they have no *Authority* over him, and every *King* and *State* are *Independent*, and *Unaccountable* to any Foreign *Prince* or *Power* for what they do in their own *Dominions*.

How much more *Neceſſary* is it for any *Government* to Watch the *Deſigns* and *Combinations* of their own *Subjects*, when they take upon them to enter into *Covenants* and *Aſſociations* by their own *Authority*, without the *Supreme Power!* Such are always Conſtrued to be intended againſt the *Government Eſtabliſh'd*; eſpecially where it is made *Treaſonable* by the *Law* of the Land. (as it is in this Caſe, and very particularly in *Scotland*) to enter into ſuch *Aſſociations*; there the doing of it, is in Direct *Oppoſition* to the *Government*, it is a *Declaration* of *War* againſt it, and *openly* throwing off its *Authority*.

And betwixt that, and downright *Attacking* of the *Gonernment*, as ſoon as they can be ready, there is no poſſible *Medium*; becauſe, otherwiſe they cannot be *Safe*. They who have *Forfeited* their *Lives* to the *Government*, cannot be *Safe*, but in its *Deſtruction*. I mean ſuch as are reſolv'd not to *Repent*, but to *Perſiſt* in what they have done.

Which theſe *Scotch-Covenanters* have declar'd to be their Caſe, and that it ſhall go on and continue throughout all their *Generations*, they Promiſe in this their *New-Covenant*, *We will perſevere in our Adherence to the ſame all the Days of our Life*: And ordain it to be *Subſcrib'd by every Miniſter*

Miniſter on the appointed Day, and by every Entrant to the Miniſtry, in time to come, immediately after their Ordination. So that this *Covenant* is now made to them (by their own Authority) of the ſame *Obligation* and *Perpetuity* as the *Oath of Supremacy* is, in our *Ordinations*, by the *Supream Authority* of the *Nation.*

They tell us what the *Work* is, which they are carrying on, even *the Covenanted Work of Reformation.* This is their former *Solemn League and Covenant*: And then we know what we are to Expect! They *Engage* themſelves to be **Contentiouſly** *Zealous* in it. We may take their Words! As far as their *Power* Reaches. ——Therefore let them have *Power.*

But do they Promiſe any *Obedience* to the *Queen*? No. Not a word of that —— But they *Pray*, That ſhe *may be a laſting Mercy to theſe Lands, and the Churches of Chriſt therein.* That is, that ſhe may turn *Presbyterian*: And bring their *Covenant* into *England*, as faſt as they can, to *Perfect* what another had *begun.* Otherwiſe——

We know whom they mean by the *Churches* of *Chriſt*, who declare *Epiſcopacy* to be *Anti-Chriſtian.*

And who their *Under-Spur-Leathers* are, who, (out of *Moderation*!) Refuſe to Acknowledge *Epiſcopacy* to be of *Divine* or *Apoſtolical* Right. But they only meant their *Own*! and Employ'd one *Naturally Addicted*——to Fiſh for a *Præmunire* (which he had found—— if they had taken his *Word*) to ſerve for an *Excuſe.* Who can *prove* the *Church of* England to be a *Perſecuting Church*: And yet will not leave Her! But has already wrote a moſt Virulent and Voluminous *Secret Hiſtory* (part of which I have ſeen) which he dares not Publiſh whilſt it may be diſprov'd, and he receive his Juſt Reward: But intends to leave it as a *Legacy* and *Libel* againſt the *Church* and the *Crown.*

When ſuch our *Enemies*, and ſuch our *Guards*, we cannot forget who gave us theſe *Watch-men.* And what will become of us, if we be not put (as it can be done) into other Hands.

They have already *Began* (as told in the *Letter* before-mention'd) to *Preach* up the Doctrine of *Reſiſtance*, at their *Afternoons*, or *Evening-Meettings*, which is an *Exerciſe* they have there, call'd *Repetition*, and enjoin'd through all their *Families* to *Repeat* over the Subſtance of the *Sermons* they had heard that Day at *Church*, or to *Read* them *Verbatim* they that can *Write* taking them in *Short-hand.* And ſeveral *Families* will come together, for this *Exerciſe.* Where they have likewiſe other *Exhortations* made to them by their *Young Miniſters*, who here *Fleſh* their *Gifts*, to *harden* them for the *Publick.* Theſe are the moſt proper *Meetings* for *Inſinuation*: For they have *eating* and *drinking*, &c. Here they begin to *Inſtil* their *Poiſon*; not to *Teach* them the *Doctrine* of *Reſiſtance*, for

for that is their Avow'd *Principle*, here, and there, and every where; but to *confirm* them in it, to *hearten* up the *Good Women*, who led the *Mobb* in *Forty One*, and give them the *Watch-Word*.——

As Indians *with the Female*
Tame Elephant, *inveigle the* Male.

III. *Answer to Objections of Several Pamphlets against the First Part.*

Having given you this ſhort Account of the Proceedings of the *Faction* in *Scotland*, ſince my laſt; I come now to Anſwer ſome *Objections* have been made againſt the *New Aſſociation*. Firſt, by the *Author* of *The Shorteſt Way with the Diſſenters*, in what he calls *A brief Explanation* of the ſaid *Pamphlet*. And then by another of the ſame *Faction*, in his *Reflections* upon *The Shorteſt Way*, &c. This *Shorteſt Way* is a New *Engine* of the *Faction*, being wrote in the *Stile* of a *Churchman*, with an Air of *Wit* and a great deal of *Truth*; which they thought would make the *Severity* to Paſs as coming from the *Church-Party*, to have the *Diſſenters* Treated according to what he had prov'd to be their *Deſerts*, that is, the *Preachers* to be ſent to the *Gallows*, and the *Hearers* to the *Galleys*. The *Obſervator*, Vol. II. makes the *Author* a *Clergy-man*.

By this they contriv'd to *Allarm* all the *Faction* to the uttermoſt, as if their *Toleration* were to be taken away; and then a cruel *Perſecution* coming upon them; by which they thought to prepare the *Mobb* for what farther *Service* they had for them to do. And withal, to *Blacken* the *Church Party*, as Men of a *Perſecuting* Spirit. And indeed it had this Effect all over the *Town*, among all ſorts of People; none of whom, that I could meet with, or hear of, did imagine it could be wrote by a *Whigg*; and I have heard one, and then another of the *Church-Party* gueſs'd at for the *Author*. The *Church-Men* did *Blame* him exceedingly: The *Whiggs* and *Diſſenters* (who were not in the *Secret*) did *Curſe* him and *Rail* at him; and made their Advantage of it againſt the *Church*.

But when, by the Care of the Government, the *Author* was found out, and prov'd to be of the *Faction*, they would fain now *deny* him, and ſay that he is none of *Theirs*; they would let him be a *Church-Man* now; but he is too well kown in the *City* to have that Paſs.

And this appears *plainly* by the *Excuſe* he makes for himſelf in his *Explication*. Wherein he wou'd turn the Tables, and lay the whole Blame upon the *Church-Party*. He ſays, That what he wrote, was only an *Irony*, *viz.* in *Perſonating* ſome of theſe *Violent Church-Men*; and that he ſpeaks their True *Senſe* and *Meaning*, though *Ironically*. Among others, he Names the *New Aſſociation*, and ſays, p. 3. "Any Gentlemen "who have Patience to peruſe the Author of the *New Aſſociation*,

"will

" will find Gallows, Galleys, Perſecution, and Deſtruction, of the Diſ-
" ſenters as directly Pointed at, as fairly Intended and Deſign'd, as
" in the **Shorteſt Way**, had it been Real, can be Pretended.

Here he Confeſſes, That the *Shorteſt Way* was not *Real*. This Clears the *Church-Party* from it: And ſhews the *Author* not to have been *Really* a *Church-Man*.

But as to the *Gallows* and *Galleys*, *Deſtruction* and *Perſecution* of the *Diſſenters*, which he finds in the *New-Aſſociation*, he and the reſt of them muſt own it to be an Errant *Lye* of their own making; unleſs they will confeſs, That they had as liev be *Hang'd* as not be in *Power*. For nothing elſe is propos'd in that *Pamphlet*. Not ſo much as their *Toleration* is Invaded. Only, that they ſhould not be *Truſted* in the *Legiſlature*, for the *Reaſons* there given. Which they pretend not to *Anſwer*, or to *Quote* one *Word* in the *New-Aſſociation*. But *Rail* at it in the *General* (after their uſual Method) that ſome may *Believe* them, who have not Opportunity to *Examine*.

The *Reflections* upon *The Shorteſt Way*, ſpeaking in his *Preface* of this Propoſal of the *Author's* of *Hanging up the Diſſenting Miniſters*, adds, " The Author of the New-Aſſociation betwixt the Diſſenters and Mo-
" derate Church-Men, *&c.* gives a Charge which would Subject both
" thoſe Parties to the like Cruel Treatment.

But he tells not what that *Charge* was. Nor did that *Author* Plead at all for having that *Faction* Treated according to their *Deſerts*. But only, from what they had done *Before*, and *ſtill* are a Doing, That they ſhou'd not be *Truſted* Now, to Play the ſame Game over again.

IV. Their Vile *Reflections* upon the *Church*.

And this ſame *Pamphlet* is a *New* and *Strong Argument* for this; and ſhews that the *Faction* is not *Mended*, but as *Sowr Ale* in *Summer*. For theſe *Reflections* are a *Medly* and *Heap* of all the *Vile*, and moſt *Deteſtable* **Lyes** and **Aſperſions** caſt upon the *Church*, and the *Royal Martyr* King *Charles* I. in thoſe *Curſed* Times of *Schiſm* and *Rebellion*: Here they are *Repeated* with new *Venom* and *Acrimony*. And though all theſe Groſs *Falſhoods* have been *Anſwer'd*, over and over again *Diſprov'd*, to the ſtopping of all *Reply*; yet that cannot prevail to the *Silencing* of *Tongues* ſet on *Fire* of *Hell!* Who are reſolv'd to *Lye ſtill on*, and take Notice of no *Anſwer*, tho' made *Clear* to a *Demonſtration*; which has no other Effect with them, than a little *Water* thrown into a Boyling *Furnace*, to make the *Smoke* and *Flame* burſt out the more *Outragiouſly!* This is the Effect that *Truth* has when caſt before thoſe who are *Proof* againſt *Conviction!* It *Redoubles* their *Rage*, even to *Madneſs!* They *Fret themſelves, and Curſe their King, and their God, and look Upwards!* Iſa. viii. 21.

See

Upon Arch-Bishop Laud.

See how the *Gall* of Milton's *Amanuensis* boils over in his p. 16, 17, &c. Running *Riot* and *Repeating*, at full *Gallop*, the *Senceless* and *Malicious Stories*, Rais'd by the *Faction* against the *English Cyprian* and *Martyr*, the Great Arch-Bishop *Laud!* They cannot endure, that any shou'd be call'd a *Martyr*, whom they have *Murther'd!* They wou'd make him a *Papist*, who *Wrote* the best against *Popery* of any in the Age; More effectually than All that ever *Wrote* of the *Dissenters*; except their *Railing*, and Calling the *Pope* a *Whore!* Nay they have the *Impudence*, as here, p. 16. and p. 25. to Quote this very *Celebrated Work* of his against *Fisher* the *Jesuit*; for a *Proof* of his being a *Papist*; to render themselves *Ridiculous* to all Men of *Sense* or *Learning!*

His *Dying Sermon* upon the *Scaffold* clearing himself from this *False* and *Groundless Imputation* of *Popery*, makes no *Impression* upon these *Saints!* Who wou'd have every thing they say to be *Believ'd* upon their own *Words!*

Upon K. Char. I.

But when they are upon *Land*, they cou'd not Miss another *Martyr* they had made, that is, his *Royal Master* K. *Charles* I. Whom, p. 17. they *Bespatter* for sending the *Irish Cut-Throats* (as they call them) to join *Montrose* in *Scotland*. Can *Patience* hold out to see these *Rebels*, past *Shame*, to *Upbraid* their *King*, for taking the Assistance of his own *Subjects*, against that *Furious* and *Un-Natural Rebellion* of the *Covenant*, which had *Fill'd* three *Nations* with *Blood* and *Destruction!* Such *Rebels*, as sent to the * *French King* to Invite his *Assistance*, and put themselves under his *Protection*, against their own *Natural* and *Protestant* Prince! And when their *Letters* to the *French King* were Intercepted, and their Chief *Managers* in *Prison* upon that Acount; Were *Releas'd*, and no further Prosecution of that *Damnable Treason*; but were afterwards *Preferr'd* to the *Greatest Places* and *Trusted* by the *Faulty* and *Fatal Clemency* of their *Deluded* and too *Gracious King* for them! Who have given *Many* and *Repeated* Proofs, as many as ever came in their Way, since first they came out of the *Cockatrice Egg*, That it is not this manner of Treatment will do with **Them.**

* See the Lord *Chan.* Clarend's History of the *Rebellion*, Vol. 1. *p.* 103. and *p.* 244.

The *King* must be a *Papist*, for Employing some of his own *Subjects*, tho' *Papists*, in Conjunction with a *Protestant Army*, and under a *Protestant General*, against a Company of *Covenanted Rebels:* Yet it must be no Objection against them, to Invite over a *Foreign Prince*, and a *Papist*, even *France* it self, against their own *King* and *Country!*

But it was most natural for the *Solemn League* of *Scotland* to go for *Succour* to the *Holy League* of *France*, whence it was Transcrib'd; And Pursu'd with a Zeal far exceeding the *Popish* Pattern.

And

And as for those few *Rom. Catholicks* of *England*, whom the *King* employ'd in his *Army*, and for which the *Faction* then in *Rebellion*, rais'd *Clamours* against him, his *Majesty* in his *Answer to the Petition of the Commissioners of the General Assembly*, *March* 20. 1642, says, That there were Many more Papists, and many of those Foreigners (besides *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and other *Sectaries*) *in the Rebels Army, than in that of his Majesty*. And they cou'd not Deny it.

Lord *Clarendon's Hist.* Book VI. Vol. 2. p. 138. See p. 142.

See now the *Modesty* of these Men! It must be a *Fault* in the *King* to have any *Papists*, tho' of his own *Subjects*, in his *Army* against these *Saints*, pursuant to their Bounden *Duty* and *Allegiance*: And yet these same *Rebels*, without a *Blush*, cou'd Seduce what *Papists* they cou'd of their *Fellow-Subjects* (besides Inviting over the *Foreign Papists*) to break thro' their *Oaths* and *Allegiance*, as themselves before had done, and Join with Them in that *Cursed Rebellion* against their *King*, and for Pulling down the *Church* of *England*!

Nay more, it was no *Rebellion* in Them, to Invite over a *Foreign Popish Power* to Invade their *Native Country*, and subject these *Kingdoms* to the Power of *France*, for the *Good Old Cause*: And yet it must be Rank *Popery* in the *King*, when only *Prince* of *Wales*, and in the *Hands* of the King of *Spain*, to Answer a Civil Letter of the *Pope* to him, wherein he maintain'd the *Principles* of the *Church* of *England*, and declar'd his Firmness to continue in them, against all the Insinuations and Invitations given him to the contrary, but without calling the *Pope* a *Whore* and a *Beast*, only giving him that *Stile*, by which he is Distinguish'd in the World, as other *Princes* are, and which in the *Primitive Church* was given to all *Bishops*, as belonging to their *Sacred Office*, though some of them far from *Personally* deserving it, And without which he cou'd not have return'd any Answer to the *Pope*; And then there had been a New and a Greater *Objection*, That his *Highness* was *Silent* in the Defence of his *Religion*, and had nothing to say for it; which wou'd have given great *Scandal* Abroad, and been much more improv'd by the *Faction* against him at Home, as a *Deserting* and *Dishonouring* of his *Religion*! Thus is it impossible to Please Men, who are resolv'd to *Quarrel*; and will lay that upon others, as a *Crime*, of which Themselves are ten-fold more *Guilty*, and much more *Notoriously*! They who make no Scruple of giving to the *King* of *Spain* the Stile of *Catholick Majesty*, and to the *French* of *Most Christian*, and invite his *Arms* to Defend the *Protestant Religion*, will yet *Quarrel* with a young *Prince*, when under a necessity of returning an Answer to the *Pope*, to give him the Stile of *Holiness*, (which truly belongs to his *Office*, as a *Bishop*) when otherwise he cou'd not have *Rejected* his *Offers*, for the *Change* he Propos'd to him of his *Religion*! And his *Persevering* in his *Religion* to the Uttermost, against all *Temptations*, and under the sharpest

 Afflicti-

Afflictions, and at last *Dying* a *Martyr* for it, must be no Justification of him, from being a *Papist*, because of this *Letter* to the *Pope*, before he came to the *Crown*; and wherein nothing savouring of *Popery*, but the Direct Contrary, cou'd be found, except giving to the *Pope* his Usual, and not, in its self, an Un-proper *Stile!*

Upon Q. *Eliz.*

But it is some Vindication of this our late Dread *Soveraign*, of Arch-Bishop *Laud*, and all whom they have Traduc'd, that they spare none who come in their way, who *Worship* not their *Dagon*, or Touch but the *Shrine* of their *Diana*, They fall foul here upon Q. *Eliz.* her self, p. 23. because of her *Prosecution of the Puritans*. But foolishly put it upon the Advice of those, who *favour'd the Infanta's title against the King of* Scots. And make it a General Rule, *That it ever has been the Method of that Party, who were for a Popish Successor and Arbitrary Power, to pave their way by promoting Severities against Protestant Dissenters, that whilst the Church and they were Ingag'd against one another, the common Enemy might take their Advantage of both.* But this is giving Us just the wrong view as well of *Politicks*, as of *Matter of Fact*. For, as it is told in the *New Association* (and which none of these *Authors* have Answer'd) It is the *Maxim* of the *Politicks* at *Rome*, that the only Method for Destroying the *Church* of *England*, is, to *Encourage* and *Set up* the *Dissenters*; who ever *Have*, ever *Will*, (as oblig'd by their *Principles*) and *Can*, with less *Suspicion* of the Deluded *People* overthrow *Episcopacy* (the most substantial Enemy of the *Papacy*) than if it were Attack'd *bare-fac'd* by any *Prince* or others Professing *Popery*; And every *Degree* that the *Dissenters* do *Rise*, it is even a *Mathematical* Demonstration, that *Episcopacy* must *Fall* in the same *Proportion*, these being Directly *Opposite* to each other.

The Grand Politick at *Rome*.

Upon the *Restauration*, 1660. a Gentleman then at *Rome*, said, The *Court* there were in Great Hopes, that a *Toleration* wou'd have been Granted to the *Dissenters* in *England*. But when the News came, That the *Act* of *Uniformity* was Pass'd, they were much *Dejected*, and said, *Now the* CHURCH *of* ENGLAND *is Established.*

V. No *Severities* Intended against the *Dissenters*.

But after all, these Men make no Difference (because they wou'd have others make none) betwixt *Promoting* **Severities** *against the Dissenters*, and not putting them in equal *Power* of the *Government* with those of the *Church Established*; which is all that in the *New Association* is Propos'd. They call every thing *Persecution* that excludes them from *Power!* And all the Dispute now betwixt the *Church* of *England* and *Them*, is only about the *Power*, they still enjoying untouch'd a Free and Unlimited *Toleration*, as to their *Religion*, without any the least Infringement so much as Attempted

tempted upon it; but, on the Contrary, all the Assurance has been given them that any *Government* can give; in the *Preface* of the Abortive *Act* concerning *Occasional Conformity*, it is fully Established; and in the *Queens Speech*, upon the Conclusion of the *Session*, *Feb.* 27. 170$\frac{2}{3}$. She Declares, that she is *firmly Resolv'd to Maintain it, and Hopes that they will rest Secure and Satisfied in it.* Yet they are not *Satisfy'd!* And in *Scotland*, where they are not only *Tolerated*, but *Established* by *Act of Parliament*, as the *National Constitution*, and have Receiv'd the *Queens* repeated Assurances (Un-Asked) for their Confirmation, they are least of all *Satisfy'd!* What is it then will *Satisfie* them? Nothing but seeing the *Episcopal* Party so effectually *Humbled* as to be out of all future Capacity of *Sharing* any of the *Power* with them. They cannot think themselves *Secure*, while there are any *Competitors* with them for the *Power*. They know very well that there can be no *Sharing* of *Power*, it must be *One* and *Intire*; And the Contest for it is *Anarchy* and *Confusion*. Therefore it was Propos'd in the *New Association*, That for the Preservation of the *Establish'd Constitution* in *England*, the *Dissenters* shou'd not *Share* the *Power*, but without any Infraction upon either their *Liberty*, *Property*, or *Toleration*. And this they call *Dragooning*, *Halters*, and *Gallies!* But without Answering of the *Arguments*, for they know them to be *Just*, they are their own, and made use of by them, when they had the *Power*. Nor can they say, That they were *Misrepresented*, or any thing told of them, in that *Pamphlet*, but plain *Matter of Fact* which cou'd not be Dis-prov'd, as being *Notorious* to all the World. Nor can they shew any such *Application*, as, *Pay them that they have Deserved*, or to *Remember Old Scores*. No, But let all these be *Bury'd* and *Forgotten*; only, Let them not *Act* the same *Tragedy* over again. That is all that is Propos'd. But they would have it in their *Power*; And that we shou'd Trust their *Good Nature* for another *Revolution!* And denying this to them, is Invading of their *Rights*, as *Free-Born Englishmen!*

Therefore as to the *Politicks* which these Men wou'd impose upon the Nation, That using *Severities* to the *Dissenters*, is the way to introduce *Popery*; I say, not *Severities*, while they Demean themselves *Peaceable* and Obedient to the *Government*; but to keep them out of any *Share* in the *Legislature*, or *Offices* whereby they may be enabled to create *Disturbances*, seems the most Probable way to Preserve the *Church Established*, and the *Government*, and even *Themselves* too, and consequently to keep out *Popery*.

VI. The *Management* of our *Princes* in Relation to *Popery*.

And as their pretended *Politicks* are False, no less are their *Matters of Fact*, Which they bring to Support them, as if all those of our *Princes*, who

who us'd *Severities* (as they call it) againſt the *Diſſenters*, did it with Deſign to Introduce *Popery*. Of which the quite *Contrary* is the *Truth*. That is, That thoſe of our *Princes* who are moſt ſuſpected to have had that Deſign, did moſt *Careſs* and *Indulge* the *Diſſenters*; Witneſs the *Indulgence* of them in the Year 1672, which King *Charles* 2d. wou'd have forc'd over the Belly of his *Parliament*; And that Granted to them by King *James* 2d. Whereas that Wiſe *Princeſs* Q. *Elizabeth*, as Sir *Phil. Warwick* wsll obſerves in his *Memoirs*, p. 2. Watch'd the *Beginning* of thoſe *Evils* which over-run her *Succeſſors*, by their *Indulgence*, and kept a ſtrict hand over the *Puritans*, including them, equally with the *Papiſts*, under the ſame *Name* and *Penalty* of *Recuſants*. And ſhe had *Peace*. Which neither K. *Jam.* I. *Char.* I. *Char.* II. nor *Jam.* II. cou'd enjoy longer than it was in the *Power* of that *Faction* to take it from them.

Therefore if we will Meaſure what is to Come, by what is Paſt, when we ſee a King of *England* ſetting up the *Diſſenters* on High, and exceeding in his Favours to them, we have juſt Cauſe to Suſpect, either that there is *Popery* at the Bottom; or elſe, That he is a *Diſſenter* himſelf, and but an *Occaſional Conformiſt*. Looſe *Practices* beget looſe *Principles*. And the *Cuſtom* of *Sinning* may ſo far take away the *Senſe* of a *Sin*, as that Men may come at laſt to Defend it by *Principle*, and juſtifie *Hypocriſy* as a *Chriſtian Vertue*, till they come to have their *Portion* with it.

VII. A Notable Defence of *Occaſional Conformity*.

See how eaſily theſe Men can ſatisfie their *Conſciences*! In theſe *Reflections*, p. 24. they juſtifie their *Occaſional Conformity*, becauſe the *Act of the Teſt* was Deſign'd againſt the *Papiſts*; And that "the late Earl of *Shaftsbury* was generally thought to have had the chief Hand in contriving "that Act, who was known to be no Enemy to the *Diſſenters*; And that "it was as well known that his principal Deſign in that Act was againſt "the Duke of *York* and his *Papiſts*. Thence they conclude, That the *Deſign* of this *Act* was only for Men to declare themſelves not to be *Papiſts*, and ſay, *Where's the Hypocriſie in Diſſenters to do this?*

1. Here is a pretty way to Elude an *Act of Parliament*, or any *Law*, to ſay, Such a Man had a hand in it, and we know his *Meaning*, whatever the *Words* of the *Act* may bear, it is no Matter for that! But,

2. May not the *Wicked* be *Trapped in the Work of their own Hands*; And be *Caught* themſelves in the ſame *Net* which they laid for another; The *Papiſts* will not receive the *Sacrament* in our *Church*, becauſe they own not our *Communion*. The *Diſſenters* have the ſame Reaſon, and if they were as *Sincere* as theſe *Papiſts* who Refuſe upon that Account, they wou'd do ſo too.

But

But they have another Reaſon, they have *Preach'd* and *Printed*, and *Contended Earneſtly*, and that for many *Years*, That *Kneeling* at the *Sacrament* is *Idolatry*, and give this as one main Reaſon of their *Separation* from our *Church*. The moſt *Moderate* and *Modern Trimmers* amongſt them even now do own this to be if not *Superſtition*, at leaſt, yet a thing *Scandalous* and giving great *Offence*, becauſe of its too near Approaching to *Popery*, for that the *Papiſts* always do it, and therefore that it is laying of a *Stumbling-Block* in the way of our *Weak Brethren*, which is a *Sin*; And notwithſtanding wou'd have the Laws ſo Interpreted, as the doing of it, in *Them*, ſhou'd be a *Teſt* that they are no *Papiſts!*

There is nothing too hard for theſe Men to Anſwer! For they have *Abdicated* all *Principles*, all *Truth*, and even *Common-Senſe* from among *Mankind*, as far as their *Example* or *Authority* can do it.

When, any of the Differences in *Religion* betwixt Them and Us ſtand in the way of a *Good Place*, or any *Poſt* wherein they may promote the *Cauſe*, they make them as little as *Mole-Hills*, at which no Man needs to Stumble that has Eyes in his Head.

But when they come to Juſtifie their *Schiſm*, or *Rail* at the *Church* of *England*, and cry out *Popery*, then they turn the other End of the *Perſpective*, and *Magnifie* them to *Mountains!*

They own *Schiſm* (where-ever it lies) to be a moſt *Grievous* and *Damning Sin*; and ſay, That nothing keeps them out of our *Communion*, and hinders them to heal the *Breach*, on their Parts, but the *Tenderneſs* of their *Conſcience*, which cannot *Comply* with what they are verily Perſwaded to be a Plain and Manifeſt *Sin*. Yet *Occaſionally* they can *Comply* with altogether, and as oft as the *Law* requires it, where any thing of *Power* or *Profit* is to be got by it! And then it is no *Sin* at all.

If theſe be not *Hypocrites*, the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* muſt eſcape! Nay, there is no ſuch *Sin!*

VIII. Of *Local* and *Mental* Communion.

The *Jeſuits* in *China* defend their Allowing the *Chriſtians* there to go to *Worſhip* together with the *Chineſe* in their *Idol-Temples*, by the ſame ſort of *Caſuiſtry* of *Occaſional Communion*; or, as one of our *Occaſional Friends* has lately worded it *Local Communion*, that is, in his own words, *When he goes to Church, though he* **Locally** *ſeparates from the Meeting, he* **Mentally** *ſeparates not.* This you will find in a late Pamphlet upon this Subject, Entituled, *A Sober Caution to the Members of this New Parliament, Written and put out againſt their Sitting*, Oct. 20. 1702, *By one that holds Communion with the Church.* Printed for *A. Baldwin*, in the 9th *page.*

If

If you think it ſtrange that he calls himſelf *One that holds Communion with the Church*, He Unriddles this, *p.* 6. where he tells us, That *the Principles of ſuch Men as go to Meetings* are very *Divers.* "There are "ſome *(ſays he)* go to Meetings, becauſe they think our Parochial "Churches not to be Goſpel-Churches, our Set-forms of Prayer Un-"lawful, and that it is a Sin to Kneel at the Sacrament, becauſe the "Papiſts do Kneel to the Hoſt. Such Opinioniſts as theſe will not, "ought not to take an Office; if they do, there is none but will al-"low them to be Hypocrites. Such a Perſon declares himſelf to have "no Conſcience, and if he Pretends one, he is worſe to me than an "Infidel." Thus that Author.

And by this, he Condemns as *Opinioniſts* the whole Generation of our Antient and Genuine *Diſſenters*, and all their *Books* and *Preachments*. It was by *Preaching* up the *Unlawfulneſs* of joining in the *Liturgy* and *Worſhip* of our *Church*, as *Sinful*, which gain'd them ſo many *Proſelytes* among the poor Deluded *Populace.*

IX. Of *Schiſm*

But if their Sentiments are Alter'd (I wiſh it were True, for I find it not in their Converſation) then it is matter of great Curioſity to know, how they now Juſtifie their *Separation* from being formally a *Schiſm*; ſince it is allow'd by All, even by Themſelves, that a *Separation* from the *Communion* I was of, without a *ſufficient Reaſon*, is a *Schiſm:* And that no *Reaſon* can be *ſufficient*, except the avoiding of what is *Sinful*; becauſe that *Schiſm* is it ſelf a Great *Sin*, even the Rending of *Chriſt*'s *Body*, which is the *Church*, into Pieces. But if any thing that is *Sinful* be Impos'd upon me, as the *Condition* of any *Communion*, I cannot *Comply*, becauſe no Man can be oblig'd to *Sin*: And in that Caſe, the *Schiſm* lies at their Door who Impoſe ſuch *Unlawful Terms* of *Communion.* I *Go* not from them, but they *Thruſt* me out.

Therefore it behoves every one to Examine with the utmoſt *Pains* and *Sincerity*, whether the *Conditions* of *Communion* that are Impoſed be *Sinful*; becauſe otherwiſe he is not freed from the Dreadful *Sin* of *Schiſm*, if he *Separates* upon that Account.

But where the *Terms* are allow'd not to be *Sinful*, as this Author does, and, as he ſays, ſeveral others with him, then what *Reaſon* can they give that is *ſufficient* to Juſtifie their *Separation?*

Their *Excuſes* to Juſtify themſelves from it.

You have it, p. 8. *viz.* The Ejection of ſeveral of their *Miniſters* by "the *Act* of *Uniformity*; "And being thus depriv'd, they cannot "Preach at all, unleſs in Meetings. They were ſet apart for that Of-"fice, and their Plea is Duty, **Greater Duty.** The People many "of them are affected with their Preaching and Praying, more than our "Mini-

" Miniſters Reading their Sermon and Prayers; they chuſe it, the Law " allows it, they follow them, and their Plea is Edification, **Greater Edification.**

First, for the Caſe of their Miniſters.

1. Very few of thoſe *Ejected* by the *Act of Uniformity* are now Alive. But they have *Ordain'd* (in their way) others to *ſucceed* them, and to Perpetuate the *Schiſm* to Poſterity. So that they thought ſomething elſe to be their *Duty*, than to Exerciſe their own *Gifts*, while they liv'd, having been once *ſet apart to that Office*; which is all the Reaſon here given to Excuſe them. 1. Of their *Miniſters.*

2. They ſet up their *Meetings* in direct *Oppoſition* to the *Church*, and had them at the *Church Hours*, that none who went to them cou'd go to the *Church*. And ſome few of them, that, in ſome Fits, did otherwiſe as Mr. *Baxter*, and Mr. *Henry*, were for that very Reaſon, blam'd by the Reſt. And they did generally, and do ſtill, *Preach* up their People to the utmoſt *Abhorrence* of the *Church*, her *Liturgy* and *Conſtitution.*

And in their *Private Seminaries*, *Schools*, and *Colleges*, which they have throughout *England*, Maintain'd upon their *Publick Stock*, they Inſtruct their Youth in all the *Anti-Monarchical*, and *Anti-Epiſcopal* Books and Principles that they can, to make *Root and Branch work with Epiſcopacy*, as their Phraſe is; they make it their Work to *Ridicule* and *Blaſpheme* our *Holy Liturgy*, and that *Boy* who can make the beſt *Prophane Jeſt* upon it, is Applauded and Encouraged. They ſet themſelves to Invent *Slanderous Lyes* and *Calumnies* upon the *Perſons* of our *Biſhops* and *Clergy*, and ſpread them Abroad with great Diligence. They are Taught to Juſtify the *Murther* of K. *Charles* I. And to Extol the *Regicides* as moſt Noble *Patriots*. From this *Forge* came the late *Pamphlets*, which have been ſpread with ſo much Pains, to prove (if they cou'd) that the *King* was not the Author of Εικων Βασιλικη, but was of the *Iriſh Maſſacre* and *Rebellion*; which *Edm. Calamy*, one of their *Preachers*, has given us again in Print this ſame Year, in his *Abridgement* of *Baxter's Life*. For which I refer you to the *Caſe of Preſent Concern, in a Letter to a Member of Parliament*, which came out laſt *January*. Of their *Private Academies.*

But one *Topick* mightily Inculcated in theſe *Academies*, ſince the *Revolution*, was, That the Greateſt Part of *England* was on their Side, and that *Epiſcopacy* would ſoon be tumbled down, which they were bid moſt aſſuredly to Expect, as a thing *ſettled* and *determined.*

And (which is a very ſad Matter to think upon) ſeveral of the *Sons* of our *Gentry* and *Quality* are ſent to be *Formed* in theſe *Nurſeries*. Of which we have ſeen the Effect.

All

All this, and more to the same Purpose, we have, upon sure and certain Knowledge, from one who was himself Educated in the same *Academies*. And has given us the Relation in *Print* (with the *Names* &c.) this same Year, Entituled, *A Letter from a Country Divine, to his Friend in* London, *concerning the Education of the Dissenters in their private Academies in several parts of this Nation.* Printed for *R. Clavel* at the *Poacock* in St. Paul's *Church-Yard.* 1703.

But before I part with this Book, I must take Notice of a Remark, able Passage in it, *p.* 9. which comes up close to the Subject we are upon, of the pretty *Distinctions* these Men have found out, to solve their Consciences in any *Troublesome Case.*

He having told of a Custom of theirs of having their Youth *Enter'd* in one of the Publick *Universities* (which yet they call'd meer *Sodoms* and *Gomorrahs*) that their Time running on, they might be Intitled to *Degrees*, though bred in their private *Academies*, comes to the *Salvo* they had for their *Oath*, in the *University*, not to take *Pupils*, Read *Lectures*, &c. In which *Oath* are these Words, *Tanquam in Academia*, by which they get Loose from the whole, saying, That though they have *Pupils* and Read *Lectures*, yet it is not *in such Manner as is done in the University*, that is, *Taking and Giving Degrees, in Opposition thereunto.* Tho' he tells us, That even this was attempted for some Years at *Stanford.*

But to return to our former *Author* of the *Seasonable Caution*, he sees now, That the *Separation* of the *Dissenters* from the *Church* of *England* is deeper *Founded*, than he Imagin'd, or at least was willing to Confess. And that it goes farther than the *Personal Case* of those *Ministers* who were *Ejected* by the *Act of Uniformity*, upon which alone he puts it, as to the Case of their *Ministers.*

2. The *Case* of their *People.*

Therefore now let us consider the Excuse he makes for the *People* who still continue to *separate* under the *New Ministers* which they *Now* have.

And all that is said to that, is, their being more *Affected* with their *Preaching* and *Praying* than with *Ours*; And so their *Plea* is *Edification, more Edification.*

1. I will not enter here upon the *Judgment* or *Pallat* of these Men, who pretend to be more *Affected* with the *Scots Presbyterian-Eloquence*, and much of the same Strain, frequent among their *Holders-Forth* here, than with our most Grave and well Digested *Liturgy*; And Prefer a *Whining Tone*, and a *Cant*, to the best Compos'd *Discourses*, to *Sense* and *Learning.*

2. But

2. But I would aſk them, Whether their being more *Affected* be a ſufficient Ground for *Schiſm?* Or do they prefer the Pleaſing of their *Ears* (for that is all. They deny not but that *Sound Doctrine* is *Preach'd* with us) to the *Unity* of the *Church* of *Chriſt?* Then can Pretences be never wanting to *Schiſm*, even the ſame as at *Corinth*, one for *Paul*, another for *Apollos*, &c. Then is *Schiſm* a very ſlender ſort of a *Sin*, which can be ſo eaſily *Diſpens'd* with!

Indeed theſe Men have no Notion of *Church* or of *Schiſm*, except where it comes home to Themſelves; when any of their own Party ſet up *Factions* and *Diviſions* among them; and then none have a ſharper *Senſe* of it, or ſee the Conſequences of it more *Feelingly*.

But this Gentleman, and the *Meeters* of his Mind think, That both *They* and *We* are *True Churches*: And therefore, That it is neceſſary to go to their *Meetings*, as well as to the *Church*, to avoid *Schiſm*, becauſe that we ought to hold *Communion* with all *True Churches*: And he proves the *Diſſenters* to be *True Churches*, p. 9. from this Reaſon, *Where the Word of God is rightly Preach'd, and the Sacraments rightly Adminiſtred, there is a true Church, according to our* 39 *Articles*. And he ſuppoſes this to be done among the *Diſſenters*. *Ergo*.

Of *Ordination*.

But he muſt underſtand, That the *Church* of *England* does deny the *Ordinations* of the *Diſſenters*, and does oblige ſuch of them as have Receiv'd *Ordination* in their Way (for ſome of them have no *Ordination* at all) to be *Ordained* by the Hands of *Biſhops*, before they own them as *True Miniſters* of *Chriſt*. And if they are not *Miniſters* of *Chriſt*, they are no other than Mere *Laymen*; and then neither is the *Word* Rightly *Preached*, nor the *Sacraments* Rightly *Adminiſtred* by them. But, on the contrary, they are Guilty of *Sacriledge* and the *Sin* of *Korah*, who Uſurp upon the *Prieſthood*. And joining with them, is Partaking of their *Sin*, and *Rebellion*, not only againſt *Aaron*, or the *Biſhop*, but againſt the *Lord*, who hath Inſtituted theſe *Orders* in his *Church*; And which *no Man taketh to himſelf*, no not *Chriſt*, without an *Outward Commiſſion* from *God*, ſuch as *Aaron* and *Chriſt* had, as we are Expreſly Taught, *Heb.* v. 4, 5, 6.

Under the *Law*, where *Sacrifices* were Rightly *Offer'd*, and the *Law* Rightly *Read* and *Expounded*, there was the *True Church*: But if any took upon them to do this, beſides the *Prieſts* Ordain'd of *God*, tho' the *King* himſelf, (2 *Chr.* xxvi. 18.) or any *Levite* of an Inferiour *Degree* (*Num.* xvi. 10.) or any *Layman* were ſo *Raſh* (2 *Sam.* vi. 7.) As it was *Death* by the *Law* (*Num.* xviii. 7.) ſo was it inflicted by *God* himſelf in all the Caſes beforementioned, not excepting the *Great* and otherwiſe *Good* King *Uzziah*,

What looſe Notions then have theſe Men of the *Chriſtian Church*, whoſe *Apoſtles* and *Biſhops* were *Ordain'd* by a *Greater* than *Moſes*, as to think that the *Office* of her *Clergy* may be ſafely Invaded by any *Lay-Men* or *Women*, and to Reckon ſuch as *True Churches!*

This is the *Latitudinarian Notion*, of late crept in amongſt us; and which Extends to *Doctrines* as well as *Diſcipline*, and opens a Door to let in *Socinus* himſelf, who has already got too great *Footing* with us. For when once we leave the *Inſtitutions* of God, there is no *Stop*, and our *Imagination* is our only *Rule*.

This Author makes no Diſtinction of *Diſſenters* (I ſuppoſe he means only thoſe call'd *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, as I do by the Term *Diſſenters* all along, our Buſineſs not being now with the *Papiſts*) and ſo we muſt take his Meaning to be all of them, whether *in Orders*, or *out of Orders*. But I will not put this upon him, if he did not truly mean it. However, if he thinks *Orders* to be *Neceſſary* to an *Organiz'd Church*, and he Quotes the *Authority* of the *Church* of *England* in her 39 *Articles* for the *Preſbyterians* alone (ſuppoſe) to be a *True Church*, here he has the ſame *Authority* which allows not their *Orders*; and no Orders is the ſame thing as Orders that are not *Valid*, for if they are not *Valid*, they are *None*.

The *Doctrines* of the *Diſſenters* Examin'd.

But if he Extends his *Charity* as far as the *Act* of *Toleration*, if that be his *Rule*, then he muſt *Communicate*, (under Pain of *Schiſm*, by his Argument) with the *Quakers*, *Philadelphians*, and *Anti-Nomians*, who *Preach* againſt *Repentance*, for that *Sin* does not Defile the *Elect*, or is no *Sin* in them, and they have *Numerous Congregations* in *London*. The ſame *Doctrine* is Taught amongſt the *Anabaptiſts* and *Independents*: And the *Preſbyterians* have formerly Taught the ſame; and even now Border near upon it, in their Explanation of *Election*, to favour their Notion of *Reprobation*, *viz.* That *God* did *Create* ſo many Men (many more, in their Account, than all the reſt of the World) on purpoſe to *Damn* them, and that there is no Poſſible Means for them to be *Sav'd*, let them do what they will, becauſe it would break the *Decree* of *God*. This the *Lutherans* call Worſhipping of the *Devil*. Becauſe, as they ſay, we cannot Raiſe a *Blacker Idea* of him, or more Diſtant from *Mercy* and *Goodneſs*, by which we Deſcribe *God*. According to this, they put thoſe whom they call *Elect*, out of *Fear* of *Sinning*, at leaſt ſo far as to be *Puniſh'd* for it in another World, let them *Sin* on never ſo much; becauſe the *Decree* of *God* again muſt be kept for their *Salvation*.

Of Præ-deſtination.

In this manner they Explain *Predeſtination*, which tho' a *Scripture-Word*, as GOD's *Repenting* is, yet is no more to be taken *Strictly* than that,

that, it is only ſpoke *ad Captum*, to condeſcend to the Meanneſs of our Apprehenſion. For there is no *Fore* nor *After* in *God*, and conſequently no *Fore* or *Præ-Deſtination*. That is only ſpoken with Reſpect to Us, who live in *Time* and by *Succeſſion*, and can apprehend nothing but according to that Meaſure. And ſo we ought to let it lie, as we do the Notion of *Eternity*, or without *Beginning*, as a thing we cannot Explain, or, in this Life, truly underſtand. But theſe Men, with the *Bethſhemites*, will be prying into the *Ark*. The greateſt Bulk of their *Preaching* is upon this *Subject*, whence they draw ſuch Wild *Concluſions* as before is told, and drive many of their Hearers into *Preſumption* or *Deſpair*; of which laſt eſpecially there are many Examples, chiefly on their *Death-Beds*; becauſe there being no ſure *Marks* of their *Election* to be given them, they *ſink* under the Diſmal *Apprehenſion!* As to the Meaſuring of themſelves, by their paſt Life, ſuppoſing it Vertuous, in the Common Standard, that gives no Relief, becauſe their Doctrine is, That the ſeemingly *Vertuous* Actions of the *Reprobate* are all *Abomination* before *God*, and help them Nothing. What *Marks* then can they have?

If one aſk theſe Men (as I have done) whether they would give any Leave to draw *Conſequences*, and argue *Strictly* and *Philoſophically* from *God*'s being ſaid to *Repent*, to *Grieve*, &c. becauſe they are *Scripture-Words?* They Anſwer, No, becauſe they are only ſpoke *ad Captum*. But then is not the word *Predeſtination* likewiſe *ad Captum*, in the ſame Senſe? Yes, they will own it, and yet will not be debarr'd from Arguing *Strictly* upon it. Thus the *Authropomorphits* thought *God* to have a *Body*, and to be of the *Shape* of a *Man*, (thus they conſtru'd *Man*'s being made after the *Image* of *God*) becauſe of ſome *Scripture-Expreſſions* which mention his *Eyes*, *Hands*, *Feet*, &c. Not conſidering that ſuch *Expreſſions* were only *ad Captum*, as where it is ſaid, *We ſhall be ſafe under his Wings and Feathers*; whence they might as well fancy Him of the Shape of a *Bird*.

Thus *God* knows *All Things*, and he *Decrees* according to his Pleaſure; And All Things are *Preſent* to Him, both *Paſt* and to *Come*: But with us there is *Paſt* and *Future*: Therefore when he is ſaid to *Foreknow* or *Fore-ordain*, it is only *ad Captum*, as to Us, it is not ſo *Strictly* in himſelf. And therefore we muſt not Argue *Strictly* from thence. And from theſe *Propoſitions* is all the *Difficulty* with which Men Perplex themſelves in this *Queſtion*. For there is no *Difficulty*, no *Evil Conſequences* can be drawn from *God* his *Knowing* All Things, and *Decreeing* of *Happineſs* to the *Good*, and *Puniſhment* to the *Wicked*; But from his doing this *Beforehand* (which, *Strictly* ſpeaking, and according to his own *Nature*, he does not) ariſes all the Trouble. Hence theſe *Predeſtinarians* take away

Free-Will in *Man*, to avoid the Poſſibility of his breaking the *Decrees* of *God*; And conſequently they Deſtroy all the Foundation of either *Rewards* or *Puniſhments*, of *Promiſes* or *Threatnings*, indeed of *Good* or *Evil*; of which, at this Rate, *Man* is no more Capable than a *Tree* or a *Horſe*. And hence it is, That their Doctrine of *Abſolute Reprobation* comes; And ſuch an *Election* as has no Reſpect at all to any thing we do, whether *Good* or *Evil*; And of which there being no other *Signs*, muſt leave every Man at his *Death*, in an utter *Uncertainty*.

Of *Aſſurance.* To Cure which they have added another Doctrine of *Aſſurance*, That a Man muſt be *Aſſur'd* of his *Salvation* before he *Dies*, and make this a *Mark* of *Election*. (With this one of them tormented our good Arch-Biſhop *Laud* upon the *Scaffold.*) But inſtead of a *Cure*, this makes the Matter ſtill worſe with them, for when Men find not this *Aſſurance*, then they muſt abſolutely *Deſpair*, by their Doctrine, as not finding the *Mark* of their *Election*. And if they do find what they think ſuch an *Aſſurance*, it being Founded upon no *Real* thing, can be but *Imagination*. And ſo they are *Deluded* both ways.

How different is this from the *Chriſtian Aſſurance*, taught in the *Church* of *England*, particularly in her *Homilies* of *Faith* and *Salvation*, which is, a Firm *Faith* in the All-ſufficient *Satisfaction* which *Chriſt* our *Lord* has made to the *Juſtice* of *God*, or to that *God* who is *Juſtice* it ſelf, for our *Sins*, by the *Sacrifice* of *Himſelf* upon the *Croſs*; Producing, as naturally it muſt, a *Sincere*, tho' not of it ſelf a *Worthy Repentance* for all our paſt Sins; which ſhews its ſelf in all the *Good Works* we are capable to perform.

This is grounded upon the Authority of the *Holy Scripture*, this is the conſtant Tenor of the whole *Goſpel*, and therefore a firm and infallible *Aſſurance*; and depends not upon the *Criticiſm* of a *Word*, which we muſt own to be ſpoke only *ad Captum*, and therefore not *Strictly* True.

But whatever can be made of it, can in no ways hurt this *Faith*; becauſe whatever *God*'s ſecret *Decrees* are (And if he has kept them *Secret*, we ought to let them ſo remain) they cannot poſſibly go contrary to what he has *Publickly*, that is, in the *Holy Scriptures*, either *Promis'd* or *Commanded*, for that wou'd be for *God* to go *Contrary* to *Himſelf*. Therefore we ought *Entirely* to *Truſt* in what he has *Promis'd*, and *Chearfully* to *Accompliſh* what he has *Commanded*, according to our Power; without entring into his *Secrets*, or *Perplexing* our ſelves about his *Hidden Decrees*. (See *Deut.* xxix. 29. then Read 1 *Sam.* vi. 19.) If they muſt be ſpoke of, let it be confin'd to the *Schools*, and the leſs of it there the better.

But

But to have the *Pulpits* fill'd with it, and the Heads of the poor *People* turn'd with it, is of *Pernicious* Conſequence. And this is almoſt the conſtant *Theme* of the *Diſſenters* Preaching, and their *Hearers* can hardly Talk of any thing elſe.

And it *Pleaſes* them, It works upon the *Imagination*; and *Viciates* their *Pallat* from all ſound *Reaſon*, and the *Sobriety* of *Religion*. Which with them conſiſts all in *Flights*, and who can *Raiſe* them *Higheſt*, are the moſt *Enlighten'd* and *Powerful-Men!* While at the ſame time, their *Reaſon* is *Starv'd*, no *Nouriſhment* afforded to that, till having loſt the Uſe of their *Judgment*, they *Commence* Perfect *Enthuſiaſts*.

This is the *Affecting*, the *Edification*, *Greater Edification*, which this *Author* gives as a *ſufficient Reaſon* for their *Schiſm*. If it be not ſo, let him, let any of them *Aſſign* the *Point* wherein this their *Greater Edification* do's Conſiſt. But they cannot *Explain* it, it is like a *Taſte*, which we know not how to *Deſcribe*. They have a *Reliſh* in the *Fanatick Preaching*, which they *Feel* not with us. Ours go too much upon *Reaſon* and *Plain Doctrine*, wou'd move the *Affections* upon *Solid* Grounds, and make us *Wiſe* unto *Sobriety*. Which ſeems *Flat* and a *Low Diſpenſation* to *Appetites* us'd to the *Third Region*, and cannot *Breath* in *Common-Air!* When *Imagination* is upon the *Wing*, nothing can be ſo *Irkſome* as to *Clogg* it with *Reaſon*, and Preſcribe *Compaſs* or a *Helm* to it! And *ſolid Meat* wou'd *Choak* thoſe who have *Fed* all their Life upon *Froth*.

X.
Corruption in DOCTRINE has always follow'd any *Infraction* upon the GOVERNMENT of the *Church*.

Now how Juſt is it with *God*, to let thoſe Men who have had no Regard to his *Inſtitutions*, but thruſt themſelves *Sacrilegiouſly* into the *Miniſtry*, fall from the *Truth* of *Doctrine* too, and *follow their own Imagination*, and a *ſtrong Deluſion!*

I cou'd give ſeveral other Inſtances of their *Unſoundneſs* as to *Doctrine*; but that is not the Preſent Buſineſs. I think ſufficient has been ſaid to ſhew, That neither their *Gifts*, nor their *Doctrine*, ſo far as it Differs from ours, are any *ſufficient Grounds* for the *Schiſm* which they make; beſides their want of *Orders*, which of it ſelf alone were ſufficient to deter any from them, leſt he *Periſh* in their *Sin*, as it was ſaid of thoſe who follow'd *Korah*; who differ'd not with *Aaron* in any Point, either of *Worſhip* or *Doctrine*, except that only of *Church Government*. And that firſt Inſtance of *Schiſm*, upon that Head, ſerves to the end of the World a *Caution* and *Inſtruction*, what Streſs *God* lays upon the *Government* of his *Church*, and to keep off all *Prophane* Hands from *Invading* it. And St. *Jude* tells us of thoſe under the *Goſpel*, who *Periſh* in the *Gain-ſaying* of *Korah*.

Korah. So that this muſt not paſs only as an *Old-Teſtament* Story, as ſome *Prophanely*, wou'd put it off.

Such were the *Falſe Apoſtles* whom the *People* of *Corinth* choſe to themſelves, becauſe they were more *Affected* with their *Preaching*, and for *Edification*, *Greater Edification!* For we find not that they quite Forſook the *True-Apoſtles*, or their *Communion*, for ſome were for *Paul*, ſome for *Apollos*, and ſome for *Cephas*; but they had *Itching-Ears*, and ſet up for one rather than another, and ſo broke that *Order* in which the *Apoſtles* had Diſpos'd the *Churches*, which was reckon'd in them as a *Schiſm*. Nor do we Read of any *Falſe Doctrine* at that time Taught by thoſe there call'd *Falſe Teachers*, other than that they were ſuch *Teachers* as the *People* heaped unto themſelves. It is true that *damnable Doctrines* did afterwards follow this *Schiſm*, as they have done all other *Schiſms* from that Day to this. It is a *Curſe* God has laid upon all who break thro' that *Government* which he has appointed in his *Church*; And to ſhew how Eſſential the *Government* of the *Church* is, to preſerve her *Doctrine*.

As the Support of any *Civil Government* is to preſerve its *Laws*. And the *Change* of the *Prieſthood* (as well as of the *King*) does neceſſarily alſo infer a *Change* of the *Law*, by which that *Prieſthood* was Eſtabliſh'd. *Heb.* vii. 12.

Thus the *Uſurpation* of the *Biſhops* of *Rome*, and ſetting up their *Supremacy* above all their *Fellow-Biſhops*, throughout the whole *Catholick Church*, and ſo altering the Primitive *Government* of the *Church*, by many and Independent *Biſhops* (as the *World* is Govern'd by Independent *Kings*, without any *Univerſal Monarch*) was follow'd by many and great *Corruptions* and *Errors* in *Doctrine*.

And not leſs have follow'd the various *Sects* which have thrown off *Epiſcopacy* altogether.

Of which the *Moſt* and *Vileſt* have got in amongſt us. And the *Principles* (or rather indeed the no *Principles* at all, for they have none) of theſe *Occaſional Communicants* wou'd have us own all theſe as *True Churches*, and *Communicate* with them all; ſince they are *Tolerated* by *Law*, under the Peril of *Schiſm*. A ſtrange Notion of *Schiſm!* And will the *Law* do it?

XI. *Toleration does not take away Schiſm.*

What if *Popery* were *Tolerated?* (And there may be Reaſons of State, ſome time or other, for it,) Wou'd that make it Lawful in *Conſcience* to join with it? The *Jews* are ſo far *Tolerated*, that they are *Conniv'd* at. May we then join with them? Yes, no doubt, *Occaſionally*, if there was any thing to be *Got* by it, by theſe Mens *Principles*, and as oft (ſtill

(ſtill *Occaſionally!*) as the *Law* ſhou'd require it, if it were ten times a Day!

Concerning *Occaſional Conformity*, in times of *Popery*.

And ſome think this ſo far from being a Fault, or that ſuch *Hypocriſie* ought to be diſcourag'd by any Law, *That ſuch a Law as this in times of Popery, had prevented the Reformation, which was owing to Occaſional Conformity.*

This was *Conformity* to *Popery*, for there was no other *Occaſional Conformity* then.

And this ſhews how far ſuch Mens *Principles* will carry them.

And *Judaiſm* is not *Idolatry*; and *Heatheniſm* nothing *Worſe*, nor ſo *Bad* as *Chriſtian Idolatry.*

Others think this an abominable *Scandal* upon the *Reformation*, as if it had been all carry'd on by *Hypocriſie*, and cou'd not have been effected any other ways.

That a Man who thought ſo, wou'd be a very ill Hand to Write the *Hiſtory of the Reformation.*

That it is againſt plain *Matter of Fact*, for the *Martyrs* in Q. *Mary's* time might all have ſav'd their Lives, if they had been *Principl'd* (but a *Little!*) in the *Doctrine* of *Occaſional-Conformity.*

That the *Hugonots* in *France* might by this, have prevented all the *Perſecution* againſt them.

That all the Primitive *Martyrs* were loſt *(fooliſhly!)* for want of this *Accommodating* Notion.

Nay more, the *Diſſenters* themſelves might have ſav'd their *Twelve-Pence* a *Sunday*, and other things they call'd *Perſecution* in K. *Charles* 2d's time, if they had then known their now *Doctrine* of *Occaſional Conformity.* We therefore ſee how our *Modern Whigs* and *Diſſenters* have got far Beyond the *Old Ones* in all *Truth* and *Sincerity*, in *Deteſtation* of *Lying* and *Diſſimulation!*

That if ſuch a *Latitude* be Allow'd, it Diſſolves all *Faith* and *Security* amongſt *Mankind.*

That, by this Rule, a Man may *Subſcribe* the 39 *Articles*, and yet Believe none but the *Two firſt.* For that *every Man believ'd the Two firſt of the Thirty Nine Articles; but there have been many Good and Learned Men cou'd not bring themſelves up to give their Aſſents to ſome of the Laſt.* Yet cou'd *Subſcribe* their *Aſſent* to the whole, for a *Valuable Conſideration.* And then *Write* againſt them!

But

XII. Of the *Secret Hiſtory.*

But this was meant, perhaps, to juſtifie what the *Author* of the *Secret Hiſtory* (before-mention'd) writes in theſe words, *I always believe well of Lay-Men, till I ſee Cauſe to Change my Mind; tho' as to Church-Men it is quite otherwiſe with me, for I have ſeen ſo much amiſs in that Profeſſion, that I am always inclin'd to think Ill of them, till I ſee a Cauſe to think otherwiſe.*

This *Hiſtory* (ſo much of it as I have ſeen, and we may well ſuppoſe the reſt to be of the ſame Strain) is as *Lewd* a *Libel* as ever I ſaw drop from the Pen of any *Atheiſt*, or the moſt *Spiteful Diſſenter*, againſt the *Church* and the *Crown*, and All *Clergy-Men*, whatſoever, of whatever *Degree* or *Profeſſion*.

He is againſt *Biſhops* Voting in the *Houſe* of *Lords*, and has done the beſt he can to ſhew what *Scandal* ſome of them did give there!

But this was wrote before he had Hopes of any Acceſs thither: And when the *Biſhops* and *Clergy* then at the Helm, ſaw ſo well thro' him, as to prevent his being a farther *Scandal* to the *Church*. Which mov'd his Righteous *Spleen* againſt them All.

And their Oppoſing the *Bill of Excluſion*, and the *Faction* then Rampant (of which he owns himſelf a *Zealous Partizan* and *Stickler*) to overthrow both *Church* and *State*, in the Reign of K. *Char.* 2d. And their *Preaching* up the *Principles* of *Loyalty* and *Paſſive Obedience*, and *Voting* for the *King*, and *Lineal Succeſſion*, to Stem the *Torrent* of *Rebellion*, which he, with others were ſo *Strenuouſly* carrying on; Theſe were the Cauſes of his *Bellowing* againſt them, as the vileſt *Sett of Men* in the *Nation*, who wou'd always *Vote* for the *King*, and againſt the *Liberties* of the *People*. He meant of the *Faction*, whom the *King* would not ſuffer to Execute their *Rebellion*, then ſo well *Laid*, and juſt *Ready*—— It was a *Cruel* and *Tyrannical* thing! To have all that *Author's* fine *Projects* ſpoil'd, that particularly whereupon he mightily Values *Himſelf*, and tells how it was *Applauded* by the *Party*, of having a *Guardian Regent* ſet over the *King*. And yet the *King* would not hear of it; And the *Biſhops* wou'd ſtill *Vote* for the *King*, and the *Clergy* Preach up *Loyalty* to him! Were ſuch Men fit for *Human Converſation!*

If any Aſk who this *Author* is? I can direct him no where better for Information, than to the Lord Chanc. *Clarendon's* Hiſt. of the *Rebellion*. Vol. 1. Book iv. p. 271, *&c.* yet his *Character* is not fully Drawn there.

For tho' the Worthy P. there Exemplified, did *Court* and *Serve* the *Faction*, while he pretended to carry Fair at *Court*: Yet he did not Deſcend

Deſcend ſo Low, as to be a *Caſuiſt* for the *Party*, in ſuch vile Caſes, as the juſtifying of *Polygamy* under the *Goſpel*, and the Lawfulneſs of *Divorcing* a *Wife* in Caſe of *Barrenneſs*, and all this to Serve no very *Honeſt Purpoſes.*

Which *Caſe* I have well Atteſted, but not fit to ſee the Light, for the filthy *Impurity* of it, not the Strength of *Argument*; it is indeed fit for Nothing but a *Lecture* of *Anatomy.*

And to ſhew Another Godly *Project* of the *Author's*, and what a Faſt *Friend* he is to *Right.*

Now, if this *Author* be Deſirous to know by what means I came by the Sight of his *Precious Hiſtory*, I will ſatisfie his Curioſity. A Gentleman of my particular Acquaintance, was Employ'd to Tranſcribe ſome Part of it; but ſhut up while he did it, and allow'd no more Paper than he was to write over. But he found ſuch *Rarities* in it, as Tempted him to bring ſome Conceal'd Paper with him, and *Tranſcribe* likewiſe for himſelf: Of which I never heard a word from him in all his Life, ſo that if he was put under any *Promiſe* of Secrecy, he kept it, at leaſt as to me: But ſince his Death, what he had *Tranſcrib'd*, with ſome *Remarks* upon it (all in his own *Hand-Writing*, very well known to me) are come to my hands ſo Providentially, that I thought it Incumbent upon me in Conſcience to give the World Warning of ſo Pernicious a Book laid up in *Lavender*, to be Publiſh'd when the *Author* is *Dead*, and probably Thoſe who now can Diſcover the foul *Miſ-Repreſentation* of particular *Paſſages.*

A Miſtake here is Rectify'd in *Caſſandra.* Part 2. Sect. 3. p. 22.

Or, may be, it is Intended ſooner to ſee the Light, when the *Royal Name* of *Stuart* ſhall no more Wear the *Crown* in *England* (which the *Faction* hope is not far off) Nor any Appear who ſhall then Dare to Vindicate whatever *Calumnies* againſt a *Family* which they have Endeavour'd to Render ſo *Odious* to all the World, and ſtill do Endeavour.

I wiſh the *Author* were either Oblig'd to *Publiſh* it now; or ſuch Care taken, that the *Nation* ſhould not be *Poyſon'd* with it hereafter.

It wou'd be no Greater Mortification to him than the *Diſſolution* of the *Oxford Parliament*, as he tells it himſelf; after which time, he ſays, *That he gave himſelf to Faſting and Prayer*, and to Amend the former *Looſneſs* of his *Life*, which he Confeſſes, but not the *Particulars.* That was not neceſſary—— But the *Engliſh* of it was, That he was forc'd to *Scamper*, with his Beloved *Sh——ry*, and others of the *Faction*, as ſoon as they ſaw the *King* take the only Method that ever yet did do, or ever will, with that Generation of Men, which was, to ſhew his *Authority*, and let them ſee he was not *Afraid* of them. Then they who before, had grown upon the *King*, while he *Play'd* with them, till they

were juſt Ready to lay Hands upon Him; who *Boaſted* ſo Loudly of their *Numbers*, and that all the *Kingdom* was on their Side, and the *King* left *Deſtitute*, and *Durſt* not *Diſoblige* them; immediately pull'd in their *Horns*, when they ſaw the *King* underſtood them, and wou'd be *Impos'd* upon no longer; and ſaid they were Good *Subjects*, if he wou'd have Believ'd them. But the *Chief* of them *Fled* to Foreign *Courts*, there to *Hatch* Miſchief againſt their own Natural *King* and *Country* (as their *Brethren* in *Scotland* had before done, in his *Father*'s Reign, to the *French* Court) But thence ſent *Proteſtations* of their *Loyalty*, in as High a *Paſſive Obedience-Strain*, as any of the High-flown *Church-Men*, whom this *Author* does *Blemiſh*.

XIII. Compar'd with the Presbyterian-*Sincerity* towards K. *Char.* I.

And as *Sincerely* meant, as thoſe of the *General Aſſembly* of his *Country* in the very Year 1648, when the *King* was a *Priſoner* in the hand of the *Regicides*, and Duke *Hamilton* had Rais'd an *Army* for his *Majeſty*'s Reſcue, commonly call'd, *The Duke's Engagement*; which they Declar'd to be an *Unlawful Engagement*; And that the *King* ought not to be Admitted to come to any of his *Houſes* in or near *London*, with *Freedom*, *Honour* or *Safety* (as had been Promis'd him) Nor any *Meſſages* or *Propoſitions* from him hearken'd to, 'till he had fully Satisfy'd *Them* and the *Covenant*, by *Aboliſhing* of *Epiſcopacy*, and putting the whole *Power* into *Their* hands: And yet, at the ſame time, were not *Weary* nor *Aſham'd* to *Repeat* ſtill their Fulſome *Profeſſions* of *Loyalty*, and meant no *Harm*, no *Diſhonour*, no *Injury* to his *Majeſty*, they took *God* to *Witneſs*, and ſtill *Appeal'd* to the *Searcher* of *Hearts!*

Let me give you ſome of the Words of their *Declaration* and *Exhortation* to their *Brethren* in *England*. Aug. 1. 1648, wherein they tell the King,

Albeit your Majeſty, thro' the Suggeſtions of Evil Men, may haply entertain hard Thoughts of us and our Proceedings, yet the Searcher of Hearts knows, and our Conſciences bear Record unto us, that we bear in our Spirits thoſe Humble and Dutiful Reſpects to your Majeſty that Loyal Subjects owe to their Native Soveraign; And that it would be one of our Greateſt Contentments upon Earth to ſee your Majeſty Reigning, &c.

And in what they call'd their *Humble Supplication to the King*. Aug. 12. 1648, they tell him, *That they were very ſenſible of his Majeſty's Sufferings and Low Condition; That they did not in the leaſt Meaſure Approve, but from their Hearts Abhor any thing that had been done to his Majeſty's Perſon; And that they did not Oppoſe his Majeſty's Reſtitution to the Exerciſe of his Royal Power*, &c.

Whereas

Whereas they had, by their *Declaration* the laſt of *July*, 1648, but 12 Days before, *Condemn'd* with Great Zeal, the *Parliaments* Offering to Raiſe an Army to Relieve the King, then a *Priſoner* in the Hands of thoſe who *Murther'd* Him the 30*th* of *January* following, Calling and Demonſtrating (as well as they cou'd) the Undertaking to be an *Unlawful Engagement*.

Notwithſtanding of which the *Engagement* went on, and Duke *Hamilton* March'd into *England* at the Head of a *Noble* and well-appointed *Scots Army* then Rais'd for the *Reſcue* of their *King*.

This ſhews the *Rebellion* not to have been *National* in that *Kingdom*, as it was not in this. But all owing to the *Prevailing* and moſt *Hypocritical Faction*, which, by being at firſt *Neglected*, and afterwards *Encourag'd*, had Gain'd the *Populace*, and the *Aſcendent* in both *Kindgdoms*.

But ſome of theſe *Preſbyterians* will ſay, in behalf of their *General Aſſembly*, aforeſaid,

That they were *Cheated* even then. That tho' they were willing to take Advantage of the *King*'s Extremities (tho they Proteſted the Contrary, and took *God* to *Witneſs!*) only ſo far as to *Force* him to Conſent to the *Abolition* of *Epiſcopacy*, and to ſuffer them to carry on their *Covenanted Work* of *Reformation* (as they then *Worded* it, and now *Repeat* it.) Yet that they did not imagine their *Brethren* the *Independents*, who had Worm'd the *King* out of their *Hands*, wou'd have Proceeded ſo far, as to take away his Life; And that ſome of them did *Proteſt* againſt it; when they ſaw it come to the very *Point*, and that it was then too late to *Prevent* it.

But if this was the Caſe, why did they, after the *King* was *Murther'd*, and Duke *Hamilton* too, for Raiſing that *Engagement* to *Prevent* it, Declare ſtill, That it was an *Unlawful Engagement*; and put thoſe that were Concern'd in it, to open *Penance* on the *Stool* of *Repentance*, and *Proſecuted* them with all that *Malice* could Invent, as *Malignants* and what not, and *Traytors* to their *Covenant*, for no other *Crime* but that of Endeavouring to *Reſcue* their *King* out of the hands of his *Murtherers!* We muſt Believe their *Actions*, not their *Words*. Wiſe Men will make this the *Standard*. Why did they *Ramm* a *Declaration*, together with their *Covenant*, down the *Throat* of his Son K. *Char.* 2d. when they Crowned him a *Priſoner* in *Scotland*, the firſt of *Jan.* 165$\frac{1}{2}$, wherein they laid the *Blood* of the whole *Rebellion* upon his *Father* K. *Char.* I. And *Forc'd* him to own, being then in their hands, as the *Idolatry* of his *Mothers*, ſo the *Bloodineſs* of his *Father*'s Houſe, wherein he Himſelf had a Share, while he Acted under his *Father*, when *Prince* of *Wales*. And the *Inveteracy* which they ſhew to this Day againſt that *Royal Martyr*, ſtill *Murthering* of his *Memory*, with wilful *Lyes* and *Forgeries*,

geries, in *Manner* and *Circumſtances* more *Savage* than even the *Shedding* of his *Blood*; are a full *Proof* of their *Loyalty*, and the *Sincerity* of thoſe *Awful Profeſſions* they ſo often made of it, as in the *Preſence* of *God!* And a ſure Rule, how far they are to be Truſted, in the like, for the Future. Which will be obſerv'd by all who are not Born to be *Deceiv'd* and *Ruin'd* by them.

The worſt of the *Heathen* will Riſe up in the *Judgment* with Theſe, and *Condemn* them. There is not to be found in any *Hiſtory*, *Sacred*, or *Prophane*, ſuch Inſtances of Rooted *Hypocriſie*, *Perfidy*, and Bald *Mockery* of *Oaths*, *Sacraments*, and all things *Sacred*, as this *Faction* has ſhew'd, even in our Days, and ever ſince they *Aſcended* into the *World*, and that *every where*. And their *Sanctifying* all this under the *Pretence* of *Tender Conſcience*, and the Face of *Religion*, renders them Ten-fold more *Deform!*

XIV. How this *Leven* works.

There is no Touching of this *Pitch*, without being *Defil'd*. It is hard for any who have Receiv'd their firſt *Education* and *Impreſſions* among this *Society*, not to be *Leven'd* with their *Principles*, and quite to throw off what they have ſuck'd in with their *Mothers* Milk. They contract a Liking to the *Converſation* of thoſe who are *Anti-Monarchical*, and *Anti-Epiſcopal*, and Delight in the Diſcourſes of *Levelling* and *Parity*, till they come at laſt to have an Utter *Averſion* to the very *Perſons* as well as *Office* of all *Kings*, and of all *Biſhops* and *Clergy* whatſoever. And yet, wou'd be *Kings* and *Biſhops* themſelves!

Of their *Popular Schemes* of *Government*.

They frame New *Schemes* of *Government* out of their own Heads, which are *In-conſiſtent*, and have no *Foundation*; yet think all Men *Ignorant*, who will not give in to theſe, or have any Eſteem left for Old *Forms* and *Conſtitutions*, by which the *World* has been *Govern'd* from the Beginning.

This is the Reaſon the *Author* of the *Hiſtory* beforementioned gives againſt the *Biſhops* having any *Votes* in *Parliament*, viz. *Their Unacquaintedneſs with the Law, and the Wrong Notion they Generally have of Civil Society, makes them very Unfit for ſuch Conſultations: And their Voting as Commonly they do, creates a very Ill Opinion of all Clergy-Men, which fortifies Atheiſm mightily, and gives all that are Concern'd for Publick Liberty an Averſion to them, as a Sett of Men that will ever Vote and Act againſt it.*

This *Publick Liberty* is the *Word* and *Cry* of the *Party*. But when you Aſk them what they *Mean* by it, or where they wou'd *Fix* it? They cannot tell. They all Agree that it is in a *Common-Wealth-Frame*, a-

gainſt

gainſt *Monarchy*, which is their *Averſion*: But then, Is this *Common-Wealth* to be Founded upon the *Power* of the *People*? Yes, yes, that is Agreed on all hands. So far we go on Smoothly; But are not the *People* to be *Repreſented* by *Members* of their own *Election*? And is not a *Houſe* of *Commons* ſo *Choſen*, Virtually the *People*, and the whole *Power* of the *People* lodg'd with them? Here they begin to *Boggle!* For there have been *Houſes* of *Commons* that have not Pleas'd them. And we have ſeen them ſet up *Legion* againſt the *Commons*, Nay, Appeal to the *Lords* from them. And they whoſe former *Meaſures of Obedience* were all Centur'd in the *Houſe* of *Commons*, as the only true *Repreſentative* of the *People*, Now, face about, and Compare them to the *Tyranny* of the *Decem-viri* at *Rome*, of the *Ephori* at *Sparta*, of the *Council* of *Four hundred* at *Athens*, of the *Commons* at *Carthage*, and whatever can render them *Odious* to the *People*.

A Diſcourſe of the Conteſts and Diſſentions between the Nobles and Commons in Athens *and* Rome, *&c.*

Now, *No Multitude, either Repreſented or Collective, has been at any time very Nice in obſerving the Diſtinction, between Liberty and Licentiouſneſs.*

The Commons have been perpetually Miſtaken in the Merits of the Cauſes and the Perſons, as well as in the Conſequences of Impeachments, upon the Peace of the State; and therefore were by no Means Qualify'd either as Proſecutors or Judges in ſuch Matters.

The Commons think themſelves concern'd in Point of Honour, to Condemn whatever Perſon they Impeach, however frivolous the Articles were upon which they began; or however Weak the Surmiſes whereon they were to Proceed in their Proofs.

P. 41. P. 42. P. 44.

The Body of Commons, either Collective, or Repreſented, have the ill Fortune to be generally Led and Influenc'd by the very Worſt among themſelves.

P. 46.

There is hardly to be found through all Nature a greater Difference between Two Things, than there is between a Repreſenting Commoner, in the Function of his Publick Calling, and the ſame Perſon, when he Acts in the Common Office of Life: When he has got Near the Walls of his Aſſembly, he Aſſumes and Affects an intire Sett of very different Airs; he conceives himſelf a Being of a Superiour Nature to thoſe without; and Acting in a Sphere, where the Vulgar Methods for the Conduct of Human Life, can be of no Uſe. He is Liſted in a Party, where he neither knows the Temper, nor the Deſigns, nor perhaps the Perſon of his Leader; and has neither Opinions, nor Thoughts, nor Actions, nor Talk, that he can call his own; but all is Convey'd to him by his Leader, as Wind is through an Organ.

P. 57 58.

Now, methinks, there cannot be a Clearer Conviction to any Man, that has the the Power of *Thinking* left, of the *Folly* and *Inconſiſtency* of his own *Schemes*, than to ſee himſelf forc'd to *Tack-about*, and *Over-turn* every *Stone* he had Laid in his *Foundation!*

Where

Where wou'd theſe Men have the *Centre* of *Government* plac'd? Indeed they know not. They wou'd have it *Fixed* no where. But *Fleeting* and *Rolling* about, juſt as their *Fancies* Alter, or to ſerve any *Preſent Occaſion* or *Deſign* they have in hand.

This is the *Publick Liberty* they Plead for. And for not Underſtanding of this, the *Biſhops* are not fit to *Vote* in *Parliaments*; and the *Clergy* are a *Sett of Men* we ought to have in Utter *Averſion!*

XV. Of the *Notion*, That *Schiſm* is only in *Eſſentials*.

But if we Exclude them from any *Civil* Capacity (tho' they have ſome *Rights* and *Intereſt* in the *Nation*, like other Men) will we leave them to their own *Province*, to meddle in Affairs of the *Church* and of *Religion?*

No, Nor that neither. They have *Jure Divino*'s there, as well as in *Civil Government!* And theſe may come, ſome time or other to Interfere with the *Publick Liberty!* They'll make a Noiſe about *Schiſm*; and, may be, endeavour to place it upon the Honeſt *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, who *Differ* not with them in the *Eſſentials* of *Religion*; And *there can be no Schiſm, where the Differences are not in Eſſentials of Religion.*

But they will tell us, That this us'd to be call'd *Hereſie*, where the *difference* is about the *Eſſentials* of *Faith*. And that there may be *Schiſm* without that. And that the *Smaller* and more *Inconſiderable* the *Cauſes* are for which we make a *Schiſm* in the *Church* (which in the *Scripture Language* is a *Rending* of Chriſt's *Body* to Pieces) the *Sin* is much the Greater, to Do it for *Nothing*, or for *Trifles*. As it wou'd be in a *Son* or *Servant* in any *Family*, to ſet up *Factions* and *Parties* there, when no *Sufficient Provocation* was given by the *Father* or *Maſter*. As, ſuppoſe, for the *Colour* or *Faſhion* of his *Cloaths*, for the *Order* and *Time* of *Eating*, and ſuch like *Indifferent* things.

That the *Gain-ſaying* of *Korah* was about no *Eſſential*, either of *Worſhip* or *Doctrine*, except that only of *Church-Government*, which is *Eſſential* to a *Church*, as it is a *Society*.

That the Great *Schiſm* at *Corinth* was by making *Parties*, and ſetting up for *One* againſt *Another*, for *Edification*, *Greater Edification!*

That there can be no *Peace* or *Order* in any *Church*, *Family*, or *Nation*, where ſuch a *Liberty* is *Indulg'd*, of making *Diviſions*, for every *Pretence*. And that it is Contrary to the Truth of the *Goſpel*.

That this Notion of *Schiſm* was brought in merely to Countenance the *Diſſenters*, and to Excuſe their *Occaſional Conformity*.

That if ſuch *Hypocriſie* be Encourag'd, it is opening of our *Folds* to the *Wolves*, who then may ſafely come to us, not only in *Sheeps*, but in *Shepherds Cloathing* too.

And

And if there be *Rewards* for *Hypocrites*, it is like to prove a *Thriving Trade* amongst us.

XVI. Apply'd to the State.

And the *State* will find their Account in it, as well as the *Church*. They will be Serv'd both alike ——— *Occasionally.*

It was not Unpleasant once in a *Coffee-house*, to hear one of these *Occasional Whigs*, vent his *Spleen* against some body he suppos'd a *Jacobite* in the last Reign, who had *Qualify'd* himself for a *Place*, which the other had expected; He rail'd violently against him, and said he was an *Hypocrite* to take an *Oath* to K. *William*, whom he knew he did not Love, and wou'd Destroy, if it were in his Power, and in his Common Conversation, where he Durst, spoke all the Spiteful things he cou'd of him. The other Reply'd, with a *Smile*, That it was but an *Occasional Oath*, for a good *Place*, and that he did it as *Sincerely*, as the other took the *Sacrament* in the *Church* of *England*, for the same Reason; That *Occasional Loyalty* was as Honest a thing, as *Occasional Conformity*; And that we might make Bold with any Earthly *King*, in that wherein we took Freedom with *God Almighty*. That an *Oath* in a *Secular Court*, is not a more *Solemn* thing, than *Receiving* the *Holy Sacrament* in our *Church*, with all the *Holy Offices*; where it is Requir'd, That we do it without all *Scruple* or *Doubtfulness*. That to take an *Oath*, of Course, to K. *Will.* without being much his Friend, is as *Decent* and as *Moral*, as to see a *Whig* upon his *Knees* at the *Altar*, wishing it under Ground, all the while, and in his *Heart* determining to *Blow-up* that *Church* with which he doth *Communicate*, and *Railing* at it with his *Mouth*, as soon as he has made his Escape out at the Door: And *Forces* himself (if it be a *Force*) to Act this *Hypocrisy*, on *Purpose*, to have an Opportunity to *Destroy* the *Church* more Effectually. Whereas, said he, if I were the Man you Represent me; I only do it for a few Pence that I may Live, without any *Malice*; For, whatever my Sentiments are, I never did, nor ever will *Betray* any body. And if I be as Loose as you please in the Matter of *Oaths*, it little becomes you Mr. *Whig*, to Upbraid me with it, for I learnt it from you. Was not your whole *Cause* carry'd on, from the beginning of your *Covenant*, with *Swearing* quite through what you never Intended to Perform? Were you not *Swearing* of your *Allegiance* to K. *Char.* 1. back'd with all the *Oaths* and *Protestations* of your *Sincerity*, and Appealing to *God*, who knew your *Hearts*, at the same time that you were *Preparing*, and even *Ready* to Cut his *Throat*? As you Intended to have Serv'd his Son K. *Char.* 2 at the *Rye-House*, yet still *Swore* true *Allegiance* to him! And are you not still Ready to *Swear* that this was a *Sham*, and a *Court-Plot*, tho' every one of your *Dear Friends* who *Died* for it, did *Confess* it at the *Gallows*?

I ſuppoſe they were *Brib'd* to it, to be *Hang'd* and *die* with a *Lye* in their *Mouths* againſt *Themſelves*, and the *Party* for which they Suffer'd! And have you Forgot your *Oaths* and fine *Addreſſes* to K. *James* 2. ſtill Calling *God* to Witneſs your *Sincerity!* Theſe were not *Forced* upon you, Nor Impos'd by *Law* with *Penalties*. But they were your Never-failing *Artifice*, to Gain *Credit* where you meant to *Betray!* Yet now you are the only Men fit to be *Truſted!* And can have no Mercy upon a Poor Man, who has a *Common Oath* Ramm'd down his Throat, becauſe he wants *Bread* to put into it; and do's it but *Occaſionally* neither, and intends to *Repent* as ſoon as he can.

I cannot ſay, That the *Whig* was *Aſham'd* at all this (for that I never ſaw) but he grew *Angry*, and Flew out of the Houſe.

XVII.

Why *Forty One* Remember'd.

There is Another Great *Objection* againſt the *New Aſſociation* yet behind, which is, That it Runs back to *Former* times, and makes ſuch a Stir with *Forty One*, which ought to be *Forgotten*, as it is *Forgiven*.

But theſe Gentlemen will not let it be *Forgotten*. Have they not this very Year, in the *Abridgment* of *Baxter's Life*, Reviv'd again that *Curſed* as *Falſe* as *Malicious Calumny* againſt the *Royal Martyr* K. Char. I. That he had a Hand, and gave *Orders* for the Bloody *Maſſacre* and *Rebellion* in *Ireland*, in *Forty One?* For Anſwer to which, I refer to the *Caſe of Preſent Concern*, Dated *January* the 10*th*, 1702. beforementioned. And do they not ſtill keep up their Horrid *Calves-Head-Feaſts*, of which we have the *Secret Hiſtory* lately Printed, with ſome of their Deteſtable *Anthems*, which are there *Sung*, in *Ridicule* of the *King's Martyrdom*, and *Praiſe* of the Bloody *Regicides?* And would theſe have *Forty One* to be *Forgotten?* They would have it *Forgot* by Us, that we ſhould not think of all their Odious *Villanies*, and be upon our Guard Now, that they are juſt upon Acting the ſame over again. But ſince they will not let it *Die*, it ſhall be *Remember'd*; And, if a *Judgment* be not *Determin'd* upon this *Land*, it will have the *Effect*, to put it out of their *Power*, who have given us convincing *Proofs*, that they want not the *Will* to Deſtroy both our *Monarchy* and the *Church*.

XVIII.

Inſtances before *Forty One*, in the *Reign* of K. *Jam.* I.

They have been told in the *New Aſſociation* of their *Treatment* of K. *Charles* I. and downwards. But now I will go a little higher with them, to ſhew that they have been one from the beginning, and never *Alter'd*, but to the *Worſe*.

It ought not to be forgotten in what manner they us'd K. *James* I. When he was almoſt wholly in their Power, before he came into *England*.

land. And to ſave the Reader the pains of going to many *Hiſtories* for it. I refer him to a *Pamphlet* lately *Re-printed*, call'd *Preſbytery Diſplay'd*, Sold by *John Nutt*, near *Stationers-Hall.* There you will find how they Extended their *Spiritual Sword* (like the *Pope*) to all ſort of *Temporals.* They took upon them, when their *Cenſures* were not obey'd, to Compel Men to it, by Arbitrary *Fines* and *Impriſonments*; and *Inflicted* them by their own *Authority.* Nay, they made *Laws* as to *Civil* Matters, ſuſpended *Suits* at *Law* in the *Secular Courts*, and brought them to be Determined in their *Aſſemblies*; and for Diſobedience to their *Orders*, fell upon the *Judges*, and treated them as *Criminals.* They Regulated the *King's Privy-Council*, and would ſuffer none to ſit there whom they did not Approve of. They order'd the *Greateſt Men* of the Nation, even of the *Blood-Royal* into *Baniſhment*, and Compell'd the *King* to *Execute* their Commands. And they would not give him leave to *Recall* any whom he had *Baniſh'd*, who were not pleaſing to *Them*, and would give no other Reaſon for it but *That.* Nay, to Reſcue the *King* from *Evil Councellors*, they laid Hands upon his *Sacred Perſon*, *Impriſon'd* him, carried him from *Place* to *Place*, and put him into what Hands they thought fit. They wou'd not ſuffer him to Entertain a *Foreign Ambaſſador*, but according to their Pleaſure; And when the *King* had appointed a Day for his *Publick Entertainment*, without firſt having Aſk'd their Leave, they in *Contempt*, and to ſhew their *Sovereign Authority*, Proclaim'd that Day a *Faſt*, and puniſh'd ſuch as durſt Tranſgreſs. They look'd upon *Parliaments* but as the *Executioners* of their *Decrees*, and therefore wou'd *Reverſe* what *Acts* they pleas'd, and *Order* what other *Acts* of *Parliament* ſhould be made. And, upon *Diſobedience*, beſides *Fining* and *Impriſoning* particular *Members*, their *Diſcipline* Extended to what they call'd *Inter-Communing*, that is, Forbidding all whatſoever, to have any *Communication* with them, either by *Word* or *Writing*, under the *Penalty* of being Themſelves treated in all the aforeſaid Manners; which is, in Effect, a *Sentence* of *Death*, like that of the *Romans*, *Interdico te Aqua & Igne.* And this was not only the *Practice* of their *General Aſſemblies*, and other *Kirk-Judicatures* (and even of ſome of their private *Miniſters*, in their *Tranſcendent* Capacity) but it was the *Stated Diſcipline* of their *Kirk*, which in the aforeſaid *Pamphlet* you will find particularly ſet down.

And having thus taken the whole *Civil Government*, into their own hands, as the *Pope* has done, and by vertue of the ſame Diſtinction, *In ordine ad Spiritualia*, they follow'd him likewiſe in that which is a Natural Conſequence of the other, to *Exempt* themſelves from being Accountable to the *Civil Power*, even for *Civil Crimes.* Thus ſome of their *Miniſters* in *Scotland* being call'd before the *King* and *Council* for Expreſs

Treaſon vented in their *Pulpits*, Refus'd to Anſwer, *Proteſted* againſt their *Authority* to bring them to an *Account*; and *Appeal'd* to their *Kirk-Seſſion*, as the only Competent *Judicature* over *Miniſters*; And when the *King* Complain'd to the *Seſſion* of it, they *Juſtify'd* what the *Miniſters* had done, and *Threaten'd* his *Majeſty*, if he ſhou'd any more Infringe the *Liberties* of the *Church*.

XIX. The *Pope* and the *Presbyterians* have Hurt the *Spiritual* Power of the *Church*, by their *Uſurping* upon the *Civil* Pow-r.

Let me here take Notice, That this *Exorbitant* and *Wicked Pretence* ſet up by the *Pope* and the *Preſbyterians*, of Extending the Power of the *Church* to a *Civil* Power, even to the *Depoſing* of *Kings* (as has been *Practis'd* by them Both) has Render'd the *True* and only *Inherent* SPIRITUAL *Power* of the *Church* (which is *Independent* of all *Earthly* Power whatſoever) ſuſpected to *Kings* and *States*; and given them Occaſion to Exceed as much, on the other ſide, and lay their hands even upon the *Spiritual* Power of the *Church*, to *Curb*, *Limit*, and *Garble* it, till they have *Squeez'd* the very *Life* and *Soul* out of it. Which is of no leſs Evil-Conſequence, not only to the *Souls* of Men, and the Efficacy of *Religion*; but (for that ſame Reaſon) to the *Civil Government* it ſelf, by Looſening the Greateſt *Security* they have, which is, the *Conſcience* of the *People*.

The Medium betwixt theſe is Plain, and is the Truth, which is, To keep theſe *Powers*, the *Sacred* and the *Civil*, as they are in their own Nature, *Diſtinct* and *Independent* of each other. They Act in two *Spheres*, and therefore can never *Interfere*. But if either *Encroach* upon the other, there is *Confuſion*, without *End* or *Remedy*.

King *Jam.* 1. was Reſcu'd out of the hands of this *Faction*, by his Acceſſion to the *Crown* of *England*; and, as himſelf ſaid, as ſoon as he was Enter'd upon the *Engliſh-Border*, he was then *King* of *Scotland*. But they follow'd him into *England*, and *Propagating* with the *Engliſh Puritans*, whom he had ſomewhat Eas'd from the *Reſtraints* that Q. *Eliz.* had put upon them, they gave him *Trouble* enough all his *Reign*. And getting more *Liberty* from his *Son*, they made him a *Glorious King*, as they had often Promis'd him, and *Crown'd* him with *Martyrdom!* And if they be ever, otherwiſe than thus, Worſe than their Word, it will be, when it is not in their *Power*.

XX. The Uſe of Looking into *Former* Times.

Now they ſee the Reaſon, why *Forty One* was mention'd in the *New Aſſoc.* And I wiſh every body, eſpecially the *Queens Majeſty* wou'd Read that Excellent *Hiſtory* of it, in the *Life* of her *Royal Grandfather*, left her as a *Legacy* by her *Noble Grandfather*, the Lord Chancellour *Clarendon*, it

it wou'd be a Faithful *Councellor* to her, and let her ſee what ſhe muſt expect, if ſhe be *Afraid* of, or give way to that *Faction*.

Who are Enemies to all *Hiſtory*, and wou'd have none look higher than our own Times, leſt they ſee their *Picture* there, every where. But Wiſe Men look before them.

The Bloody *Revolutions* in former Ages teach us the beſt of any thing in the World, how to Guard againſt the like *Miſchiefs* in our own. There we may ſee, that there is *No new Thing under the Sun*. No *Pretences* for *Embroiling* of a *Kingdom*, or *Invading* that of our *Neighbours*; No *Arts*, no *Machinations*, no *Plots*, no *Diſſimulation*, *Treachery*, *Falſe Promiſes*, *Invented Lyes*, and *Stood in* to *out-face* the *Sun*; Foul *Aſperſing* the *Beſt* of *Men*, and *Extolling* the *Worſt*; *Miſ-repreſenting* the *Faireſt Intentions*, and *Gloſſing* over the moſt *Wicked*: And laſtly, no *Miſeries* or Dreadful *Calamities* which have Purſu'd a *People* thus *Deluded*, but what we ſhall find to have been all Acted before our Time, and ſet as ſo many *Beacons* to Warn us from *Splitting* upon the ſame *Rock*, to keep us from being *Deceiv'd* by the ſame *Specious Pretences* of *Rebels* and *Uſurpers*; and *Truſting* to their *Faith*, never yet *Kept* by any of them, after they had, by theſe Means, got into the *Power*; no, never, no Inſtance of it to be found in all *Hiſtory!* Which wou'd make one think, That the *Older* the World grew, it ſhou'd grow the *Wiſer*. But we *Forget* former Times; and every *Age* with us, Begins the *World*. We will be *Wiſe*, at our own *Expence*; And find it out, about the time we come to *Die*.

If the *Sicilians* had duly Adverted the *Examples* before their Times, they had not left themſelves an *Example* to Future *Ages*. They had never ſent for ſuch *Deliverers*, of whom *Plutarch* gives us this Account in his Life of *Timolcon*.

> *They pretended that the End of their coming was to Preſerve Liberty, and depoſe Tyrants; but having gain'd the Power, they did ſo* Tyrannize *themſelves, that the Reign of former Opreſſors ſeem'd a Golden Age, if compar'd with the* Arbitrarineſs *and* Exaction *of theſe New* Deleverers: *Which made the* Sicilians *eſteem thoſe much more Happy, who had expir'd in* Servitude, *than they who ſurviv'd to ſee ſuch a* Diſmal FREEDOM.

XXI. The Terrible Effects of Popular Revolutions.

But it is not only the Preſent Age, and Perſons of thoſe who have a hand in Diſturbing of ſettl'd Governments, and bringing about New-fangl'd *Revolutions*, that ſuffer for their *Rebellion* and *Treachery*; This is a *Sin* which *God* does *Viſit* to the *Third* and *Fourth Generation*.

And there is a Reaſon even *Natural* in it; for when a *Government* is over-turn'd to the very *Foundations*, it muſt take a *Long time*, and many

Changes, before it can be *Re-ſettl'd*; Variety of *Factions* over-powering and Topping one another; and ſuch a *Diſtruſt* gets into Men's Minds by the often *Treacheries* and *Betraying* that are Incident to all *Revolutions*, as the *Well-Inclin'd* know not whom to *Confide* in; and none dare *Truſt* another. So that there ſeems almoſt no other way to Reduce the Deluded People to their Senſes, but a long train of *Miſery* and *Diviſions*, perhaps of *Ages*, till it grows Apparent to them, That there is no Method of *Settlement* but returning to the Old *Foundations* and *Conſtitution*.

The *Hiſtories* of all *Ages* and *Nations* make good the Truth of this. Nor are our own Barren of ſuch *Examples*.

What dreadful *Calamities* enſu'd upon the *Uſurpation* of our *Hen.* iv! And tho' he, his Son *Hen.* v. and his Son *Hen.* vi., held the *Crown* Succeſſively, yet cou'd not this Gain them a *Thorough Settlement*; Nor the *Conteſt* of above an *Hundred Years*, with the Deſtruction of ſo many *Branches* of the *Royall Family*; ſo many whole *Families* of the *Nobility* utterly *Extinguiſh'd*; And more *Rivers* of the *Blood* of the poor *People* ſpilt, and more *Treaſure* waſted, (as our *Hiſtorians* obſerve) than had Coſt the Nation in *Twice* Conquering of *France*; I ſay, all this cou'd never bring the *Kingdom* to a *Settlement*, nor the *Subjects* to their *Liberty* and *Property*, thro' all that long Tract of Time, till the Right *Line* was, at laſt, Happily *Reſtor'd*. And then, and not till then, their *Confuſions* had an End.

And we muſt not *Forget*, but ſtill *Repeat* (nothwithſtanding the *Rage* of the *Faction*) what is nearer to us, even the *Revolution* of *Forty One*. Wherein *Three* Flouriſhing *Kingdoms* were ſet all in a *Flame*, which yet that *Ocean* of *Blood* then Spilt cou'd not *Quench*; The *Laws* and *Conſtitution* were totally *Subverted*, under the Pretence of *Preſerving* them *Inviolate*; The *Lives*, *Liberty*, and *Property* of the *Subject* were Expos'd to the Arbitrary *Swords* of the *Deliverers*; whom they pleas'd were made *Delinquents*, their Eſtates *Sequeſter'd*, Perſons *Impriſon'd*, *Baniſh'd*, *Murther'd*; The *Biſhops* were Deſpoil'd of their *Revenues*, *Rights*, and *Honours*, and at laſt *Trod* under foot, and Quite *Suppreſs'd*, the *Churches* Demoliſh'd, and turn'd into *Shops* and *Stables*, the *Liturgy* and *Epiſcopacy* were *Aboliſh'd* by *Act* of *Parliament*, firſt in *Scotland*, to Smooth the way, and then (the *Uſurpation* laſting long enough) in *England*, by thoſe whoſe firſt *Declarations* were for the *Maintaining* of all theſe; And, laſtly, Greater *Taxes* were Rais'd in their *Short* (but too long) *Reign*, than by All the *Kings* ſince *William* the *Conquerour* put together, on Pretence of Eaſing the Nation in. *Ship-Money*, and ſome *Trifles*, which they Pretended were not *Legal*. from . ll of which, and all they call'd *Tyranny* in that Bleſſed *King*, Under a. *Groan'd* (as the *Faction* Clamour'd) that is, for *Ten Years* be- while they c

fore

fore the *Parliament* of *Forty One* (all which Time they said, That the *King* did Govern *Arbitrarily* without *Parliaments*, for in all that Space there had been none) the *People* never saw before so Glorious a Season for *Peace*, *Plenty*, *Liberty*, *Property*, Flourishing of *Trade*, and every thing that could make a Nation *Great* and *Happy*, as our *Histories* do Witness, and the *Faction* themselves cannot deny. Former *Parliaments* knew no other way of Raising *Taxes* than by *Subsidy*, the old Antient way of the Kingdom. But these *Usurpers* and *Deliverers* finding that what Maintained the Grandeur of former *Kings* and *Regular Government*, could not come near their *Vast* and *Unlimited Expence*, Invented New *Ways* and *Means* of Raising such Extraordinary *Sums*, as never was known before in *England*; And *Taxes* are like *Cart-Ruts*, the more we use them they grow the *Deeper*, and it is Harder to get out of them. And Rightful Kings Love the Easiest way to *Money*, tho Invented by *Usurpers*; Witness the *Excise* and other *Ways* and *Means* of that *Usurpation* continued in the *Reign* of K. *Char.* 2d. And the *Antient*, and formerly thought most *Equal* Method of *Subsidies*, from that time laid aside. Thus we may Read our *Sin* in our *Punishment*; And Pay for every New *Rebellion* to all Succeeding *Generations*, let our Kings themselves be never so *Merciful*: for it is a *Load* we Tye upon our selves with our own Hands; And therefore have none to *Complain* of but our selves; nor any *Remedy*, but to Avoid the like *Evils* for the Future. X X

XXII. *How the Usurpation of Forty One Concluded Happily at Last.*

But, to Proceed, This *Usurpation* went on and Prosper'd, till it Attained to the utmost of its Wishes; The *Church* Abolished, the *King* Martyr'd, the *Royal Family* Banish'd, the *Constitution* Overthrown, and the *Government* put wholly into the Hands of the *Usurpers*; They were *Recogniz'd* and *Address'd* at *Home*, *Own'd* and *Treated* with *Abroad*; the *Royal-Party* were *Dispers'd*, some *Fled*, others *Absconded*, others in *Goals*, and the Rest *Invisible*. The young King was forc'd to Fly into *France*, and then out of *France*, with his Two *Royal Brothers*, to Sojourn where they cou'd find a Place; the successful *Usurper* having forc'd the *French Court* to *Own* him, and *Treat* with him. Many grew weary of their *Loyalty*, and gave in to the *Usurpation*, for *Bread* or *Preferment*; They cou'd *Fight* for the King, but were not able to *Starve* with him. The *Usurpers* had put a *Price* upon his *Head*, and Effectually *Attainted* him. And presently after the timely *Death* of their *Hero*, in the Year 1659, they *Abjur'd* him, and the whole *Royal Family* of the *STUARTS* with him. Foolishly thinking to Tye them with the *Conscience* of an *Oath*, against *Right*; whose *Consciences* they had so often before Debauch'd with the Breach of many *Oaths* they had taken for the *Right*. X X

However

ever they thought, that by this they had *Defeated* the *Hopes* of him and his *Adherents* for ever. Which yet hinder'd not his *Reſtoration* the very next Year, *An.* 1660. And *Peace* and *Settlement* return'd with him; without the Power of *France*, or one Drop of *Blood* ſhed in the Cauſe.

And the *Legion* which had ſo long *Poſſeſs'd* the Deluded *People*, with *Anti-Monarchical* and *Mob-Principles*, was, for a Time, *Driven* but not *Rooted* out. For being firſt *Neglected*, and then *Indulg'd*, they have had Leiſure to Grow, and ſoon Produc'd a New *Crop* of *Devils:* Who are *Enter'd* into the *Herd* of *Swine*; We heard them lately *Grunt* from *Kent*.

And now they Appear bare-fac'd. They have ſet up their *Standard* in *Scotland*, in a New *Covenant*. They have Fomented *Diviſions* in *England*, which they ſtill Endeavour more and more. They have fill'd the Nation with *Poyſonous Pamphlets* againſt *Church* and *Crown*, and particularly the *Royal Family* of the *Stuarts*; with foul *Inſinuations* againſt the preſent *Queen*, whom they both *Flatter* and *Threaten*, as they do the *Biſhops*, and all that will be Impos'd upon by them. *The Lord rebuke them*, and *Save* us from them. And *open our Eyes that we may ſee the things that belong unto our Peace.*

March 25. 1703.

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6 AT 58

F I N I S.



A Supplement.

SInce the fore-going Sheets went to the Preſs, there is farther Account come of the Proceedings of the *Faction* in *Scotland*, which it may not be Ungrateful to the *Engliſh* Reader to know.

I. The *Rabbling* of an *Epiſcopal Meeting* at *Glaſgow*, in *Contempt* of Her *Majeſty*'s Gracious *Letters*.

The *Queen's Majeſty* has ſtill more and more Exceeded in Her *Favours* to Them. Her *Letter* to the *Privy Council* there has been Publiſh'd in our *Prints*. Wherein She Treats them as the *Church Eſtabliſh'd* by *Law*, and Commands them to be Supported, *In their Superior and Inferior Judicatures, ſuch as, Seſſions, Preſbyteries, Synods and General Aſſemblies*, &c. As for the *Epiſcopal Church*, they are call'd by the Name of *Diſſenters*, and barely *Proteſtants*. And no more is Aſk'd for them than a *Sufferance* only in their *Meeting-Houſes* (ſuch as the *Jews* Enjoy here) not any *Toleration* by *Law*.

Cou'd there be Greater *Condeſcentions* from an *Epiſcopal Queen!* And what Returns were to be Expected for ſuch *Grace* and *Goodneſs!*

Now you ſhall ſee. It was foretold in the *Firſt Part* of the *New Aſſoc.* (not by way of *Prophecy*, but from their Conſtant *Practices*, and their *Principles*) That the Greater the *Condeſcentions* from the *Queen*, the Greater wou'd be their *Inſolence*; And that they wou'd make uſe of it, to *Magnifie* their own *Strength*, and *Terrifie* the *Government*. Which they have verified *Adamuſſim*.

What Reception this moſt *Gracious Letter* from the *Queen* met with amongſt them, I will give you in the Words of the Letter which brought the Account, Dated at *Edinburgh*, *March* 13. as follows,

We have had a Letter from the Queen to the Council in Favour of the Epiſcopal Clergy, Recommending them to the Protection of the Government. And though the Paper be Perplex'd in its Expreſſions, yet it is what is not to be De-

murr'd

murr'd upon, ſeeing it is Plain that a Favour is thereby intended. And therefore purſuant thereto, Endeavours have been us'd to Set up a Meeting-Houſe at Glaſgow; *And tho' they made Diſturbance to the Sermon that was there made on the* 30th *of* January; *it was again Try'd on* Sunday *the laſt of* February, *which ended without any Commotion. But it did ſo ſtir the Humours of the Party, that it was not thought ſafe to Venture a Second Time on their Patience and Modeſty. So a Perſon Qualify'd according to Law was ſent from this, ſeconded with Letters from the Chancellor and Advocate, to the Magiſtrates, and the Lord* Kilmaers, *who is Commandant, to ſee him Officiate Securely. But whether the Magiſtrates were ſlack or not, I ſhall not ſay, but there was ſuch a Tumult there on* Sunday *the* 7th *of* March, *that Sir* John Bell's *Houſe* (where the Meeting was) *was Aſſaulted and Spoil'd, his Garden and Summer-Houſe Ruin'd and Waſted, and it was no ſmall Mercy that the Miniſter Suffer'd no Prejudice, tho' other Perſons are Hurt and Wounded. There was a Reſort of People from ſeveral of the Neighbouring Pariſhes of the Country, and it made a Terrible Concourſe. But the Lord* Kilmaer's *coming with his Forces, that are yet but Raw and Un-diſciplin'd Men, did Abate their Inſolence in ſome Meaſure. The Matter being Repreſented to the Council, the Reſult was, to write a Letter to the Magiſtrates of* Glaſgow, *in which they were Ordered to Repair Sir* John Bell's *Damages, to Seize the Perſons Active in the Tumult, and to ſecure the Peace for the Future, otherwiſe that the Government would do it, by ſending more Forces amongſt them. This is the firſt Fray againſt Authority. Whether it will be the laſt of this Sort, time muſt declare. For the Humours of that Party will grow, according as they find the Government either Inclin'd, or in a Capacity to deal with them; for Gentleneſs and the Weakneſs of a Government have the ſame Conſtruction, and the like Fate with them.*

Here we find that the only *Crime* was *Epiſcopacy*; for he that then did *Officiate* was otherwiſe, in all Points *Qualify'd*, that is, had taken the *Oaths* requir'd by the *Government*.

Thus the *Faction* who only Pretend to be Afraid of their *Toleration* here, which has, in no ſort, been *Invaded*, but on the Contrary, *Confirm'd* both by the *Queen* and the *Commons*, againſt whom they *Clamour'd*; And think that the very Naming of their *Toleration*, or *Touching* it but with one of our *Fingers*, is a Sufficient Ground to Raiſe all their *Mobb* into *Arms*, to oppoſe ſuch a *Perſecution*: Yet, at the ſame time, will Afford neither *Protection* nor *Toleration* to the *Epiſcopal Church* in *Scotland*; And that, when the *Queen* Deſires it.

Which is the very Reaſon, why they are more *Outragious* againſt it; For *that*, according to their *Maxim*, will *Frighten* her the more; And render *Themſelves* more Conſiderable.

That this is the Reaſon, appears, Becauſe in the laſt *Reign* they ſuffered theſe *Epiſcopal Meetings* more Patiently, when there were many more

of

of them than there are now. And what other Reaſon can be given, but the Difference of the Two *Reigns?* One was *their own*, the other they Intend to *Make* ſo, or to *Break* it.

If it be ſaid, That this was only a *Rabble*. Anſw. It was a more *Formidable* one than that which gave *Riſe* to and *Began* the *Rebellion* there in the Year 1637. And has been much more Countenanced by thoſe of them that are in *Authority*, than the Former at firſt was. For,

The General-Aſſembly there met within *Three Days* after this *Up-Roar*, that is, on the 10*th* of this ſame *March*. And what Notice did they take of this *Riot?* Did they *Diſcourage* the like for the Future? Or expreſs any *Diſpleaſure* againſt ſuch open *Contempt* and *Violation* of her *Majeſties* Commands? Eſpecially when ſo much Notice had been taken of it by the *Lords* of the *Privy-Council*, that they could not pretend Ignorance of what then, at that very time, made ſo Great a Noiſe.

No. None of theſe Things! They had not been uſed to theſe Methods! That was not the Uſe they had to make of it! Of what Themſelves in all Appearance, had ſet on foot! For the *Moderator* of the Laſt *General-Aſſemb.* And who, of Courſe, by their *Conſtitution*, was to open the next, even *Meſſ. David Williamſon*, in his *Sermon* before the *Mobb within Doors*, taking Leave of his *Text* (which was *Pſal.* cii. 13.) fell into a *Virulent*, *Tedious*, and *In-coherent Invective* againſt the Reigns wherein *Epiſcopacy* was *Eſtabliſhed*; And Juſtifying their own former *Rebellions*, upon that Account; Told them that the *Breach* of the *Covenant* was the Great *Sin* which brought thoſe *Judgments* of the former *Reigns* upon them; And *Exhorted* them to Adhere *Zealouſly* to their *Covenanted* Work of *Reformation*; And aſſured them, *That Prelacy ſhould not come in there without Blood.* Theſe were his words, *without* BLOOD! This is *Sounding* the *Alarm* with a Witneſs! This is much more *Haſt* than they made before *Forty One!* They took *Tears* then, to what they do in *Months* now! And if they be let *go on*, they will ſoon *Proſper!* I have been told of ſome *Great Men* there, who were very Avers to them, that now Turn to them, ſince they ſee the *Tide* run that way. A little *Time* will put this Matter paſt *Remedy*. I wiſh I may be more a *Falſe Prophet* in what is to come, than the *New Aſſoc.* has prov'd in what they have done hitherto. There is ſomething looks like *Witchcraft* in our Caſe.

For what is it elſe (in the Name of Wonder!) that can make any Man of Common Underſtanding in Love with theſe *Folks* or their *Principles?* I mean even the moſt *Refin'd* of them *Here* in *England*. I have read ſeveral of their *Books* and *Pamphlets* (with which the Nation has of late ſo much Swarm'd) And I have *Convers'd* with ſome, thought the moſt *Ingenious*

II. An *Anſwer* to Mr. *Lock*, and other POPULAR *Orators*.

nious among them, and that, upon their Beloved *Topick* of *Government*: And I profeſs I could never meet with *Common-Senſe* from any of them upon that Subject; Nor any of them that would Endure three *Arguments* cloſely Purſu'd. They love *Haranging*, but hate *Reaſoning*. They Shoot *Flying*. But have no *Principles* that they will *Stick* to. They run *Back* and *Forward*, and you can never *Fix* them.

Some of them are for ſeveral *Powers*, in the ſame *Government*, each *Abſolute*, and *Un-Accountable* to the other.

Others are for making a *Ballance* betwixt the ſame *Power* and it ſelf.

† Book 2d. Chap. viii. p. 31[illegible] *Printed* 1690.

The Great *Lock* in his *Two Treatiſes* of *Government*, † makes the *Conſent* of every *Individual* Neceſſary. Which is only *Impoſſible*. For then every one muſt, at leaſt, *Vote* for his *Repreſentative*. Which is not *Practicable* in any one *County*, much leſs a *Kingdom*.

And yet this *Nonſence* is Neceſſary to their *Scheme*. For how otherwiſe could every Man's *Life* and *Liberty* be *Devolv'd* upon *Another* by his own *Conſent*? Which they make the *Original* of all *Government*.

They *Fancy* a *Time* (but cannot Shew it) when there was no *Government* at all in the World, except that *Natural* one of a *Father* over his *Children*; And that Men met, of their own Heads, to Erect a *Political* Government among themſelves.

But then the whole *World* muſt Meet to *Canton* it ſelf out by *Plurality* of *Voices*, into ſuch and ſuch ſeveral *Countries* and *Diſtricts*.

They forget how the World was *Divided*, by the Great *Miracle* of the *Diviſion* of *Tongues*, each Sorting with thoſe of his own *Language*; And each Sort became a Diſtinct *Nation*. And *God* ſet a *Ruler* over every one of them; Every one of whoſe *Names* are ſet down in the *Tenth* of *Geneſis*. Thus was the *World* Divided in their *Nations*, are after their *Languages*. Since which time there have been *Conqueſts*, wicked *Uſurpations* and *Revolutions* in all *Nations*. But the *Prevailing* Party always Carry'd it, and never let it come to a *Free Election* of the *People*, that Pretty *Chimera* of our *Men of Wit!* Of *Whigs* and *Fanaticks!* Whoſe *Principles* have Excluded all Notions of *Right* and *Wrong*, of *Juſt*, or *Unjuſt*.

They Laugh at all *Divine Right* in *Government*, of which the *Holy Scriptures* are ſo Full; And which only can Determine *Conſcience*. Without this, every Man has as much *Right* to *Reign* as Another.

To avoid all this, and becauſe they wou'd have *God* on their Side, they bring Him in at *Second-hand*, that is, to Conclude *Him* too by the *Voices* of the *People*. So that whatever they do, is the Act of *God*, and has *His* Authority. As *Saul* Pleaded for himſelf, in *Obeying* the *Voice* of the *People*.

But

But if you Aſk them, where *God* gave this *Power* to the *People*? For that the *Scriptures* are totally *Silent* in it, tho' they ſpeak frequently of *Kings* having their *Power* from *God*, of their being *His* (not the *Peoples*) *Anointed Vice-Gerents*, and Carrying of *His* Sword, *&c.*

Then they run *Back* again, and ſay, That it is a *Natural* Right in the *People*, and ſo a *Divine* Right.

And the *Natural* Right they Prove, as Aforeſaid, by *Suppoſing* (againſt the Plain *Matter* of *Fact* in the *Scriptures*) That *God* did *Ordain* no *Government* at all among *Mankind*, but left them, like the *Brute Beaſts*, to *Range* about in the Wide *World*, every *Man* and his *Children* (like a *Fox* and his *Cubs*) to *Ravage* and *Prey* where they cou'd. Till at laſt, by their own *Sagacity*, they found out that *Contrivance* of *Government*; And *Erected* it, by the *Plurality* of *Voices*; And upon their own *Authority*; To which *God* being *Oblig'd* to *concur*, it ſo became *Divine!* And the *Voice* of the *People*, from that Time forth, was the *Voice* of *God!*

But this *Voice* of the *People* (like the *Roaring* of the *Sea*) is ſo *Confus'd*, ſo *Tempeſtuous*, that we know not what it ſays; nor is it of one *Tune* an Hour together.

Every *Party* and *Faction* call *Themſelves* the *People*, and Act in the *Name* of the *People*. The *People* are Drawn out in *Armies*, to *Fight* for the *People!* And both Sides are the *People!* Why do not the *Armies* go to *Vote*, and let the *Major Number* carry it?

There never was, ſince *Adam*, and we may ſafely ſay never will be till *Dooms-Day*, not only a *Fair Repreſentation* of the *People*; but any *Repreſentation* of them at all, that is, in the Senſe of theſe *Scheme-Mongers*, where the *Vote* of every *Individual* is *Neceſſary*. And it muſt be *Neceſſary*, to Support their *Scheme*.

When did all the *People* of *England* (for *Example*) Chooſe the *Freeholders* to *Vote* for them? And *Limit* their *Freeholds* to be worth ſo much *per Annum?*

If they did not, then not only every *Individual* had no *Vote*, but much the *Major* Part of them had None. And they all had *Lives* and *Liberties* to Diſpoſe of, as well as the reſt. Where then is this *Original* of *Government*, upon the *Election* of the *People!* What is the Meaning of our being *Free-born*, and that None can have any *Power* over us, or any *Laws* be made, to which we are *oblig'd*, except *by our own* Conſent, *Forſooth!*

Unleſs you mean, That *Silence* gives *Conſent*; And who do not *Oppoſe*, are *ſuppos'd* to give *Conſent*.

And then, None ſo *Free-born*, none ſuch *Free-Subjects* as the *Mutes* of the *Grand Signior!*

Or the *Subjects* of *Poland*, where the *Vote* of every *Individual* that is *Preſent* at the *Election* of their *King* is requir'd; And one *Negative* hinders the *Election*. But then if any ſuch be, they immediately Cut him to Pieces with their *Sabers*, and then cry, *Non Loquitur*.

This is *Freedom* to *Perfection!* It wou'd make one in Love with *Elective* Governments! Eſpecially where the *Election* is put in the *People!*

Which it is not either in *Holland*, or at *Venice*. There they keep it in the Hands of their *Magiſtrates*. Elſe, they wou'd not long Subſiſt. Nor are thoſe *Magiſtrates* Choſen by the *People*, but by the *Government*. The *People* are kept Down. And they have *Peace*.

The *Wiſdom* of *God* ſaw, That the *People* are the worſt *Judges* of their own *Good*. And that to give them *Liberty* wou'd be their *Deſtruction*. Therefore *He* Appointed *Government* amongſt *Mankind*; it was none of their *Invention*, more than *Speech* or *Languages*. And for them to lay Claim to it, is *Uſurping* upon *God*, and always ends in their *Confuſion*.

It is *Confuſion* in it ſelf; For it is Impoſſible to *Fix* any *Government* upon the Foot of the *People*, as we have ſeen.

It has been told before, *Sect.* xiv. how thoſe that one day are for Placing all in the *Commons*, the next are as much againſt them, and have Recourſe to the *Lords*, to whom before they allow'd but a *Precarious* Share in the *Government*, as not being the *Repreſentatives* of the *People*. Under which Notion they were all turn'd out in the *Rump Parliament* of *Forty One*. And it is within our *Memories*, when they Demurr'd upon a certain *Point*, That the word was, *We will do it without them. What are they to Oppoſe what the* COMMONS *think beſt for the Nation?* This was even *Their* Word, who now Run down the *Commons* as *Ignorant* in the *Good* of the *Nation*; and find their *Security* among the *Lords!*

Their *Schemes* are all *Confuſion*. They will *Stick*, they will be *Determin'd* by Nothing, by no *Form* of *Government*, even of their own Contriving. For they have *Schemes* not only for the *Form* of *Government*, but for the *Adminiſtration*. And if that does not *Pleaſe* them, in whatever *Form*, they are for *Down with it*, and try another *Project!* Then every one of them makes himſelf *Judge* both of the *Form*, and the *Adminiſtration*; and of what they call the *Good* of the *People*; of which they will not let the *People* themſelves *Judge*, either *Collectively* or *Repreſentatively*. This renders them Intolerably *Conceited* and *Inſolent*, even in *Converſation*, paying no *Reſpect* to *Quality*, to any *Orders* or *Diſtinctions* of *Men*; thinking, that the *Wiſdom* of the *World* is lodg'd with them! Therefore they have no *Patience* to be *Contradicted* in any thing; they

muſt

muſt *Talk* all, and *Dictate*, or they cannot *Speak*. They love to *Hear* themſelves, and be *Admir'd*; and while ſo, are never weary of *Declaiming!* But will Bear no *Dint* of *Argument*; That *leſſens* their *Authority!* They Reply to ſuch; That their *Speculations* are *Stuff*; but that they know not the *World*, and *Mankind*, and ſo forth, for an Hour together, if you will hear them.

This gains them *Gaping* and *Applauſe* with ſuch as underſtand them not. And then they are in their *Kingdom!*

Theſe Men whoſe chief *Topick* is the *Liberty* of the *People*, and againſt *Arbitrary Power*, are the moſt *Abſolute* of any other in their *Families*, and ſo Proportionably, as they riſe *Higher*. If they Believ'd *Themſelves*, or their own *Pretences*, they wou'd go *Home*, and call a *Council* of their *Wives*, *Children* and *Servants*, and tell them that the *Maſter* of a *Family* was ordain'd for the *Good* of thoſe that were put under his *Government*; that it was not to be Suppos'd ſuch a Number of *Perſons*, equal to *Himſelf* in *Nature*, were all Created merely for his *Luſts* and *Pleaſures*; and that they muſt be the beſt *Judges* of what was for their own *Good*; And therefore, that they ſhou'd *Meet* and *Conſult* together, as oft as they thought fit; and ſet him *Rules* for the *Government* of his *Family*: Which if he *Broke*, or that they thought ſo, for they are the *Judges* of that; then that they ſhou'd *Abdicate* him; and Chooſe another *Maſter* for Themſelves. And God forbid, that he ſhou'd make a *Diſturbance* in the *Family* for any thing that cou'd be call'd his *Right*, which was given to him to be *Adminiſtred* only for their *Good!*

The Reaſon is the ſame in a *Kingdom*, which is but a Great *Family*. And the like Treatment which one of theſe *Common-Wealths-Men* wou'd give to any of his *Family* (tho' it were his *Son*) that ſhou'd ſet up ſuch *Doctrine* in his *Houſe*, the ſame is his own Due, for all his Lewd *Harangues* to Stir up the *People* to *Rebellion*. And can any Believe, that a *Tyrant* in a *Family* would not prove the ſame upon a *Throne?* It has has ever prov'd ſo. And I deſire no other *Teſt* for theſe Publick *Patrons* for *Liberty*, than to look into their *Converſation* and their *Families*. Then let any Man *Believe* them, if he *Can*; and *Truſt* them, if he *Pleaſe*.

The *Jure Divino-Men* (for I have Convers'd with ſome of them too) are generally of another Strain. They having *Fixt* the *Original* of *Government* in the *Ordinance* of *God*, make a *Conſcience* of their *Obedience*; and think themſelves oblig'd to Pay *All* their *Due*, to all the *Diſtinctions* and *Orders* of *Men*; without which, they think, the *World* could not Subſiſt.

They

They find *Government* Inſtituted by *God* (and not left to the mere Dictates of *Nature*) when there were but *Two* Perſons in the World; for He ſaid to *Eve*, Gen. iii. 16. *Thou ſhalt be Subject to thy Huſband, and he ſhall Rule over thee.* And in the ſame words the Authority of *Cain* the *Firſt-Born* was Eſtabliſh'd over his younger Brother *Abel*, tho' the Better Man, and more Belov'd of *God*, who tho' he had *Accepted* the *Sacrifice* of *Abel*, and *Rejected* that of *Cain*; yet he ſaid to *Cain* concerning *Abel*, Gen. iv. 7. *He ſhall be Subject unto thee, and thou ſhalt Rule over him.* And when *Cain* built a *City*, and call'd it after the Name of his *Son*, it is not to be doubted, but that he did *Rule* over it.

From this time we have the Names of the *Patriarchs* before the *Flood*, tho' the *Hiſtory* is very *ſhort*, only by way of a *Genealogie*; wherein none but the *Eldeſt Son* is *Nam'd*, in whom the *Patriarchate* or *Government* Deſcended. The reſt are Paſs'd over under the General *Apellation* of *Sons* and *Daughters*. And it is ſaid that there were then *Mighty Men, Men of Renown.* Gen. vi. 4.

After the *Flood*, when *Mankind* was *Increas'd* ſo far as fit to be *Divided*, that is, about an *Hundred Years* after, then *God* did *Divide* them into *Seventy* Diſtinct *Nations, viz.* of the Sons of *Shem* 26. of *Ham* 30, and of *Japheth* 14. for juſt ſo many are thoſe nam'd, *Gen.* x. And it is ſaid, *Deut.* xxxii. 8. *That it was the moſt High, who* (then) *Divided to the Nations their Inheritance, and ſeparated the Sons of Adam.* And *Eccluſ.* xvii. 17. *That in the Diviſion of the Nations of the whole Earth, He ſet a Ruler over every People.* Some of theſe Retain their *Names* to this Day, as *Babylon* the Beginning of the *Kingdom* of *Nimrod.* And from his Son *Aſſur* the *Aſſyrian Monarchy* was Nam'd; which was ſucceeded by that of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, that by the *Grecian*, and that by the *Roman Monarchy*; And from the *Diviſion* of the *Laſt* into the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, we have the *Names* of all the *Kings*, all the way down from *Nimrod* (in Prophane Hiſtory, call'd *Belus*) to the Preſent *Emperor* of *Germany*, and the *Sultan* at *Conſtantinople.*

Where then ſhall we find a *Gap* to let in this *Imaginary Freedom* and *Election* of the *People!* What *Time* ſhall we Allot for that State of *Mankind?*

Before the Laws of Servitude began,
When Wild in Woods the Noble Savage ran!

And ſuch a *State* muſt be ſuppos'd, to Found the *Original* of *Government* in the *People.*

But theſe Men, leaving the *Clue* of the *Sacred Hiſtory*, ſeek for the *Original* of *Government* among *Heathen* Authors, who knew not how the *World*

World or *Mankind* Began; How then ſhould they know the *Original* of *Government?*

But even there, they are at a Loſs. For as far up as *Prophane Hiſtory* reaches, it ſtill finds *Governments* Settl'd and Eſtabliſh'd among *Mankind.* As *Juſtin* begins his *Hiſtory*, *Principio rerum Nationumque, Imperium penes Reges erat*; that is, *In the Beginning of Things and Nations, the Government was in the Hand of Kings.*

So that finding no *Foundation* for their *Original Independance* of *Mankind*, in any ſort of *Hiſtory* whatſoever, they then run to Imaginary *Suppoſes*, as of a *Ship* Landing in a Deſart *Iſland*; and ſetting up *Government* among themſelves, *&c.*

But the Planting of all *Collonies* was in another Form, under *Leaders* and *Government.*

They may as well ſuppoſe a *Shower* of *Men*, dropping down *Independently* from the *Clouds!*

It wou'd be an Affront to *Human Underſtanding* to Chaſe ſuch wild *Suppoſes*, or *Argue* from them.

And they have no other *Foundation* for ſuch a *State* of *Mankind*, as is Neceſſary for placing the *Original* of *Government* in the *People.* So much for the *Original* of *Government* in the *World.* To which all *Factions* have Recourſe, when they are about to *Unhinge* and *Over-Turn* ſettl'd *Conſtitutions.*

Now as to the *Deduction* of *Government* from the *Diviſion* of the *World* in the Days of *Noah*, to our times; it having pleas'd God (for the *Sins* of *Men* to Permit *Conqueſts* and *Uſurpations* through all *Nations*, ſo that there is no *King* now upon Earth, who can Derive himſelf in a *Lineal, Uninterrupted Hereditary Succeſſion*, from any of thoſe 70 *Kings* of the *Sons* of *Noah*; The *Uſurper* or *Uſurpers* (tho' the Act of *Uſurpation* always remains a *Wicked* Act) take up the *Government* out of the Hands of the *Right Owners*, and ſucceed *Immediately*, without letting it *Fall* to the *Free Election* of the *People*; like a *Ball* perpetually *Toſs'd* betwixt *Rackets*; This *Ball* of *Government* was never yet let *Fall* to the *Ground.*

And there being a Neceſſity for *Government* always *Continuing*, elſe the *World* would Fall into the *Chaos* of that Univerſal *Liberty* theſe *Common-Wealth Men* Contend for: Conſequently, the *Poſſeſſor* has the *Right* of the *Government*, where there are none who *Claim* a *Better Right.* This was the Caſe of the *Roman Emperors* from *Julius Cæſar* downwards, when they were *Elective.*

Where there are *Competitors* for the *Crown*, it is a Grievous *Judgment* upon that *People*; and cannot End without the *Deſtruction* or *Reſtauration* of thoſe who are *Neareſt* in the *Line* of *Succeſſion.* As the Caſe of *York* and *Lancaſter*, and the *Hiſtories* of all *Ages* do make good. And

And in *Elective Monarchies*, every new *King* (almoſt) is a new *Revolution*; as we ſee at Preſent in *Poland*, and formerly at *Rome*, while their *Emperors* were *Elective*, when they had *Two*, *three*, *four*, or more *Emperors* ſome times ſet up together, One by one *Army*, and one by Another; And once they had no leſs than *thirty Tyrants*, at one Time, all *Contending* and *Fighting* with each other, to the Infinite *Deſtruction* of the *People*.

Indeed the *Liberty* Contended for by theſe Unthinking *People*, is a *Liberty* to the *Sword*, to *Ruine* and *Deſtroy* one Another. And the *Salus Populi*, with which they make ſo much *Noiſe*, is more Hurt by them, than by all the *Tyrants* in the *World*. So much Safer are we in the Hands of *God*, than of *Men*. In that *Government* which he has Eſtabliſh'd, for the *Good* of the *People*, than in all their own *Contrivances* of *Electing* and *Depoſing* their own *Kings*, and Framing new *Schemes* of *Government* to themſelves. *God* tells us (for our *Security*, if he wou'd *Truſt* Him!) That the *Hearts* of *Kings* are in his Hands, and that he turneth Them, like the *Rivers* of *Waters*; That He will ſend *Good Kings*, as a *Bleſſing* upon a *Good* and *Obedient People*: And tho' ſometimes He ſuffers us (for our *Sins*) to be *Evil-entreated* through *Tyrants*; yet He has not Permitted all the *Tyrants* in the *World*, from the firſt Beginning thereof, to make ſuch *Devaſtation* of the *People*, ſuch *Havock* of their *Lives*, *Liberty*, and *Property*, as is brought upon them by one *Popular Revolution*. So much do's this *Remedy* Men have Provided for themſelves (againſt the *Ordinance* and *Inſtitution* of *God*) prove *Worſe* than the *Diſeaſe* of that *Government* He has *Appointed*! And ſo much is the *Folly* of *GOD Wiſer* than *Men*, and more for their *Advantage*, if theſe *Sons* of *Belial*, that is, of *Liberty*, would let them ſee it!

Can they not ſee, That when they are taken off from this *Original* and *Foundation* of *Government* in *Divine Right*, they have none at all left to them, That *None* can be built upon the *Foundation* of the *People*?

Is it not Apparent to them, Does not all the World Confeſs it, That the *Collective Body* of the *People* cannot *Govern* it ſelf, more than every *Man* in the *Nation* can be a *King*? Well then, Will they let the *Body Repreſented* (according to their own *Scheme*) be the *Dernier Reſort*? And muſt we take their *Voice*, as the *Voice* of *God*?

No. That will not be Allow'd to us neither. And yet they cannot ſhew to us any other Way!

* The Great *Patron* of *Liberty* beforemention'd, ſays, *That the Saying*, VOX POPULI, VOX DEI, *ought to be underſtood of the Univerſal Bent and Current of a People; Not of the bare Majority of a few* REPRESENTATIVES; *which is often procur'd by little Arts, and great Induſtry and Application; wherein thoſe who Engage in the purſuits of Malice and Revenge, are much more Sedulous than ſuch as would prevent them.*

But

* *A Diſcourſe of the Conteſts and Diſſentions between the Nobles and Commons in* Athens *and* Rome, *&c.* p. 44, 45.

But now, How ſhall this *Univerſal Bent* and *Current* of the *People* be known, ſince it muſt not be taken from their *Repreſentatives?*

Why, from a *Mobb* or *Legion*, ſet up by any *Party*, to *Whoop* and *Hallow!* And this is *Vox Populi*, and ſo *Vox Dei!* Let them ſhew any other way. Wou'd they ſend Men about to *Poll* the whole *Nation?*

The *Senſleſneſs* of ſuch *Schemes* is *Nauſeous.* But if it were not *Deſtructive* too, we cou'd Bear it the Better.

In the very ſame Breath, with that before-quoted, he ſets it down as a Rule, *Never to give way to Popular Clamours.* Where are we now? Where now is the *Vox Populi?* Theſe Men cannot ſpeak *Conſiſtently* three *Lines* together! Their *Brains* are turn'd. They know not what themſelves wou'd be at. P. 45, 46.

He is very Angry at the *Power* of the *Commons*; and Adviſes, *That the moſt Auguſt Aſſembly of the Commons wou'd pleaſe to form a* PANDECT *of their own Power and Privileges.* Which yet he tells us is Impoſſible. *When* (ſays he) *a Child grows Eaſie and Content by being Humour'd*; *And when a Lover becomes Satisfy'd by ſmall Compliances, without further Purſuits.* [That's my Man! This was like thy Self!] *Then expect to find Popular Aſſemblies Content with ſmall Conceſſions. If there cou'd one ſingle Example be brought from the whole Compaſs of Hiſtory, of any one Popular Aſſembly, who after beginning to Contend for Power, ever ſat down Quietly with a certain Share. Or, if one Inſtance cou'd be Produc'd of a Popular Aſſembly, that ever Knew, or Propos'd, or Declar'd what Share of Power was their Due, then might there be ſome Hopes, that it were a Matter to be Adjuſted,* &c. P. 52. L L P. 45.

But if there be no *Hopes* of it. If it be a Matter which they themſelves do not *Know* (as he ſays) and ſo cannot *Declare* it; why wou'd this Gentleman *Propoſe* it? It muſt be only a *Sarcaſm* upon *That moſt Auguſt Aſſembly* of the *Commons*, as he *Ironically* calls them. Upon which I leave them to *Animadvert.*

I have now only to do with his *Schemes* and *Ballancings.* What Remedy do's he Propoſe for this? Why thus: *That they to whom the reſt of the Ballance is Entruſted, ſhou'd never give way ſo far to Popular Clamours, as to make the leaſt Breach in the Conſtitution, through which a Million of Abuſes and Encroachments will certainly, in time, force their way.* P. 46. + x

Ah! *Doctor, Doctor*, Was this *Always* your *Doctrine?* Are you come to ſee it at laſt? And yet never *Mend!*

But who are they that hold the reſt of the *Ballance?* This muſt be either the *Crown*, or the *Lords*, or *Both.* And they muſt *Never give way* to the *Popular Clamours* of the *Commons.* And this will hold the *Ballance* even!

But you ſay, That the *Commons* are never *Satisfy'd*. That they will not be *Content* with a *Share* in the *Ballance*. Nay, That they do not *Know* what their own *Share* is. How then ſhall they *Ballance* it? Is it not Poſſible, in ſo *Nice* a *Caſe* as this, That the ſeveral *Parties* who held this *Ballance*, may Differ in Opinion (even tho' *Wiſe* and *Good Men*) as to one Anothers *Share*? And is there no *Umpire*? None who who has *Authority to Compoſe* and *Settle* this Matter? Then there is no *Remedy*, but that they go to *Cuffs* about it, and Engage the *Nation* in a *Civil War*.

But all *Power* is *One*, and *Indiviſible*, whether in the Hands of *One* or *Many*. And *Several* Independent *Powers*, in the ſame *Government*, is *Anarchy* and *Confuſion*. And is ſet up by None but who are Laying *Seed-Plots* for *Rebellion*, or who are *Beſotted* in their *Underſtandings*.

Let me Imitate a little of this Author's *Rhetorick* and *Fancy*. When CHILDREN *Agree in* SCRAMBLING *for* APPLES; *And Jealous* LOVERS *about their* MISTRESS; *then expect to find* RIVALS *for* POWER, *Agree in each other's* SHARE *of the* BALLANCE!

But he tells us of one *Sort* of theſe *Rivals*, who are the *Fierceſt* of any in their *Purſuits* (tho' of late he has found Reaſon to have a Better Opinion of them) who, *About the Middle of Queen* Elizabeth's *Reign, or*
P. 51. *ſoon after, Aroſe in* England, *under the Name of* PURITAN, *and began to grow Popular, by Molding up their new Schemes of Religion with Republican Principles in Government; And gaining upon the* Prerogative *as well as the* NOBLES, *under ſeveral Denominations, for the ſpace of about Sixty Years, did at laſt Overthrow the Conſtitution; And according to the Uſual Courſe of ſuch Revolutions, did Introduce a* Tyranny, *firſt of the People, and then of a ſingle Perſon.*

This is a very Inſtructive Paſſage. And wou'd give one Cauſe to Enquire, what Reaſon the *Author* has ſince found out (except his being ever *In-conſiſtent* with *Himſelf*) to Struggle ſo hard for letting the ſame *Faction* ſtill have a *Share* in the *Ballance* of *Power*!

Has he not ſeen in his own time (and Himſelf a great *Manager* in it) the very ſame Thing done, by the very ſame *Faction*, in all the Particulars he has before Deſcrib'd?

But he ſhou'd Explain to Us, How there can be a *Tyranny* (as he ſays) of the *People*, as well as of a *Single Perſon*? What is now become of our *Schemes*? Can the *People* be *Tyrants* over *Themſelves*! Then it is time to look to it. For that muſt be a Terrible *Tyranny*! As much more than that of a *Single Perſon*, as they are more in *Number* than *He*. Or a *Legion* of *Devils* worſe than *One*. Who ſhall hold the *Ballance* of *Power* betwixt the *People* and the *People*? Or come in with them for a *Share*?

This was ſo Obvious to him, That he wou'd Exclude the *People* from the *Choice* of their *Repreſentatives* in *Parliament*. How then ſhou'd it be done? Why let the *Faction* (who are *Wiſer Men*) even *Bribe* Downright, and Buy *Votes* where they can. This he Expreſly *Juſtifies*, and *Argues* for it. He ſays, *That according to the preſent Turn and Diſpoſition of Men in our Nation, it were a leſs Abuſe to Bribe Elections, than leave them to the Diſcretion of the Chuſers. That the Talents which Qualify a Man for the Service of his Country in Parliament, are very different from thoſe which give him a Dexterity at making his Court to the People; and do not often meet in the ſame Subject. Then for the Moral Part, the Difference is Inconſiderable; And whoever Practices upon the Weakneſs and Vanity of the People, is Guilty of an Immoral Action, as much as if he did it upon their Avarice. Beſides, the Two Trees may be Judg'd by their Fruits, The former produces a Sett of Popular Men, fond of their own Merits and Abilities, their Opinions, and their Eloquence; Whereas the Bribing of Elections ſeems to be at Worſt, but an ill means of keeping things upon the old foot* [that is, in the hands of the Faction] *by leaving the Defence of our Properties, Chiefly in the hands of thoſe who will be the greateſt Sufferers, whenever they are endanger'd* [that is, who had Enrich'd themſelves by Cheating the Publick, and wou'd be the greateſt Sufferers, if brought to Account.] *It is eaſie to obſerve in the Late and Preſent Parliament, that ſeveral Boroughs, and ſome Counties have been Repreſented by Perſons, who little thought to have had ſuch Hopes before* [Theſe were Perſons he ſuppos'd not ſo well Affected to the Late Government.] *And how far this may proceed, when ſuch a way* [that is the Freedom of Elections] *is laid open for the Exerciſe and Encouragement of Popular Arts, one may beſt Judge from the Conſequences that the ſame Cauſes produc'd both in* Athens *and* Rome. *For let Speculative Men Reaſon, or rather Refine as they pleaſe; it will ever be true among us, that as long as Men Engage in the Publick Service, upon Private ends, and whilſt all Pretences to a Sincere Roman Love of our Country, are look'd upon as an Affectation, a Foppery, or a Diſguiſe; (which has been a good while our Caſe, and is likely to continue ſo;) it will be ſafer to Truſt our Property and Conſtitution in the hands of ſuch who have Pay'd for their Elections, than of thoſe who have obtain'd them by Servile Flatteries of the People.* Thus that Worthy Author.

Defence of Bribing.

P. 60.

And he tells *(ib.)* That he foreſaw the Danger to their Conſtitution, *When the Act paſs'd ſome Years ago, againſt Bribing of Elections.* For which Reaſon he was againſt it, as ſince for *Occaſional Conformity.*

But, as this is the *Bittereſt* thing cou'd be ſaid againſt the *Revolution*, as if it did not Proceed upon the General *Bent* and *Inclination* of the *People*; but only *Voted* by a Company of *Brib'd* Men; And cou'd ſtand

no longer than the *People* were ſtill *Debarr'd* from the *Freedom* of their *Elections*:

So, on the other hand, it is a Total *Overthrow* of all the *Scheme* of *Founding Government* upon the *Election* of the *People*. Whoſe *Weakneſs* and *Vanity* is ſuch (as this *Author* ſays) as only fit to be *Practis'd* upon by *Cunning* Men; ſo that it were *Better* (and he thinks it as *Moral* too) to Truſt to whom any *Faction* ſhall *Bribe*, than to leave it to the *Choice* of the *People!*

And yet He, and every one of the *Faction*, pretend to know the Minds of the *People* as *Bravely* as if they had Conſulted *every Man* in the *Nation*; and, upon every *Turn*, they *Appeal* to that, and *Frighten* us with it. This *Author*, ſpeaking of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, ſays, p. 58. *That they have been Authors of a New and Wonderful Thing in* England, *which is, for a Houſe of Commons to loſe the Univerſal Favour of the Numbers they Repreſent.* Which is as *Bold* and *Malicious*, as it is *Falſe*; moſt of the ſame *Members* being again *Choſen*. But it was by their *Arts* of *Impoſing* upon the *Weakneſs* and *Vanity* of the *People!* And their not taking the more *Laudable* way of *Bribing!*

And this is one way of the *Faction* their *Practiſing* upon the *Weakneſs* and *Vanity* of the *People*, to give out Lewd *Lyes*, that they may be *Believ'd* by ſome. Which is but a ſort of an *Occaſional Conformity!*

And it is not to be thought ſtrange, That theſe Men ſhou'd be for *Occaſional Conformity*, who have none but *Occaſional Thoughts*, and *Occaſional Principles*, to *Comply* with every *Turn* of *Faction* or *Intereſt* for their own Ends. Like the *Vicar* of *Brey*, who kept his *Living* in all the *Turns* of the *Reigns* of *Edw.* vi. Q. *Mary*, and Q. *Eliz.* without Changing of his *Principle*; for his *Principle* was, as he ſaid, to be *Vicar* of *Brey*, till he cou'd get a Better *Preferment!* What! wou'd he ſuffer himſelf to be *Ruin'd*, for the *Iniquities* of other Men! Therefore he never ſtood out for a *Re-Cantation Sermon* (which was the Cuſtom then, and may be again) but when Q. *Mary* came in, he took for his Text, *State ſuper vias Antiquas*; And bade Men be of the *Religion* of their *Fathers*. But when Q. *Eliz.* Aſcended the *Throne*, then his *Text* was, *Cantate Domino Canticum Novum*. Now, *Sing a New Song*.

How many of theſe *New Songs* have we heard from theſe Men, from this ſame Renowned *Author*, the *Cock* of the *Party*; And that within the Compaſs of a very few Years? For the *King*, and Againſt him! For *Paſſive Obedience*, and Againſt it! Againſt the *Depoſing-Doctrine*, and For it! For the *Power* of the *People*, and Againſt it! For the *Houſe* of *Commons*, and as *Violently* Againſt it! Againſt the *Lords*, and Now as much For them! *&c.*

Here

Here is *Occasional Conformity* in Abundance! These Men leave no *Principle*, no *Constitution*, no *Thing* in the World *Certain*, but *Un-Certainty!* They are the *Antipodes* to all *Government*, *Method* or *Settlement!* They are *Harington's Rota*, perfect *Babel* and *Confusion*! Fitted to *Pull down* every Thing; but to *Build up* Nothing! There can be no *Peace* or *Quietness* where they Live, and have any *Power!* When they had the *Whole* in their own hands, they cou'd not *Agree* among *Themselves* (nor ever *Will*, they *Cannot*, having no *Foundation*) but *Divided*, and *Sub-divided* into New *Schemes*, New *Governments*, New *Constitutions*, every Day! And now they wou'd feign *Try* it *once* more! But these are *Costly Experiments*, and may Draw out the *Hearts-Blood* of the *Nation*; which cannot long Subsist, under many such *Paroxisms*.

III. Some more of the *Proceedings* in *Scotland*.

But, to come to an End, I am to tell the Reader, That the *Magistrates* of *Glasgow* (as I am Inform'd) have return'd this Answer to the *Privy-Council* in *Scotland*, who order'd them to *Protect* such of the *Episcopal Clergy* as had *Meeting-Houses* there, pursuant to her *Majesty*'s Letter to them, (and after the *Uproar* of the *Mobb* there, which is told before;) *That they cou'd not Undertake to Protect any Episcopal Clergy-Man there, let him be never so much Qualify'd as to the Government.*

This is *Plain-Dealing!* And lets the *Queen* see, what use is made of her *Favours* to these *People*.

Let me give another *Instance*, which I have from sure hands; There is an *Episcopal Clergy-Man*, Mr. *Robert Calder*, who has liv'd these *Two Years* past at the *Old-Town* of *Aberdene*, who read the *English Liturgy*, first in his own House, and then, the *Burghers* and others being much *Affected* with it, and having a great *Esteem* of it (as all have who are not kept *Ignorant* of it) in a *Meeting-House* which they had Provided for that Purpose: The *Presbyterians* there were so *Offended* at this, That they Procur'd an Order for Shutting-up of his *Meeting-House*, and the Banishing him from the *City*, and not to come within *Twelve Miles* of it; They Accus'd him for having given the *Communion* at *Easter* to several *Burghers* and others, according to the *English Common-Prayer-Book* (for they have had none there Establish'd by Law, since the Restauration 1660.) Which *Charge* he did Confess. And, for this was Serv'd, as you are told. Tho' (as my Letter thence says) the Presbyterians have not given the Sacrament either, in the City or Old-Town of *Aberdene*, since ever Presbytery was set up in that Place. As they did not in *Oxford* from the time they were set up there (as in many other Places) till the Restoration, 1660. So that they Resented this *Reproach* to them, offer'd by Mr. *Calder*.

But

But why at this time, when they gave him no Disturbance these *Two Years* past? O, now they are Afraid of *Prelacy*'s coming in again (tho' no manner of Occasion has been given for it, but *Marvellously* the Contrary!) Against which they knew themselves Secure in the *Affections* of the last *Reign*. But now tell us, from the Mouth of their *Moderator*, That it shall not come in, but by *Blood!* And if that *Threat* will do, it need Cost them no *Blood*; but will cost others a great deal; unless this *Faction* have *All*, and full Freedom to Root *Prelacy* and *Monarchy* too out of *England*; and, after that, a Great deal more, in *Cool Blood* —— as Before! And, on my Conscience then, we shall *Deserve* it! And I know None will Pity us, who will take no *Warning* by many *Experiences*, and fresh Repeated *Provocations!* Building upon our *Simplicity* and want of *Sense!* All we shall be good for, is, to stand, like *Lot*'s *Wife*, a *Memorandum* for after Ages, that may not be *Doom'd* to our *Stupidity!* But

Quos perdere vult Jupiter, Dementat.

IV. Of the *Toleration.* We are Afraid to take the Name of *Toleration* into our Mouths, without Profound *Respect*, and taking off our *Hats!* Whoever *Durst* speak a Word against it, wou'd be call'd a Bloody *Persecutor*, hardly allow'd to be a *Christian*, or, for ought I know, a Good *Subject*, as Designing to raise *Disturbance*, and Alienate the Minds of the *Godly* from the *Government!* And yet, at the same time, at this very Day, in that Part of our *Island* where the *Faction* have *Power*, they *Declare* openly against it, think it *Anti-Christian*; and will neither allow *Toleration* nor *Protection* to the *Episcopal Clergy*, tho the *Queen* Desires it. And for that very Reason! As one of *Them* here in *London*, an *English Dissenter*, said last *Good-Friday* to the *Lord Mayor's Officers*, who wou'd have had him shut up his *Shop*, pursuant to the *Queen*'s Pleasure, signify'd to his *Lordship*; That he was not *Oblig'd* to do it, because the *Queen* did only *Desire* it. And he wou'd not do it, nor did do it, as others of them did not, in open *Contempt* to Her *Majesty*, as well as the Orders of the *Church*.

And yet their whole *Plea* to make the *Ceremonies* and other things that are *Indifferent* in their own Nature, become *Unlawful*, is their being *Enjoyn'd*, and so an *Infraction* upon their *Christian Liberty*!

Whereas, if you leave them at *Liberty*, and only *Desire* this as a *Favour* from them, and for *Uniformity* sake; Then,

You do but Beg, and we may Choose,
Either to grant it, or Refuse.

Are

Are not theſe *Good-Natur'd Men*, and, *Eaſy* to be pleas'd! Fit to be *Indulg'd* and *Careſs'd*, by all means!

If you aſk them, Whether it be not fully as Reaſonable that the *Epiſcopal Church* in *Scotland* ſhould have the ſame *Toleration* that is Granted to the *Diſſenters* here?

They will tell you (as oft as it is in their Power to ſpeak *Truth*!) No indeed, we mean no ſuch thing. It is our *Deſign*, and has all along been our Conſtant *Endeavours*, to pull down your *Hierarchy*. And if you cannot ſee your own *Advantages*, it is no Reaſon we ſhould Loſe ours. We have Settl'd a Good *Correſpondence* with *our Brethren* in *Scotland*, and Give them the *Word* from Hence. And will *Stand* by them (as Before) when it comes to the *Puſh*.

We are of the ſame *Principles* with Them; and as much againſt *Toleration* as They can be. Tho' at Preſent, we *Gull* you and *Paume* upon you, while we are in your Power. When did *We* ever Grant *Toleration* to You, or any Other, when *We* had the *Power*? No. *We* are for a Greater *Purity* of the *Goſpel*, than to ſuffer *Jezabel*, who calleth her ſelf a *Propheteſs*, to *Teach* and to *Seduce* the *Servants* of the *Lord*; or to *Endure* them amongſt Us, much leſs to give them *Toleration*, Who hold the Doctrin of *Balaam*, or of the *Nicholaitans*, to caſt a *Stumbling-Block* before the People. As Mr. *Caſe* ſaid, in his *Farewel Sermon*, upon this ſame *Chap.* 2. of the *Revelations*.

Time was, when the Name of a Toleration wou'd have made Chriſtians to have Trembled.

Then they were Good *Chriſtians!* I Refer the *Reader*, for farther Satisfaction in this Point, to the *Non-Conformiſts Plea for Uniformity*, &c. Printed for *Henry Brome*, at the *Gun* in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*, 1674. Where you will ſee the ſame *Judgment* paſt by the *Whole Provincial Aſſembly* of *Miniſters* and *Elders*, in and about *London*. Of *Fourſcore* and *Four Miniſters* af the County Palatine of *Lancaſter*, and of ſeveral other of their *Eminent Preachers*, *Engliſh*, *Scotiſh*, and *New Engliſh*, All *Bellowing* with *Open Mouth* againſt *Toleration*, as the moſt *Wicked* and *Un-Reaſonable* thing that was poſſible in any *Chriſtian Country*. And wherein all their *Modern Pleas* for *Toleration* are fully *Anſwer'd* and *Confuted*, and Render'd moſt *Deteſtable*.

I think none have a *Right* to Plead for *Toleration*, but they whoſe *Principle* it is to *Allow* it to *Others*.

But their *Principle* is, *To do no Right, and take no Wrong*. They will *Allow* of no *Toleration* in *Scotland*; Yet *Claim* it as their *Due* in *England*!

I meddle not, nor have meddl'd at all, with their *Toleration*. But to ſhew them, That they do not *Deſerve* it. And therefore ought to be *Thankful*, inſtead of being the more *Clamorous* and *Un-eaſy*, and Ready to

fly

ſly in the *Face* of the *Government*, the more *Favour* that is ſhew'd to them. And make uſe of it all, to *Screw* themſelves into more *Power*, till they ſhall gain *Sufficient* to *Over-turn* it. Which has been their conſtant *Practice*, from their firſt Riſe in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, to this Day, as before has been ſhew'd. That if that *Wiſe Queen* did *Watch* over them, and kept all *Power* out of their Hands, Including *Them* equally with the *Papiſts*, under the ſame *Name* and *Penalty* of *Recuſants*, by which She had *Peace* in Her Days; (for it is all one, if a *Government* be *Over-turn'd*, by *whom* it is done.) Then ſure there is more Reaſon for looking after them now, when they are much more *Formidable* and *Bold*, and have Declar'd their *Intentions*, by more than *Broad Signs*.

I have before *Quoted* from a worthy *Author*, how they firſt grew *Popular* in their *Infancy*, about the middle of Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, *By Molding up their New Schemes of Religion, with Republican Principles in Government*. And as they have encreas'd in their *Religions* ſince, to the Tune of 50 or 60 ſeveral *Monſtrous* SECTS at one Time in *England*, upon the overflowing of their *Nilus*, a few Years after 1641; Of which we have the *Names* in *Hereſiography* and *Gangrena*: So have they likewiſe improv'd in their *Republican Principles*, and are now *Settl'd* upon their *Lees*, in Oppoſition to all *Monarchy*, to all *Kings* and *Queens*, or whatever bears the Name of *Royalty*.

V. Of the *Centre* of *Government*.

But in the Heat of their *Purſuit* a *King-Hunting*, they have Run themſelves off their Legs, and loſt the *Foundation* of all *Government*, of which now they can find no *Centre*. They have endeavour'd to *Fix* it in the *Sea*, that is, in the *People*. But there it will not Reſt. Nor will themſelves let it ſtay there. They *Exalt* the *People* ſometimes to the *Stile* which *God* gave to *Kings*, ſaying *Ye are* GODS; and make their *Original Power* of *Divine Right*, and their *Voice* to be the *Voice* of *God*.

But at another *Turn*, they *Down* with them again as *Low*, and make them the *Beaſts* of the *People*, ſuch *weak* and *vain* Animals, as not fit to *Chooſe* for themſelves, inſomuch that even *Bribing* of *Votes* is Better than to leave it to *Their* Choice! So that here is no *Centre* of *Government* at all. But eternal *Rotation*, from *Faction* to *Faction*; yet they wou'd take it very ill, if an *Oppoſite Faction* ſhould *Bribe* off any of their *Leading-Men*, and give ſuch a *Practice* very *Hard Names*. Why did they keep ſuch a violent *Stir* in K. *Char.* 2d's Time, for his *Bribing* (as they ſaid) of *Parliament Men*? Why ſhould not *He* do it, as well as *They*? But in their own *Reign*, they *Juſtifie* it, and Confeſs that they could not do without it.

All

All Piety Conſiſts therein
In Them, in other Men all Sin.

But to make Amends for taking away the *Centre* of *Government*, they would give Us *two* or *three Centres*; and ſet up ſeveral *Co-ordinate* and *Independent Powers*, in the ſame *Government*. And then fall a *Ballancing* theſe *Centres* with one another.

What a *World* ſhould we have, if the *Earth* had *two* or *three Centres*? It would break to *Pieces* as much as if it had *None*. With *None*, it wou'd be *No Earth*. And with *Many*, it wou'd be *Many Earths*. So without a *Centre* there is no *Government*; and ſeveral *Centres* make ſeveral *Governments*. And can no more make *One*, than *Two* and *Three* make *One*. But theſe Men can divide *One*, as they do *Monarchy*, and *Ballance* it with it ſelf!

The continu'd *Practices* of the *Faction*.

How then can any *Monarchy* be ſafe with ſuch *Principles*, and ſuch *Practices* as this *Faction* have along ſhew'd? They have *Attack'd* all the *Princes* under whom they liv'd. Firſt *Q. Eliz.* But ſhe took the right Courſe with them. Then K. *Jam.* 1. whom they firſt *Impriſon'd*, and then Attempted to *Aſſaſſinate* in *Gowry*'s Conſpiracy. I need not name K. *Char.* 1. But they Endeavour'd to have *Murther'd* K. *Char.* 2. more than once, that is known. The *Rye-Houſe* I have nam'd already. I will now mention Another, which may be Forgot, tho' it be *Printed* in the *London Gazette*; and the *Conſpirators* Try'd at the *Old-Baily*, and *Executed* for it. For there are ſome Men who *Believe* every thing they *Hear*, but nothing that they *See*. If a *Whiſper* goes about, in *Prejudice* to the *Court*, that *Some-body* told *Some-body*, it is *Echo'd* Round among the *Party*, and *Believ'd* like *Goſpel*. But a *Gaffney* in the Printed *Votes*, or a *Glen-Coe* in all the *London-Gazettes* for a whole *Summer*, while that Affair was Examin'd in the *Scots-Parliament*, are not ſufficient to Inform any one that ever ſuch things were done. If there be ſuch a thing as Caſting of *Miſts* before Peoples *Eyes*, this *Witch-Craft* of *Rebellion* has got the *Art*. They can not only make the moſt *Senſleſs* of their own *Lyes* and *Forgeries* paſs among the *Herd*; But they can make even *Wiſe* Men *Forget* what their own *Eyes* have *Seen!*

Of the *Burning* of *London*.

If this be not True, then it will be no *News*, to Tranſcribe what follows out of the *London-Gazette*, Num. 48. From Thurſday *April* 26, to Monday *April* 30. 1666. in theſe Words.

" At the Seſſions in the *Old-Baily*, *John Rathbone*, an old Army Coll.
" *William Saunders*, *Henry Tucker*, *Thomas Flint*, *Thomas Evans*, *John Myles*,
" *William Weſcot*, and *John Cole*, formerly Officers or Soldiers in the
" late *Rebellion*, were Indicted for Conſpiring the Death of his *Majeſty*,
" and the Overthrow of the *Government*, having laid their Plot and
" Contrivance, for the Surprizal of the *Tower*, the Killing of his Grace
" the *Lord General*, Sir *John Robinſon*, Lieutenant of his Majeſty's *Tow-*
" *er* of *London*, and Sir *Richard Brown*; And then to have Declar'd for
" an Equal Diviſion of Lands, *&c.* The better to Effect this Helliſh
" Deſign, the *City* was to have been *Fir'd*, and the *Portcullis* to have
" been let down, to keep out all Aſſiſtance; the *Horſe Guards* to have
" been Surpriz'd in the *Inns* where they were Quarter'd; Several Hoſt-
" lers having been Gain'd for that Purpoſe: The *Tower* was according-
" ly viewed, and its Surprize order'd by *Boats* over the *Moat*, and from
" thence to Scale the Wall. One *Alexander*, who is not yet taken, had
" likewiſe Diſtributed Sums of Money to theſe Conſpirators: And for
" the Carrying on of the Deſign more Effectually, they were told of
" a *Council* of *Great Ones*, that Sat frequently in *London*, from whom
" Iſſued all Orders; which *Council* Receiv'd their Directions from ano-
" ther in *Holland*, who Sat with the *States*: And that the *Third* of *Se-*
" *ptember* was Pitched on for the Attempt, as being found by *Lilly's*
" Almanack, and a *Scheme* Erected for that Purpoſe, to be a Lucky Day;
" a *Planet* then Ruling which Prognoſticated the Downfal of *Monar-*
" *chy*. The Evidence againſt theſe Perſons was very Full and Clear,
" and they accordingly found guilty of High Treaſon.

Theſe are the Words of that *Gazette*, from whence I won'd Obſerve,

1. That this was a *Conſpiracy* of the *Faction*, the ſame *Faction* we have been ſpeaking of; the Principal *Actors* being thoſe Engag'd in the former *Rebellion*, whom the *King's Mercy* let *live*; Nay, and *Rewarded* moſt of them, not as they *Deſerv'd*, but *Prefer'd* and *Truſted* them in His *Privy-Council*, and the Greateſt *Employments*; to the *Neglect* and *Diſcouragement* of his own *Friends*, who had ſtuck to him, and *Own'd* him in the Day of his *Diſtreſs*. Which was the Greateſt *Blot* of his *Reign*. And of *Miſchief* to his *Succeſſors*.

And this was ſo far from *Charming* of that *Deaf Adder*, whom he had *Warm'd* in his *Boſom*; That ſhe thence gather'd New *Life*, to *Sting* him. The *Faction* never after left *Plotting* againſt him; were in two open *Rebellions*, at *Pentland-Hills*, and *Bothwel-Bridge* in *Scotland*; And in *England* Attempted to *Aſſaſſinate* him at the *Rye-Houſe*, and to *Seize* him by Main Force at *Oxford*.

The *Faction* have ever gone Hand in Hand, in both *Kingdoms*, from *Forty One* downwards, in *Monmouth's Rebellion*, and at this Day.

2. I Obſerve, How theſe *Holy Men* can go to the *Devil* for *God's* Sake; Have Recourſe to caſting of *Schemes*, and *Fortune-Tellers*, to carry on the *Good Old Cauſe*. Theſe are the Men who Preach'd againſt *Superſtition* and *Idolatry!* Cou'd find all that in the *Common-Prayer*, yet make *Lilly's Almanack* their *Text!*

3. The *Lucky Day* here Pitch'd upon, the *Third* of *September*, was the *Day* which *Oliver* Obſerv'd as his *Lucky-day*. On that Day he Fought the *Battles* of *Dunbar* in *Scotland*, and of *Worceſter* in *England*, which put an End to the *Royal Cauſe* in both *Kingdoms*. We know *Another* too that Obſerv'd his *Days*. And yet their Great Objection againſt the *Church*, is, Her *Obſerving* of *Days*, in Memory of *Chriſt* and His *Apoſtles*. But they go to the *Devil* for *Days*, upon their own Account! Who always *Cheats* them in the End. For, on *Oliver's* own *Lucky-day*, even the 3*d* of *September*, he *Dy'd*, in a *Whirl-Wind*. It is a *Lucky-day* for the *Nations*, whatever it Prov'd to him.

4. We find that theſe *Enemies* of *Superſtition* lay Great *Streſs* upon their *Days*, and will not be put off. For notwithſtanding of this *Diſcovery*, they went on ſtill with their *Plot*, and the *City* was *Fir'd* the ſame *Day* which they had Determin'd, *viz.* The 3*d* of *September* following, or the 2*d*. (the Day now kept in Memory of it) about 12 a Clock at Night. They would have it *Early* on the 3*d*.

5. Here is no Pretence to call this a *Court* or *Sham-Plot* (as they call all their own *Plots* that do not take) Unleſs we ſuppoſe the *Government* to have been *Prophets*, and *Fore-told* this *Five Months* before it came to paſs. Or, wou'd, in ſo *Publick* a Manner, have *Diſcover'd* their own *Plot*. And that in the ſame *City* too, which they intended to *Deſtroy* on the ſame *Day*, and juſt in that *Method* of which they had given them Warning! Beſides, the *King* was then in *War* with the *Dutch*, who might have then found their Account in *Weakning* him ſo *Exceedingly*: But what cou'd he have got by it, in giving ſo *Terrible* a *Blow* in his own *Government?*

And our *Ships* at *Chatham.*

Again, it is now well known, that it was an *Engliſh-man*, and one of theſe old *Oliverian Rebels*, who after this, the next Year, 1667, *Pilloted* the *Dutch Fleet* into *Chatham*; and others of them were on Board the *Dutch Fleet*, when they *Burnt* our *Ships* there; That the *Plot* was laid by the *Faction* here, from whom the *Dutch* had their *Intelligence* and *Directions.*

Beſides thoſe *Conſpirators* before Nam'd, who were *Executed*, others Fled into *Holland*. And the 21*ſt.* of *April*, 1666. a *Proclamation* was Iſſu'd to Recal them, on Pain of *Treaſon*, by the 22*th* of *July* following, theſe Particularly by Name, *John Deſborough*, *Thomas Kelſey*, *John White*, *John Grove*, *William Burton*, *William Scot*, Sir *Robert Honywood*, Junior,

nior, *Thomas Cole* of *Southampton*, —— *Spurway*, *Edward Raddon*, Dr. *Edward Richardſon*, *John Philps*, and *John Nichols* of *Merionethſhire*. As may be ſeen in the *London Gazette*, N. 47. of *April* 26. 1666. But theſe Choſe rather to Incur the Guilt of *Treaſon*, by not Obeying the *Proclamation*, than to Come Home, and *Vindicate* themſelves. And that they might be ſure to *Deſerve* it, they Return'd the *Year* following with the *Dutch* Fleet, to *Pilot* them, and Aſſiſt to *Burn* our *Ships* at *Chatham*.

6. Now conſider the *Mercy* that is in theſe Men, and that *Love* of their *Country*, of which they *Boaſt*; that when the *Nation*, eſpecially the *City* of *London*, had been almoſt empty'd by a Dreadful *Plague* the Year before, 1665; And, at the ſame time, an Heavy *War* lay upon them; ſhou'd take Part with their *Enemies*, and help them not only to lay in *Aſhes* the already *Depopulated City* and *Metropolis* of the *Kingdom*! But as if all that had not been *Miſchief* enough, to *Burn* our *Fleet*, in our own *Harbours*! And all this out of an Inveterate *Malice* they had to *Monarchy*. That they had rather the *Nation* ſhou'd *Periſh*, than that a *King* ſhou'd Reign over them!

But why ſhou'd it be thought Strange, That they ſhould Joyn with the *Dutch* againſt Us; who before had Invited over the *French King* to Expel their own *King*? As has been told.

And it is not only in the laſt *Reign*, That the *Dutch* have had Influence over our *Councils*, and took upon them to Interpoſe, and with *Money* too (But where is the Fault of *Bribing*! Some may have learn'd it there) in the *Calling* and *Diſſolution* of our *Parliaments*, &c. They have always kept a cloſe *Correſpondence* with the *Faction* here, have *Manag'd* them, and been *Manag'd* by them. And are their Conſtant *Aſylum*.

The *Dutch* may Juſtifie themſelves by the too Faulty *Policy* of moſt *Nations*, to intermeddle with the *Government* of their *Neighbours*, to ſtir up the *Ill Blood*, and *Foment* the *Factions* that are among them. When they *Burn'd* our *City* and our *Ships*, they were at open *War* with us. And if we could have found ſuch *Spies*, and *Traytors* among them, perhaps we might have ſerv'd them in the like kind. Or, ſhould not now ſcruple to ſupport the *Rebellion* of the *Seveneſe*, or to Blow up *Paris*, if we could Effect it.

Application of the Whole.

I meddle not with that Point, How far the Methods of *War* may be Extended. But that any *Nation* ſhou'd *Cheriſh* a *Faction* within their own Bowels, that are ready to join with every *Enemy*, of whatever ſort; that have done it, not only with the *Dutch*, but with the *French*, againſt their

their own *Native Country.*—— Who hate nothing in the World ſo *Mortally*, as the *Government* of their own *Country*, both in *Church* and *State*; who wou'd go, who have gone, to the *Gates* of *Hell*, to Pull down *Epiſcopacy* and *Monarchy!* That theſe ſhou d have the Unparallel'd *Impudence*, to deſire to be *Entruſted* with the *Government*, to Plead it as their *Right*, and call it *Perſecution* to be deny'd it! That *Biſhops* or *Kings*, or any who love *either*, ſhould take their *Part* in this; who have more than once, as oft as ever in their Power, *Murther d*, and *Dethron'd* both *Kings* and *Biſhops*; and ſtill do *Maintain*, and even openly *Declare*, and in Print do *Juſtifie* the ſame *Principles!*. And where they have Power, as in *Scotland*, are actually *Arming*, *Aſſociating*, and *Sounding* the *Allarm* of BLOOD, in open Defiance to the *Government!* That *theſe* ſhou'd ſtill be *Courted* and *Careſs'd*, and more and more *Power* put into their Hands, and of their *Friends* in *England*, that they may be leſs Dangerous! That *Church-men* ſhou'd *Adviſe* this, and to let them come in amongſt us, in *diſguiſe* and *undiſtinguiſh'd*, by *Occaſional Conformity*; and thereby to have Acceſs to all *Places* of *Power* and *Profit*, even to the *Privy Counſel*, and to the *Parliament!*—— This looks like a *Spell* upon us, and the Caſe of that poor *Devil* who was poſſeſs'd with a *Catch-pole!* For one Devil may *Poſſeſs* another. And the Spirit of this *Faction* is a *Legion* has bewitch'd theſe *Nations*, of a long time. I pray *God* to *Diſſolve* the *Charm*, and to ſcatter theſe *People* who *delight* in *VVar*; and would *Entail* it upon us and our *Poſterities*. Amen.

Wo is me! that I am conſtrained to Dwell with Meſech, and to have my Habitation among the Tents of Kedar.

If the Lord have Stirred thee up againſt me, let Him accept an Offering: But if they be the Children of Men, Curſed be they before the Lord; for they have Driven me out this Day from Abiding in the Inheritance of the Lord, ſaying, Go ſerve other Gods.

For the Sin of their Mouth, and the Words of their Lips, let them be even taken in their Pride; and for the Curſing and Lying which they ſpeak.

For *Thou art He that took me out of my Mothers Womb.*

They that ſit in the Gate ſpeak againſt me; And the Drunkards make Songs upon me.

They Grin like a Dog, Run about through the City? and Grudge if they be not Satisfy'd.

But I am Poor and Sorrowful; Let thy Salvation, O God, Set me up on High.

I labour for Peace, but when I ſpeak to them thereof, they make them ready to Battle.

If I have done any ſuch thing, or if there be any Wickedneſs in my Hands——

But thy Right Hand ſhall hold me up; And thy loving Correction ſhall make me Great.

Yea,

Yea, their own Tongues ſhall make them fall; inſomuch that whoſo ſeeth them ſhall laugh them to ſcorn: And all Men that ſee it ſhall ſay, This hath God done; For they ſhall perceive that it is his Work.

N. B. I Deſire that the Caution given in the *New Aſſoc.* may not be forgotten, That the *Deſcriptions* There and Here given is of a *Party*, and not of *Perſons*. For Allowances muſt be made for the *Prejudices* of *Education*, of *Acquaintance* and *Friendſhip* contracted, which have *Byaſs'd* many *Well-Meaning* and *Good Diſpoſed* Men on the ſide of this, as of other *Wicked Parties*. Which yet cannot quite *Obliterate* the *Native Goodneſs* and *Generoſity* that is in their *Temper*. But it ſtruggles to *Mix* with theſe Corrupt *Principles*, as *Oil* does with *Vinegar*. And the *Party* Endeavour to hide from ſuch all their *Black-ſide*, to *Varniſh* and *Colour* it over with all the *Art* they can; and by Foul *Miſ-repreſentation*, and downright *Lyes* which they impoſe upon *Good-Natures*, who are not apt to *Suſpect* thoſe of whom they have Conceiv'd a *Good Opinion*.

It is for the ſake of *theſe*, as well as of *others*, that I have taken this Pains. And I deſire no more of them, than to *Examine* the *Truth* of what I have ſaid; Let them ſee whether the *Faction* can deny plain Matter of *Fact!* And whether the *Inferences* made from thence are not *Juſt!* And let them take their *Meaſures* of that *Party* accordingly.

Laſtly, I pray *God* to Deal with me Here and Hereafter, as that I have Wrote this, not upon any *Perſonal Pique* or *Prejudice* (for I have a Real *Eſteem* and *Value* for *Several* of the *Diſſenters*, and ſome of the *Whigs* too; and no *Perſonal Quarrel* with any of them) but from a *Senſe* and *thorough Conviction* of the *Perniciouſneſs* of the *Principles* and *Practices*, and the *Bitter Spirit* of that *Party*; Which I do believe many Engag'd among them do not *Know*, but are carry'd away with their *Popular Clamour* and *Fair-pretences*. Let ſuch ſhew themſelves *Men*, to Examine *Impartially*; And then Judge as they find.

I Promiſe a *Retractation* of whatever *point*, wherein I ſhall be *Convinced*. And will think it a *Charitable* Office in any who ſhall Attempt it. And they ſhall Receive my *Thanks*.

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FINIS.

Caſſandra.

WHEN *GOD* has determin'd *Deſtruction* to a *Nation*, he takes away their *Senſes*, they have *Eyes* and *See* not, *Ears*, and hear not, they will not *Underſtand*.

There is a Sett of Men amongſt Us who are Viſibly Driving on (whether themſelves know it or not) the Ruin of theſe *Nations*; by ſetting up the *Principles*, and carrying on the ſame *Pretences*, which began and at laſt Compleated the Bloody *Revolution* of *Forty One*, with the Deſtruction of the *Church*, the *King*, and the *Laws*.

And when their *Principles* are Examin'd to the Bottom; and their former *Practiſes* laid before them, with all the Diſmal *Conſequences*; it has no other Effect with them, than to Excite their *Rage* tenfold more. They give no other *Anſwer* than the *Crafts-Men* at *Epheſus*, to Cry out Hours together, *Great is our Diana*!

And if this *Noiſe* and *Clamour* can Carry it againſt *Reaſon*, the *Authority* of the *Holy Scriptures*, the known *Laws* of the *Land*, and our own Sad *Experience*, what can be the Iſſue, but what it was before, if not worſe, as of Sins Repeated, our utter *Deſtruction*!

The *ten Tribes* who Revolted under *Sheba*, Return'd again: But never after their *Second* Defection under *Jeroboam*; till they were finally Cut off, and their *Name* loſt upon the Earth to this Day. And it is obſervable, That in the Succeſſion of Nineteen *Kings* which they had in that time, there was not one *Good*, tho' all of their own *Chooſing*.

I. Of placing the *Radical* Power of Government in the *People*.

The Root and Foundation of all our *Republican Schemes*, and Pretences for *Rebellion* is this ſuppos'd Radical Power in the *People*, as of Erecting *Government* at the Beginning, ſo to *Overturn* and *Change* it at their Pleaſure.

To obviate this, the Author of the *New-Aſſociation*, Part. 2d. *Supplement*. p. 4, &c. Carries Us to Matter of *Fact*, how *Political* Government did Begin in the *World*: And how the *World* was, at firſt, *Divided* into ſeveral *Nations*. And ſhews, That this was not done by the *Election* of the *People*; But by that moſt Stupendions *Miracle* of the *Diviſion* of *Tongues*; whereby all of one *Language* ſorting together, and *God* placing a *Governor* over them, they became a Diſtinct *Nation*. And he likewiſe tells Us, That from that firſt *Diviſion* of the *World* into 70 Diſtinct *Nations* and *Languages*, Mention'd in the xth of *Geneſis*, we have the *Names* of the ſeveral *Governours*, where *Hiſtories* have been Preſerv'd, from *Nimrod* all the way to this Preſent *Emperor* of *Germany*, for Example, and ſo of others.

Then as to the Reaſon of the thing, he brings Arguments to ſhew, That *Government* cou'd not be Founded, nor the World *Divided* into *Nations*, upon that Foot of the *Election* of the *People*. That this *Hypotheſis* wou'd Render all Governments *Precarious*, and Eternally Liable to *Change* and *Confuſion*. That it was never yet known, nor ever can be, what is meant by the word *People*, in this Scheme of *Government*. For the *whole People* never *Choſe*. And a *Part* of the *People* is not the *Whole*. That the *Whole* or *Half* of the *People* do not *Chooſe* thoſe who are call'd *Repreſentatives* of the *People* in *England*. And far leſs in *Holland*, *Venice*, or any *Republick* that is in the World. That this *Scheme* of Deriving *Government* from the *People*, is much more *Deſtructive* of the *Rights*, *Liberties*, and *Safety* of *Mankind*, than the other *Model* of *Divine Right* in the *Governors*, as having their *Power* from *God*.

Now let Us ſee what is Anſwer'd to this, in the *Occaſional Letter*.

As to the firſt part, the *Original* of *Government*, and the *Diviſion* of *Nations*, it is ſaid, p. 20. That *People were at firſt Divided out of Neceſſity*. And ſuppoſing the *Governor* not to do Right to his People, *They wou'd have had a Right to have proceeded to a New*

New Choice. This ſuppoſes the firſt *Diviſion* to have been by the *Election* of the *People.* And his bare ſaying ſo is all the Proof he brings. He Anſwers not a Word to the plain *Matter* of *Fact*, which is directly againſt him. But adds, That he *Laughs* at *Divine Right.* And *thinks it ſo Trifling an Argument, as not to Deſerve a Serious Conſideration.* He ſays, *I cannot ſee any Reaſon to think that One Man was Exalted ſo much above the Reſt, for his own, but the Peoples ſake.* That is True. But then there are ſeveral Reaſons given in the *New Aſſoc.* Why it is beſt for the *People* not to have the *Choice* in themſelves. And none of them are Anſwer'd. However this is going from *Matter* of *Fact* to *Reaſoning.* Will they then yield the *Fact?* And let us *Reaſon* afterwards? He ſays, (*ibid.*) *That when* Jacob *Died, we find no manner of Superiority left to his Eldeſt Son* Reuben. This is *Objecting*, inſtead of *Anſwering.* What has this to do with the firſt *Diviſion* of *Nations?* This is Skipping from one thing to another, without Anſwering *Diſtinctly* to any thing. This go's upon the Point of the *Primogeniture.* Which is a Different Head of Argument, from the *Diviſion* of *Nations*; and comes in the ſecond place, the other being firſt ſettl'd. And ſettl'd it is, for any thing this *Author* ſays to the Contrary. Therefore I will Anſwer him as to this, That he will find the Right of the *Primogeniture* fully Aſſerted in that ſame Caſe of *Reuben. Gen.* XLIX. 3. Where *Reuben*, on Account of his *Primogeniture* only, is call'd the *Excellency* of *Dignity, and the Excellency of Power.* But he was Rejected (as *Cain* and *Eſau were*) for his Wickedneſs, becauſe he *went up to his Father's Bed.* ver. 4.

He ſays (*ibid.*) *And when Diviſion was made, it was by Lot.* What *Diviſion* do's he mean? Was this the *Diviſion* of *Nations?* Which is the Point he was to Anſwer. Or was it the *Diviſion* of the *Holy Land* among the twelve *Tribes*, by *Joſhua?* What has this to do with the *People*'s Choice of their *Governours?* Was it the *Lots* ſuppoſed to be Caſt among the *Tribes*, *Families*, and *Perſons*, upon the Election of *Saul?* But he was Anointed by *Samuel* before that. 1 *Sam.* x. 1. And it was *God* who order'd the *Lots* (if any) to be Caſt. And the *People* knew not *Saul*, nor after the *Lot* fell upon him, where to find him. *ver.* 22. And when *God* had told them where he was, *Samuel* ſaid *to all the People*,

ſee ye him whom the Lord hath Choſen. ver. 24. So that here is no Foundation for the *Election* of the *People*, but the Direct Contrary. *Saul* firſt Choſen by *God*. Then *Reveal'd* to *Samuel*, and by him *Anointed*. Then ſhew'd to the *People* by him. Whether any *Lots* were Caſt in the Caſe is not Certain, for there is no mention of it in the *Text*; only ſaid that ſuch a *Tribe*, ſuch a *Family*, and ſuch a *Perſon* was *Taken*. For ought we know, *Samuel* himſelf Nam'd them all. But that is not Material. For however it was, it was by *God*'s expreſs ordering, without any *Election* of the *People*, as to the *Perſon*.

However this is Foreign to the firſt *Diviſion* of *Nations*, and the *Original* of *Political Government*, upon which the *Author* of the *New Aſſoc.* do's Inſiſt. And gives this Reaſon for it, p. 9. *That all Factions have Recourſe to this, when they are about to Unhinge and Over-turn ſettled Conſtitutions.* For the *Original Power* of *People* in *General*, is not to be taken from the ſpecial Diſpenſation given to any one *Nation*, or *Particular People*; but from the Rights of *Mankind*, Conſider'd in their *Natural* State. And whether the firſt *Diviſion* of *Nations*, and *Original* of *Political Government* among *Men*, aroſe from *Mankind* in this *Suppos'd* State of *Nature*, and by their own *Free* and *Voluntary Election*: Or, Whether by the *Inſtitution* of *God*, without the *Election* of the *People*? Is the Queſtion we are Concern'd to Diſcuſs. For if the *Latter* be the Caſe, Then the *People* have no *Original* Rights to Claim, as to the Diſpoſition of *Governments*.

But, ſays the *Occaſionaliſt*, p. 17. ſuppoſe *That Governments were from the Beginning Inſtituted by God, and That he ſet a Ruler over every Nation.*——— *The People had as much a Divine Right to their Rulers Protection, as they had a Right to Govern. And let us* (ſays he) *put Matters upon this Foot, I ſhall be ready enough to Grant a Divine Right.*

Well then, we will put Matters upon this *Foot!* Now ſee if we can agree.

I Grant therefore, That *People* have a *Right* to the *Protection* of their *Governours*. And a *Property* in their *Poſſeſſions*. And by the *Divine Law*. Inſomuch that if their *Rulers*, whom *God* has ſet over them, do *Invade* their *Rights*, they make themſelves obnoxious to the *Divine Law*, and to the *Judgment of God*, for ſo doing.

But

But now the Queſtion ſtill Remains, Whether the *People* in ſuch a Caſe, can Right themſelves, by taking *Arms* againſt their *Governours*? By *Depoſing* them, and *Chooſing* others in their Room?

And for the *Negative*, theſe Reaſons are Urg'd in the *New Aſſociation.*

1. That the *Right* of the *Governours* being *Divine*, muſt, upon no Account, be *Invaded.* And that we make our ſelves Obnoxious to the *Divine Vengeance*, if we *Invade* his *Right!* As he do's, if he *Invades* ours.

2. That we cannot take *Arms* and *Depoſe* him, without Aſſuming the *Power* of *Government* to our ſelves; which upon the *Scheme* now ſuppos'd, is *Uſurping* the *Sword of God*, which He never gave Us. And Conſequently a *Rebellion* againſt *God.* Putting our ſelves in his Place. And a Diſſolving of the *Conſtitution* which he has *Ordain'd* to *Repreſent* Himſelf; and by which he do's *Govern* the *World.*

3. That by *Un-hinging* of *Government*, and putting it in the *People*, we ſhall bring Greater *Miſchiefs* upon our ſelves, than thoſe we ſeek to Avoid under our *Governours* of *God*'s Appointment. And our *Confuſions* can have no End, in that Frame of Things: Becauſe the *Centre* of *Government* can never be *Fix'd* in the *People*; that being a word of no Certain Denomination. And Contending Parties may *Fight* it out, upon Equal Claim of *Right*, to the End of the World. Therefore that there can be no laſting *Settlement*, no *Security*, but in a *Divine Right*, to which all ought to Submit.

4. Let me add, That our *Lives* are only at *God*'s Diſpoſal who gave them. He has not left them in our own Power. Therefore we cannot by any Acts of ours, give that to others, which we have not our ſelves; Give to any other a Power over our *Lives.* And Conſequently the Power of *Life* and *Death* can never be given by the *Election* of *People*; or any other ways than by a *Divine Right*; without which there can be no Obligation, of *Conſcience*, to obey any *Government*, or not to Overturn it, if I can Gain a Stronger *Party* to my Side; for then it is the *People!* And if the leſſer Number Prevail, they are the *People*; and the *Ballance* of *Power* is on their Side! The *Minor* may be the *Potior pars.* And ſetting aſide *Divine* Authority, I know no Man

Man has *Power* over me, more than I over him; ſince *Nature* has put us all upon a *Level*. And I will break looſe from, when I can, as from a *Robber*; and ſo may he from me. And if the *Major* Number ſay, you may Quit the Country, if you like not the *Frame* and *Conſtitution* which we have *Voted*. I will ſay, No. Who gave you *Power* to *Baniſh* me my *Country*? It is my *Country* as well as yours. And for the *Major Vote*, the *Greateſt Part* of the World are *Knaves* and *Fools*. I am Born *Free*, and no Man has Right to take my *Freedom* from me. And if I can gather a *Party*, tho' *Fewer*, we will *Fight* you for it. I grant we do it at our *Peril*. But what I ſay, is, That there is no Obligation of *Conſcience* on either ſide. There is no ſuch thing as *Right* and *Wrong*, as *Juſt* or *Unjuſt*. Nor can there be any *Settlement* of *Government*, till we come to a *Divine Right*. To what elſe ſhou'd I give up my *Life* or my *Liberty*, if I can Preſerve them? Tho' I ſhould do it, by overturning twenty *Governments* that ſtand upon no other *Foundation* than what I carry within my own Breaſt, that is, the *Original Right* and *Freedom* of *Mankind*. By which *Two* Men have no other *Power* over *One*, but *Force*. And that may be Repell'd by *Force*. Here is no *Authority*, to which I ought to *Obey*, for *Conſcience* ſake.

As to the Caſe of *Uſurpers* and *Common-Wealths*, it is Anſwer'd in the *New Aſſoc. Suppl.* p. 9. That the *Government* in Being has the Right, where there is none who Claim a *Better* Right. But this not from the *Election* of the *People*, if that were Suppos'd, for no *Government* or *Conſtitution* was ever yet ſet up by the Free and Equal *Election* of All the *People*: But as *Poſſeſſing* that *Authority*, which *God* at firſt Founded in the *diviſion* of *Nations*, and Deſign'd to continue to the End of the World. If thoſe in *Poſſeſſion* came wrongfully by it, they will Anſwer it to *God*. But ſtill it is theirs of *Right*, where none Claim a better *Right* to it than they have. As a Man who *Steals* a *Hat*, has a *Right* to it againſt any but the *Owner*; ſo that if any others take it from him by *Force*, it is *Robbery* in them. And yet the Act of *Robbery* always Remains a *Sin*. And notwithſtanding, *Poſſeſſion* gives a *Right*, againſt all who have not a *Better* Right. And this ariſes from the Neceſſity of *Government*, which *God* Himſelf at firſt did *Inſtitute*, and Ordain'd to *Continue*. And which never

yet

yet did, or ever can Devolve to the *People*. For that would be perfect *Anarchy*; which, as my Ld. *Bp.* of *Sarum* well ſays, *Opens a Door to Endleſs Confuſions, which will never admit of Order or Remedy.* And he makes it worſe than putting the *Power* into the Hands of the moſt Cruel *Tyrant*, even of the *Pope* himſelf.

Vindication of the *Church* and *State* of *Scotland* p 68, 69.

Now let us ſee what the *Occaſional Letter* ſays to theſe things. It ſays thus, p. 20. *And how unfit this Writer may imagine a Heady Multitude to be, to fix upon Order or Government, yet 'tis certain, that Neceſſity will bring them to it; and it will be ſtrange, if there ſhould not be among them ſome, that have Heads wiſe enough to Invent a Scheme, for their Security and Protection, which the largeſt part will Agree to: And the Reſt, if they pleaſe, may ſeperate and remove, where they think to be better Govern'd.*

Now inſtead of this being an *Anſwer* to what is Advanc'd in the *New Aſſoc.* (Part of which is ſet down before) *That* is a Direct *Anſwer* to *This*. And it is ſhew'd there, That there can be no ſuch *Scheme* Invented, by any *Heads* how *Wiſe* ſoever. Why will they not ſhew ſuch a *Scheme* to Us? They have been long about it! And many *Schemes* have they made. Yet none will Hold! They can never make one, upon the Foot of the *People*, that is not altogether *Precarious*, *Nonſenſe*, and *Contradiction*. That can give any *Baſis* or *Settlement* to *Government*: Or oblige any to ſubmit for *Conſcience* ſake: Nay farther, That do's not Deſtroy and Utterly Subvert their *Beloved* and *Foundation-Principle* of the *Original Freedom* and *Independence* of the *People*; Since all theſe *Schemes* end in a *Force* upon thoſe, who will not Comply with their *Conſtitution*.

And all the *Anſwer* hitherto given by theſe *Scheme-Mongers*, is only to ſay, They are ſure there may be ſuch a *Scheme!* And it were Strange (as this Author ſays) *if there ſhould not!*

II. Concerning the *Laws* of the *Land*, and our own *Conſtitution*.

Finding no Relief in *Arguments* or *Schemes*, he produces an *Inſtance*, which he thinks none Dare Anſwer. He Repreſents our *Conſtitution* and the *Laws*, as Founded upon the *People*. Then Proves that this Cannot be *Jure Divino*. And ſo his Point is Gain'd ——!

I ſhall the more willingly Anſwer this, becauſe many are Deceiv'd by it; And underſtand not our *Conſtitution* or the *Laws*, or Wilfully *Miſtake* them.

He

He begins, p. 16. with making the *Queen*, (or *King*) *Lords*, and *Commons*, the *Three Eſtates*. And makes the *Ballance* of *Power* to Conſiſt in their *good Agreement*. But ſays he, *If either grows Arbitrary, and Breaks through their Bounds at Pleaſure, then Publick Liberty is indeed in Danger, and we know not where to Look for it. But when the Regular order is obſerv'd, then 'tis very Eaſie to know where to find it. Here the Centre of Government is plac'd, and I hope will long Continue, Notwithſtanding all the Trifling, Groundleſs Pretences of a Jus Divinum to prove it Unlawful.*

Here is a *Centre* indeed, and a *Ballance!* One would think he were Playing *Booty!* He makes *Three* Co-ordinate *Powers*, each at Liberty to *Encroach* upon the other, and Gain more of the *Ballance* to themſelves; and if theſe, or any *One* of them ſhould Differ with the *Other*; then he Confeſſes there is no *Centre* or *Ballance* at all! There is no *Judge* betwixt them, the *Sword* muſt Decide it.

Is it then a thing ſo Rare to be found, was it never Heard of, that *King*, *Lords* and *Commons* ſhould Differ about their ſeveral *Powers*, *Privileges*, and *Prerogative*?

Eſpecially Conſidering that in the ſecond Part of *New Aſſoc. Suppl.* p. 11. Which this Author is here Anſwering, that ſame *Treatiſe* which in this very *Page*, p. 16. He calls a *Learned* and *Judicious* One, is Quoted, ſaying, *That in the whole Compaſs of Hiſtory, no one ſingle Example can be brought, of any One popular Aſſembly, who after beginning to contend for Power, ever ſate down Quietly with a Certain ſhare.* And *that no One Inſtance could be produc'd, of a Popular Aſſembly that ever Knew, or Propos'd, or Declar'd what ſhare of Power was their Due.* And concludes, That there is no *Hopes* of this *Matter* being *Adjuſted.*

Now let this *Author* Anſwer his own *Learned and Judicious Treatiſe*; Or otherwiſe Confeſs, That his *Centre* and *Ballance* of *Power* is Impracticable, of which no *Inſtance* can be given in *Hiſtory*; And no *Method* poſſible to be Preſcrib'd for it, ſince none of the *Ballancers* do *Know*, and therefore cannot *Agree* what *ſhare* of *Power* is *their Due.*

III. *Of the* King, *and the* Three Eſtates.

To make out this *Ridiculous Scheme* of *Government*, our Modern *Ballancers* of *Power* have Reviv'd again (and for the ſame Ends) the *Trayterous* and long ſince Exploded *Notion* of their *Predeceſſors*

ceſſors in the *Rebellion* of *Forty One*, That the King is a Part of the *Parliament*, and *One* of the *Three Eſtates* of *Parliament*; and ſo *Co-ordinate* with the *Two Houſes* of *Lords* and *Commons*. That having thus brought him to a *Level* with his *Subjects*, they might the more eaſily *Depoſe* him.

This they Proclaim'd aloud in their *Obſervators*, and often Repeated. Which being fully and Judiciouſly Anſwer'd in the *Heraclitus*, *Num.* 10, 12, 13. That the *King* is none of the Three *Eſtates*, and ſeveral *Acts of Parliament* Quoted, which makes it clear paſt *Contradiction*, or other Anſwer from the *Obſervator*, than his *Buffoonry*, after this manner, *Let me have my Queen*, (as he *Inſolently*, and in *Ridicule* Treats Her *Majeſty*) *and Lords, and Commons, and let him have as many Eſtates as he will.*

But I was ſurpriz'd to find this *Author* of the *Occaſional Letter* (whom I ſuppoſe of an Higher *Figure*) to *Chime* in with ſuch *Senſleſs Scriblers*, and to Trump up this *Jargon* again upon Us! There muſt be ſome *Deſign* on Foot! If he had kept the *Church*, he might have found a Solution of this Point, in the *Office* for *Gunpowder-Treaſon* (which is likewiſe an *Act* of *Parliament*) where we Bleſs *God* for Preſerving the *King*, and the *Three Eſtates of this Realm*, *Aſſembled in Parliament.*

Who theſe *Eſtates* are, is plainly ſet down, 24 *H.* 8. c. 12. The firſt are the *Prelates* or *Lords Spiritual*, Repreſenting the *Body Spiritual.* The *ſecond* are the *Temporal Nobility*, who ſit in the ſame *Houſe* with the *Spiritual Nobility*, as they are call'd 26 *H.* 8. c. 2. *The Nobles Spiritual and Temporal.* And the *third Eſtate* are the *Commons.* Thus ſay they to the *King*, 25 *H.* 8. c. 21. *Your Lords Spiritual, and Temporal, and Commons, Repreſenting the whole State of your Realm,* But for the *King*, in the foreſaid *Statute*, 24 *H.* 8. c. 12. He is call'd the *One Supreme Head and King* ——*Unto whom a Body Politick, compact of all ſorts and degrees of People, divided in Terms, and by Names of Spiritualty and Temporalty, been bounden and owen to bear, next to God, a Natural and Humble Obedience. He being alſo Inſtituted and furniſhed by the Goodneſs and Sufferance of Almighty God, with Plenary, Whole, and Entire Power, Pre-eminence, Authority, Prerogative, and Juriſdiction, to Render and Yield Juſtice, and final Determination to all manner of Folk, Reſiants or Subjects within this his Realm, in all Cauſes, Matters, Debates, and Contentions,* &c.

Here is a *Dernier Reſort*, and *Centre* of *Government*.

And here the *Body* of the *People* is Divided into Two *Branches* of *Spiritualty* and *Temporalty*. Of the *Temporalty* there are two *Eſtates*, the *Lords Temporal*, and the *Commons*. But the *Body Spiritual* is a Diſtinct *Eſtate* by it ſelf, and the *Firſt* of the *Three*. And it is more *Diſtinct* from the other *Two*, than they are from each other, as differing from them, in a *Specifical* Manner; for they *Both* are Comprehended under one Denomination of *Temporalty*, and are the ſeveral *Parts* of it; whereas the *Spiritualty* is of a Different *Nature*, and *In-communicable*, with the other.

And this was made very Apparent, in that the *Body Spiritual* were not *Taxable* by *King* and *Parliament*, but only by *Themſelves*. The *Poſſeſſions* of the *Church*, being Reckon'd the *Patrimony* of *God*, being *Dedicated* to *Him* and to His *Church*; And therefore no *Temporal* Power could lay their Hands upon it, under *Peril* of *Sacrilege*.

And the *Clergy* were never *Taxed* but by *Convocation*, till the Curſed *Revolution* of *Forty One*, which overturn'd all *Foundations*. And after the *Reſtoration*, when, before things cou'd be Settl'd upon the Old *Foot*, the *Taxings* us'd by the *Uſurpers*, was (for the Preſent only Intended to be) Continu'd. In the firſt *Act of Parliament*, which *Taxed* the *Clergy* in Common with the *Laity*, there is an Expreſs *Proviſo*, Saving to the *Clergy*, their Antient and Undoubted *Right* of *Taxing* Themſelves. But a *Precedent* once Made, it has been carry'd on to this Day.

And as the *Poſſeſſions*, ſo much more the *Perſons* of the *Clergy* were Eſteem'd ſo *Sacred*, as that, if any of them were Guilty of a *Capital* Crime, or which Deſerv'd a *Perſonal Shame* or *Puniſhment*, Care was taken to Preſerve the *Character* from Sharing in the *Diſgrace*, by the *Perſon*'s being firſt *Degraded* by his *Spiritual* Superiors, and ſo Deliver'd up as a *Lay-Man* to the *Brachium Seculare*.

If the *Church* wou'd not Deliver him up, there is no Reaſon that he ſhould Eſcape the *Judgment* of the *Law*, as it was in the times of *Popery*. But it is Highly Reaſonable that ſhould be Try'd. If the *Church* Refuſes, it is her Fault. And it is very Improbable She wou'd Refuſe what Conduc'd ſo much to the Preſerving of her *Authority* and *Reputation*.

Wou'd

Wou'd it be *Decent* to ſee a *Clergy-Man* Hang'd in his *Gown?* And were it not fit ſome other Hand ſhou'd *Diſ-Robe him*, than the *Executioner?*

The *Canonical Habit* is not ſo *Sacred* as the *Character*.

We have ſeen *Clergy-Men* both *Whipp'd* and *Pillory'd*, and *Hang'd* too, within theſe few Years, without being *Degraded*, or the Queſtion ſo much as Aſk'd at their *Biſhops*, or perhaps their Knowing it, but as others, from the Publick *News*.

Tho' the *Exemption* of *Clergy-Men* from the *Secular* Power, even in *Secular* Cauſes, was an *Unreaſonable* and *Unjuſt Uſurpation* of *Popery*; yet *Chriſtianity*, and Regard to *Religion* in General, do's Require, That the *Miniſters* thereof, ſhould be ſo far Exempted from Publick *Contempt*, as that when they ſuffer for *Perſonal* Crimes, their *Puniſhment* ſhou'd be only *Perſonal*, and their *Profeſſion* not *Suffer* with them.

However, while the *Laws* ſo ſtood, no *Clergy-Man*, till Reduc'd to a *Lay-Man*, cou'd be *Try'd* by *Lay-Men*. Which Abundantly ſhews the *Spiritualty* to be a Diſtinct *Eſtate*.

Of Biſhops *being Try-ed by their* Peers.

And by the way, this ſeems a full Confutation of that (with Submiſſion) *Vulgar Error*, even amongſt our *Lawyers*, That a *Biſhop* has all the *Privileges* of other *Peers*, except that of being *Try'd* by his *Peers*. For which the Reaſon given is, That there is no *Precedent* for it in our *Law*. How cou'd there, when a *Biſhop* cou'd not be *Try'd* at all, but by his *Fellow-Biſhops?* Theſe only were Reckon'd his *Peers*, as being *Members* of the *Firſt Eſtate*: And no *Member* of one *Eſtate*, is to be *Try'd* by any other *Eſtate*, But when a *Biſhop* was *Degraded*, he was put out of that *Eſtate*, and Reduc'd to a plain *Commoner*, and *Try'd* as ſuch. The ſame as if a *Temporal Peer* were *degraded*. There are *Temporal Peers* whoſe *Honours* are Annex'd to ſuch a *Caſtle* or *Mannor*, which if they Sell, they Loſe their *Honour* and *Peerage*. And after are to be *Try'd* by their then *Peers*, the *Commons*. I take the Caſes to be Parallel. And tho' the *Biſhops* are moſtly Reduc'd to the *Temporal Peerage*, except the *Privilege* of *Abſenting*, if they Pleaſe, in *Tryals* of *Blood*; yet ſurely they are not brought below that *Peerage*, while they Retain ſome *Privileges* ſtill above it. And while a *Biſhop* is a *Peer*, he muſt have all the *Privileges* of the *Peerage*; unleſs what is taken away by *Act* of *Parliament*.

For what else can take it away? See the Learned Bishop *Stillingfleet* his *Grand Question.*

But to return. Tho' the *Body Spiritual* ever was, and is still so Distinguishingly the *First* of the Three *Estates*, yet it is but *Part* of the *Body* of the *Realm.* The *King*, and he *Only*, is the *Head* of the *Realm.*

And the *Crown* belongs to Him *Alone*, without any *Partners.* And is in no *Earthly Subjection*, as it is Declar'd, 16 *Rich.* 2. c. 5. *That the Crown of* England *has been so Free at all times, that it hath been in no Earthly Subjection, but Immediately Subject to God, in all things touching the Regality of the same Crown, and to none other.* Then surely not to his Subjects. As the Three *Estates* are.

And thus they Stile themselves, 1 *Eliz.* c. 3. Where *Both Houses of Parliament*, the *Lords Spiritual*, and *Temporal*, and *Commons* say to Her *Majesty*, *We your Faithful and Obedient Subjects, Representing the Three Estates of your Realm of* England, *&c.*

Many other *Statutes* may be Quoted to this Purpose. But it is strange that *Clamour* has not been silenc'd, by the *Act* (yet *Un-Repeal'd*) of 12 *Car.* 2. c. 30. Which was made on purpose against the *Trayterous* Principles and Pretences of *Forty One*, particularly this of making the *King* Co-ordinate with the Two *Houses* of *Parliament*, and *One* of the *Three Estates*; and explaining the former *Laws* in this Point. And there it is declar'd, *That by the undoubted and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor Both together, in Parliament, or out of Parliament, nor the People Collectively or Representatively, nor any other Persons whatsoever, ever had, have, hath, or ought to have, any Coercive Power over the Persons of the Kings of this Realm.*

And 13 *Car.* 2. c. 1. It is made *Premunire*, either by *Writing, Printing, Preaching, or other Speaking*, to *Declare or Affirm, That both Houses of Parliament, or either Houses of Parliament, have, or hath a Legislative Power, without the King, or any other Words to the same Effect.*

Again, in the same *Statute.* cap. 6. That the Power of the *Sword* is solely in the *King*; *And that both or either of the Houses of Parliament cannot, nor ought to pretend to the same; Nor can, nor Lawfully may Raise or Levy any War, Offensive or Defensive, a-*

against

againſt His Majeſty, His Heirs, or Lawful Succeſſors; and yet the contrary thereof hath of late Years been practiſed, almoſt to the Ruin and Deſtruction of this Kingdom; and during the late Uſurp'd Governments, many Evil and Rebellious Principles have been diſtilled into the Minds of the People of this Kingdom, which, unleſs prevented, may break forth to the Diſturbance of the Peace and Quiet thereof.

And cap. 1. It is ſaid, *That the Growth and Encreaſe of the late Troubles and Diſorders, did in a very great Meaſure proceed from a Multitude of Seditious Sermons, Pamphlets and Speeches, daily Preached and Publiſhed, with a Tranſcendent Boldneſs defaming the Perſon and Government of your Majeſty, and your Royal Father, wherein Men were too much Encourag'd: And above all, from the Wilful Miſtake of the Supream and Lawful Authority, whilſt Men were forward to cry up and Maintain thoſe Orders and Ordinances, Oaths, and Covenants, to be Acts Legal and Warrantable, which in themſelves had not the leaſt Colour of Law or Juſtice to ſupport them; from which kind of Diſtempers, as the preſent Age is not yet wholly freed, ſo Poſterity may be apt to Relapſe into them, if a lively Remedy be not provided,* &c.

I think enough has been ſaid to clear the Senſe of the *Law* in this Point, of the *King* being *One* of the *Three Eſtates*, and *Co-ordinate* with the other *Two*. Which wou'd make ſuch a *Centre* and *Ballance* of *Power*, as *three Kings* of *Brandford!* For indeed, it is ſetting up three *Kings*. What elſe are three *Powers*, each *Independent* and *Un-accountable* to *Either* or *Both* of the *other*? And, as our Author before Quoted ſays, when none of them *Know*, nor will *Determine* what *Share* of the *Ballance* of *Power* is *their Due*.

This is the Curious *Watch* we are told of in Dr. K——*t*'s late Thankſgiving *Sermon* upon the 31ſt. of *January* 170¼. Which, the oftner it is out of Order, ſhews the Greater *Delicacy* in the *Stricture!*

There is ſuch a Curious *Watch* now ſet-up to *Auction* in *Poland*. And our *Whigs* bid fair for it, to have it brought over hither, as a *Regulator* to our *Time* of the *Day!*

What a *Curious* thing would it be, if Thirty two *Palatines*, and every *Man* in *Poland* (of whom each has a *Negative*) ſhould all *Agree* to a *Tittle!*

But

But if *One* ſtarts out of the way, there is a *Pin* loſt in the *Watch*, and all is out of Order! Which ſhews the *Structure* to be Moſt *Delicate!*

Such is of the *Power* of the *People* with Us, which every Man may ſet-up, for or againſt *King*, *Lords*, or *Commons*, as he thinks fit. And *Legion* againſt them All! Of which there is a New *Edition* juſt now come out, with *Additions* of *Millions*.

The *Author* of the *Occaſional Letter* having Dreſs'd up the *Conſtitution* of *England* in ſuch a *Frame* as this, had Reaſon to ſay, as he do's in the ſame *Page* before Quoted, p. 16. *Now this Government of ours ſo Modelled, can Never be ſaid to be Deriv'd to us by any Divine Right.* No indeed! Nor by any *Right*, or even *Common Senſe!* But this is come upon him and his New *Accomplices*, as the words of the *Act* of *Parliament* before Quoted ſays, *from a wilful Miſtake of the Supreme and Lawful Authority.*

But he goes on, and ſays, p. 17. *I fancy thoſe that Contend moſt for the Divine Right of Kings, will Allow that their Monarchs cannot Lawfully be Limited by the People, as I am ſure ours are.*

Now ſuppoſe another ſhould be as *Poſitive* as you are? And as *Sure*, that you Cannot be *Sure!* For however *your Monarchs*, as you Call them, or Wou'd have them, are *Limited*, I am ſure it is not by the *People*. But by a *Party*, that call themſelves the *People*, as every other *Party* of the *People* may, and always do, when they Riſe-up to Overturn *Governments*.

You may ſay, the *People* are *Repreſented* as well as you can Contrive. That may be. But you can never Contrive it. How are they *Repreſented*, when much the *Major* Number have no Vote in the *Election*? How can it be, When, according to the *Scheme* of *Power* in the *People*, the Conſent of every *Individual* is Neceſſary? As Mr. *L.*——*K.* makes it out in his ſo much Fam'd *Two Treatiſes of Government*, Book 2. Chap. 8. p. 316. Printed, 1690. But in this *Senſe*, the *People* are ſuch an *Unweildy Body*, that they can do nothing, can do no *Act*, either *Good* or *Bad!* Not ſo much as to Aſk, *What's a Clock?*

But

But in the Poſition of which you are ſo *Sure*, there is the word *Lawfully*,——*Cannot Lawfully be Limited?* ——Now if by *Lawfully* you mean, according to the *Law* of the *Land*, you are Determin'd by the *Act* of *Parliament* juſt now quoted, which makes it *Unlawful* for Either or Both *Houſes* of *Parliament*, or for the *People*, either *Collectively* or *Repreſentatively* to have any *Coercive Power* over the *King*.

But if by *Lawful*, you mean not the *Law* of the *Land*, but the *Law* of *Nature*, by which *Government* was firſt Erected among *Mankind*; then you muſt come to the *Original*, and the firſt *Diviſion* of *Nations*. And ſee if you can give a Plainer Account of it, and better *Vouch'd*, than the *New Aſſoc.* has ſhew'd from *Geneſis*. To which you have given no Anſwer. And let me add, that this *Diviſion* of *Nations* was not brought to paſs *Gradually*, in a long *Tract* of *Time*, and in ſeveral *Ages*, as *People* Multiply'd and Spread over the Earth: But it was one *Act*, done at one *Time*, by that moſt Aſtoniſhing *Miracle* of the *Diviſion* of *Tongues*, which did Diſtinguiſh the *Nations*. And that this was a moſt Remarkable *Time*, and Greatly *Notic'd*, appears from *Gen.* x. 25. When the Name of *Peleg* (which ſignifies *Diviſion*) was given to the Son of *Eber*, for, as the *Text* ſays, *In his Days was the Earth Divided.* This was one of the moſt Memorable *Æraes* of the World. And ought not to be Forgotten by Us. How can it be Forgotten, while the *Mark* of it ſtill Remains with Us, that is, the Multiplicity of *Languages?* But it is Forgotten! And the beſt Reaſon I can Aſſign for it, is, That our *Republican Vertuoſo's*, who are generally *Deiſts*, are better vers'd in *Heathen Authors*, than in the *Holy Scriptures*; which they ſeldom Read, but to *Ridicule*, or pick *Holes* in them. They are not in the Claſs of their *Belle Lettre*. And *Horace* or *Tacitus* is a better *Text* with them, than *Geneſis*. But as there is no *Heathen Author* Extant ſo Antient as *Moſes*, ſo likewiſe (as we are told in the ſecond *Par.* of *New Aſſoc. Suppl.* p. 8.) there is no *Heathen Hiſtory* whatſoever, wherein there is the leaſt *Footſtep* or *Umbrage* of this *Independent* Condition of *Mankind*, when they were All in this ſuppos'd State of *Nature*, without any *Government* among them. Therefore theſe *Scheme-Makers* go to their own *Brains*, and Invent, Contrive, and Fancy ſuch *Times* and *Circumſtances*

of

of *Mankind*, as never were in the World! And from thence (to ſhew their *Ingenuity*) Frame ſuch *Models* and *Originals* of *Government*, as are all *Impoſſibilities!* And at the ſame time, call this Account from *Geneſis*, a *Precarious Suppoſition*. As this *Occaſional Letter* does, p. 17. If the Hiſtory of *Geneſis* be *Precarious* with Them, they are deſir'd to ſhew a *Better* on their ſide.

And this is not meer Matter of *Speculation*. It is of the Higheſt *Importance* to have it *Settl'd* and *Determin'd*. Becauſe it is the only *Aſylum* to which our *Mutinous* and *Seditious Spirits* do fly, when they are about making *Inſurrections*, and diſturbing of *Government*.

For no *Conſtitution* can be *broken* by its own *Laws*, which were made to *Preſerve* it. You ſee in what is before Quoted, how *Poſitive* and *Expreſs* our own *Laws* are, in Barring out all the *Pretences* of *Rebellion*. Therefore the *Seditious* will not be Determin'd by our *Laws* or *Conſtitution*; but fly *Higher*, to the *Original* of *Government* in the World. And there they think they have *Scope* enough to *Amuſe*, and *Suppoſe* juſt to their own Humour! Therefore, as they have ſtated the *Caſe*, this is the very *Jugulum Cauſæ*. It is the firſt *Step* we muſt take, and then the reſt will go on more *ſmoothly*.

Let them then give an *Account*, and name the *Time*, when *Political Government* began in the *World*; And *How*, and by what *Methods* the *World* was *Divided* into ſeveral *Nations*. Whether this was done by an Equal *Poll* or *Vote* of the whole *World* gather'd together; or their *Votes* ſent from *far*, to ſet the *Bounds* and *Meres* of every *Country*, and Determine who and who ſhould live in each, in the *Worſt* Countries, as well as the *Beſt*; and who ſhould be the *Ruler* in each *Country*? Let them ſhew this, or make it *Poſſible*, upon the *Foot* of the *People!*

Now in the *New Aſſoc.* in the Place laſt Quoted, there is an Attempt made to ſhew every one of theſe Particulars. Firſt, That it was *The moſt High, who Divided the Nations*. Deut. xxxii. 8. Secondly, That it was done by the *Diviſion* of *Languages*. That they were Divided, *after their Tongues, in their Countries, and in their Nations*. Gen. x. 20. Thirdly, *That in the Diviſion of the Nations of the Whole Earth, He* (God) *ſet a Ruler over every People*. Eccluſ. xvii. 17. Fourthly, That this was done in the

Days

Days of *Eber*, which made him call his Son *Peleg*, *For in his Days was the Earth Divided.* Gen. x. 25.

We are told likewiſe in the ſame Place of the *New Aſſoc.* That this was about an Hundred Years after the *Flood*; when *Mankind* were ſo *Encreaſed*, as to be thus *Divided.* Before which Time, we may well ſuppoſe that *Noah* had the Supreme *Government.* Tho' ſeveral *Families* might be *Manumitted*, and have a diſtinct *Government* of their own, under the ſeveral *Heads* of *Families*, yet with a Due *Subordination* to their Common *Parent.* But before this Time of the *Diviſion* of the *Earth*, we Read no where of *Nations.* And therefore we may take the Riſe of *Political* Government from this *Original.* And we muſt ſtick to it, till our *Popular Orators* can ſhew a Better.

IV. *Concerning the* Limitations *of* Government.

But the great Prejudice remains ſtill, That if the *Original* of *Political Government*, be thus immediately from *Divine Inſtitution*: And that every *Ruler* now, (where there is no *Competition* by any other, who claims a Better *Right* than he in *Poſſeſſion*) do's ſucceed to the ſame *Divine Right* which God gave to the firſt *Rulers*, whom he Plac'd over every *People*, at the firſt *Diviſion* of *Nations*: Then it will follow, That no *Ruler* can be *Limited* by the *People*, or *Any* of them; and conſequently, That all *Governments* muſt be *Abſolute* and *Arbitrary.* Which makes a Dreadful *Sound* to *Engliſh* Ears!

This is the meaning of what is before Quoted out of this *Occaſional Letter*, p. 17. *I fancy thoſe that Contend moſt for the Divine Right of Kings, will allow that their Monarchs cannot Lawfully be Limited by the People.*

As to the *Lawfulneſs*, and by what *Law*, I have ſpoke already. But that this may not ſeem a *Put off*, I will Anſwer more Directly.

I. *Limitations of Conceſſion.*

There are *Limitations of Conceſſion*, and *Limitations* of *Coertion.* The firſt ſort as well as the laſt, are always given by *Superiors* to their *Inferiors.* Thus the Great *God* is Pleaſed to *Limit* Himſelf, when he makes *Covenants*, and grants *Conditions* to *Mankind.* And is *Oblig'd* by His *Veracity*, to *Perform* them.

Thus *Fathers* may *Limit* themſelves to their *Children.*

And thus, *Kings* may *Limit* themſelves to their *Subjects*. By Granting them ſuch and ſuch *Laws*. And giving them the Aſſurance of their Solemn *Oaths* to obſerve them.

Original Contract. And this is all the *Original Contract* can be ſhew'd betwixt *Kings* and *People*. But it is neither *Original*, nor *Contract*.

Firſt, not *Original*. Becauſe *Laws* are made by *Kings*. Therefore *Kings* muſt be before *Laws*. Let the *Law* be Produc'd that made the firſt *King*; even here in *England*. We have been under *Kings*, as far as *Hiſtory* can carry Us. And all the *Laws* that we have, have been made by *Kings*.

Our *Parliaments* do *Recognize* our *Kings*. See the *Acts* of *Recognition*, 1 *Eliz.* c. 3. And 1 *Jac.* c. 1. Where the *Parliament* acknowledges their Prior *Right* from the *Proximity* of *Blood*; which is call'd the *Law* of *God*, as well as of *Man*. Theſe *Parliaments* did not Pretend to *Make* them *Kings*, or to *Beſtow* the *Crown*, as at their Diſpoſal, But did, in moſt *Humble* Manner, *Recognize* and *Acknowledge* their *Right*, as from *God*. *And thereunto* (ſays the *Parliament*) *We moſt Humbly and Faithfully do Submit and Oblige our ſelves, our Heirs and Poſterity for Ever, until the laſt Drop of our Bloods be ſpent.*

Secondly, Laws which *Kings* make, are no *Contracts*. They are wholly *Conceſſions* on one ſide. On the ſide of the *King*. Our *Magna Charta*, which begins our *Statute-Book*, is *Wholly* and *Solely* from the *King*. And expreſs'd to be Granted of his *Meer and Free-Will*.

Afterwards the *Lords* or the *Commons* did humbly *Petition* to the *King*, that ſuch *Laws* ſhould be made. As the *Stile* of our former *Acts* of *Parliament* do's ſhew.

Be it *Enacted* by the *King*, or *Our Sovereign Lord* the *King* hath *Ordain'd*, by the *Advice* of the Lords, and the *Humble Petition* of the *Commons*, &c.

The *Lords* might *Adviſe*, and the *Commons* may *Petition*, but the *Enacting* Part is onely in the *King*. He *Enacts* with *their Advice*, not *They* with *His*. He only is *Sovereign*, in all *Cauſes*, and over all *Perſons*.

Not

Not by way of having a *Negative* Voice, as one of the *Three* Co-Ordinate *Powers* (according to the *Stile* of *Forty One*, and of our Preſent *Whigs*) for *Three*, or *Threeſcore Negatives* cannot make an *Affirmative*. A *Negative* is only ſaying, This ſhall *not* be a *Law*. But who has Power to ſay, This *ſhall* be a *Law?* And whoſe ſaying ſo, do's make it a *Law?* That is only the *King*. Whoſe *Fiat* ſtamps the *Authority* of a *Law* upon what the *three Eſtates* have Prepar'd. And if he *likes* it not, he may *Reject* it. The *three Eſtates* may bring *Bullion*: But it is the Impreſſion of the *King's Image*, and *Superſcription*, and That *only* which makes it *Coin*. And it is *Treaſon* to *Counterfeit* it. King's *Negative* Voice.

Now tho' the *King* has *limited* himſelf: by way of *Conceſſion*, not to make *Laws* without the *Three Eſtates*: Yet he has not Parted with any of his *Prerogative* to them. Nor *Parcell'd* out the *Supreme Power* among theſe *Eſtates*, as ſome fooliſhly think.

For all *Power* is one and *In-Diviſible*, whether in the Hands of *One* or *Many*. There muſt be a *Dernier Reſort*, or there can be no *Government*. And where this is in an *Aſſembly*, that *Aſſembly* is one *Body*, as one *Perſon*. And the Particular *Perſons* who Compoſe that *Aſſembly*, have not the *Power* ſhar'd among them, none of them have any *Part* of the *Power* at all. For the *Act* of the *Body* only is the *Law*.

Now in ſuch a *Conſtitution* it is neceſſary, that every *Member* of this *Aſſembly* ſhould have *Free* and *Equal Vote*, That one ſhould not have a *Commanding Power* over another. Nor the Power of *One* be *Deriv'd* from *Another*. But every *Member* ſits there, by the ſame *Authority*.

But how different is this from our *Conſtitution?* Where the *King* is *Supreme* and *Sovereign*, and his Crown *Imperial!* Where both *Houſes* of *Lords* and *Commons* ſtile Themſelves His *Majeſty's* Moſt *Dutiful* and *Loyal Subjects!* And take *Oaths* of *Allegiance* to him, Aſſerting him to be the *Only Supreme Governor*, in *all Cauſes*, and over *all Perſons*.

Whoſe *Authority* gives *Being* to, and *Creates* the *Parliament*. And *Diſſolves* them at his *Pleaſure*, with the *Breath* of his *Mouth!* Inſomuch that the ſame *Perſons* Meeting without his *Authority*, are an *Un-lawful Aſſembly*, and Puniſhable by the Law!

How then can *this* Authority be Deriv'd from *Them!* Can the *Creature* make its *Creator!*

Are *They* then *Co-Ordinate Powers* with *Him*, who Derive what *Authority* they have from *Him!*

And as the *King* may bring what *Perſons* he Pleaſes into the *Houſe* of *Lords*, without aſking their *Conſent*; He has not ſo far yet *Limited* Himſelf: So the *Limitation* of what *Perſons* ſhall *Vote* for *Members* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, is *Wholly* and *Solely* from the *King*, as All our *Laws* are. This was never Determin'd by a *Free* and *Equal Vote* of all the *People*. Let our *Commonwealths-Men* ſhew that! As for what *Advice* the *King* took in doing of this, That is not the Matter. The *Parliament* is call'd the *King's* Great *Council*.

And we have ſeveral *Acts* of *Parliament* wherein the *King* did not take the *Advice* of all the *Three Eſtates*. As 3. *Rich.* 2. c. 2. *Our Lord the King, by the Advice and Aſſent of all the Lords Temporal—hath Ordain'd and Eſtabliſhed*, &c. This was a Caſe wherein the *Biſhops* were Concern'd. And therefore their *Advice* was not Aſk'd. And 13 *Rich.* 2. c. 1. In a Caſe where the *Commons* were *Complainants*, the *King* Enacts, *By the Aſſent of the Great Men and Nobles*. Several other Inſtances of this ſort may be given. And tho' the Method be Alter'd now, and all our *Acts* carry by Advice and Conſent of the *Three Eſtates* Diſtinctly Nam'd, *viz. Lords Spiritual, Temporal*, and *Commons*; yet all this is from the *King*. He cou'd not have been *Compell'd* to it. It is a *Limitation of Conceſſion* which he has Granted.

Our *Conſtitution* was not Always as it is now. They who are vers'd in the *Rolls* of *Parliament*, will find there *Precedents* of *Parliaments*, ſummoned without either *Citizens* or *Burgeſſes*, only *Knights*, ſometimes *Two*, ſometimes but *One*. Of *Parliaments* Summon'd for one *Knight*, two *Citizens*, and two *Burgeſſes*. *Parliament* Summon'd to meet in leſs than Forty Days. And after Summons, *Diſſolv'd* before *Meeting*. Summon'd to one *Place*, and before *Meeting* Order'd to another *Place*, and to a further *Day*. They will find *Writs* requiring the ſame *Members* as in the Preceding *Parliament*. *Writs* directed to *Corporations* for two *Burgeſſes*, and to the *Sherriffs* but for one *Knight*: They will find the *Speaker* of the *Houſe* of *Commons* (in Vacation) taken in *Execution*, and *Impriſon'd*, and a New *Speaker* Choſen. So that their *Privileges* were not always as they are Now. Nay no longer ago than the *Reign* of Queen *Eliz.* We find her *Limiting*

Town-ſhen's *Collections* Printed 1680. *p.* 37, 38.

miting the *Freedom* of *Speech* in the *House* of *Commons* to the bare giving of their Vote, *Yea* or *No*. But not to meddle with Reforming or Transforming either *Church* or *Commonwealth*. And the *Speaker* order'd to *Reject* ſuch *Bills*, *if offer'd, until they be view'd and conſider'd of by thoſe whom it is fitter ſhou'd conſider of ſuch things, and can better Judge of them.* And the *Privilege* of their *Perſons* ſo *Limited*, as *That no Man's ill doings, or not Performing of Duties, be Covered or Protected.* And the third *Petition* of *Acceſs* to Her *Majeſty*, Reſtrain'd only to *Weighty Cauſes*, and when ſhe was at *Leiſure*. I have not added the *Quotations* of the *Rolls* of *Parliament*, in the Particulars beforementioned, for Brevity ſake; and becauſe few Readers can Conſult them; and they who are Converſant in them, do know all this. But they are ready when call'd for, upon any occaſion, and more to the ſame Purpoſe which I ſuppoſe, will not be deny'd by any body.

But I will Quote a *Book* which every one may Conſult, and which ſhews the different *Methods* of Management in *Parliament* from what is now. It is *Cotton's Abridgment of the Records*, &c. Reviſed by *Will. Prynne*. London *Printed* 1657. There you will find *Petitions* and *Bills* in *Parliament*, whereof the *King* Granteth *Part*, and denieth *Part*. p. 48. n. 12. n. 17. n. 19. p. 66. n. 24. p. 57. n. 30. p. 74. n. 16. p. 138. n. 177.

Again *Granted* with *Exceptions*, *Addition*, *Explanation*, or upon *Condition*. p. 39. n. 34. p. 46. n. 44. p. 48. n. 14. p. 60. n. 45. p. 62. n. 57. Anſwer to the Articles of the Clergy. p. 33. n. 33. p. 70. n. 8. n. 19. p. 80. n. 29. p. 82. n. 15. p. 96. n. 12. p. 97. n. 19. p. 118. n. 20. p. 126. n. 67. p. 130. n. 109. p. 131. n. 113. 115. p. 132. n. 124. p. 140. n. 199. p. 159. n. 57. p. 152. at the End. p. 166, n. 131.

Now the Uſe I have to make of theſe Things, is to ſhew, That neither the *Conſtitution* or *Privileges* of *Parliaments* are *Original Rights*, or *Fundamentals*; but *Variable* and *Changeable*. Nor do they Flow from the *People* at all, but are, and ever were the *Conceſſions* and *Grants* of *Kings*, and nothing elſe.

3 L L

And as to all theſe *Limtations*, I now ſay, in Direct Anſwer to our *Author*, That the King cannot be Lawfully *Limitted* by the *People*. He cannot be Limited but by Himſelf, That is by the

the Law, which is made by Him, and cannot be made without Him.

2. Limitations of Coercion.

But now as to *Limitations* of *Coercion*. No *Supreme Power* can Grant any such. Because it *ipso facto* Dissolves the *Government*. For it sets up a *Power* that is *Superior* to the *Supreme*, which is a *Contradiction*: And the *Supreme* does *ipso facto* cease to be *Supreme*, and that other *Superior* becomes *Supreme*. And if Power of *Coercion* be given to *Another* over that *Superior*, that *Other* becomes *Supreme*. And so *in Infinitum*. There can be no *Basis* or *Centre* of *Government*, at this Rate.

Therefore my Lord *Bacon* sets this down as a *Maxim* of our Law, as well as of *Reason*, That *Suprema Potestas seipsam Dissolvere potest, Ligare non potest*. That *the Supreme Power may Dissolve it self, but cannot Limit it self*. This is to be understood of *Limitations* of *Coercion*. For, no Doubt, the *Supreme Power* may Grant *Concessions*. But not so, as to give any other *Power* over it self; for that *Dissolves* it.

Now as it is *Absurd* and *Blasphemous* to say, That *God* can *Limit* Himself, so as to put Himself under the *Coercive* Power of any. So it is *Treasonable* and Inconsistent with *Government* to say, That the *King* can. And this is sufficiently *Secur'd* in the *Acts* of *Parliament* before Quoted, which Declare, That neither the *Parliament*, nor the *People*, either *Collectively*, or *Representatively*, have any *Coercive* Power over the *King*.

My *Father*, as my *King*, may *Limit* the *Power* he has over me, by *Concessions* to me. But to say, That this Infers a *Coercive* Power in me over him, so that if he breaks those *Conditions* to me, as I think, or please to Pretend; I may lawfully lay Hands upon him, turn him out of Doors, and seize upon his *House* and *Inheritance* for my self: This *Principle* would *Dissolve* all *Relations*, as 'twixt *Children* and *Parents*, so betwixt *King* and *Subjects*, *Servants* and *Masters*, and in short, of Whole *Mankind*.

And this is the most Effectual *Barr* to hinder *Kings*, *Fathers*, or *Masters* to give any *Concessions*. And introduceth a *Necessity* of a *Rigorous Government*: Since no *Favour* can be shew'd, without the *Destruction* of the *Donor*.

There-

Therefore the beſt *Security* we can have againſt *Tyranny* in our *Governours*, is, by a *Dutiful Submiſſion*, to Encourage them to be Good to Us. And by *Loyal Principles* to render them *Safe* and *Secure* in whatever *Conceſſions* they ſhall Pleaſe to Give Us. No Man ever yet Hated his own *Fleſh*, but Loveth and Cheriſheth it. All Men deſire to preſerve their *Poſſeſſions*, and what *Belongs* to them. The Glory of a *King* is the *Multitude*, the *Riches*, and *Strength* of his *Subjects*. And while they are *True* to him, he muſt wiſh their *Proſperity*.

V. *The beſt Security againſt Tyranny.*

But *Provocations* and Eternal *Teazing*, the *Diſ-Loyalty* and *Rebellion* of *Wives*, *Children*, *Servants*, and *Subjects*, may make a Man hate his own *Houſe*, and ſeek all Means to *Reduce* them.

And this brings Ten-fold more *Ruin* and *Deſtruction* upon them than ever any *People* ſuffer'd, by Quietly Submitting to the moſt Mercileſs *Tyrant*.

If they ſhould *Depoſe* their *King*, their *New Protector* and *Deliverer* may prove more *Tyrannical* than He. And if they ſet up a *New Captain* againſt their *Deliverer*, he may Prove *Worſe*. Beſides, what every ſuch *New Experiment* muſt Coſt them. Till they come at laſt to ſay with the wretched *Secilians*, as Quoted in the ſecond *Par.* of *New Aſſoc.* p. 33, 34. *That they who came to Deliver them from Tyranny, prov'd the Greateſt Tyrants themſelves, and made their Freedom much more Diſmal than their former Servitude.*

But no *Age* or *Hiſtory* can afford Us Inſtances of this, beyond our own. I know none can Equal the Horrid *Tyranny* and *Oppreſſion* of our *Deliverers* and *Patrons* of *Liberty* in the Times of *Forty-One*.

Among the many Particulars of which (too long here to be Repeated) I will at preſent name but *One*, in the very *Infancy* of their *Rebellion*, when they were making the Faireſt *Pretences* in the *Year* 1642. A *Committee* only of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, conſiſting of theſe Worthy *Patriots*, having firſt, by *Authority* and *Force* of their *Mobb*, *Driv'n away* ſome, and *Impriſon'd* others of the Lawful *Members* of their *Houſe*, who they knew would ſtand by the *Laws*; did Aſſume to *Themſelves* the Name of the *People* of *England*; and by an *Ordinance* of their own, without *King* or *Houſe*-

A notable Inſtance *of* Liberty *and* Property.

House of *Lords*, did Impower *Four* Men of their own Chooſing, to *Value* every Man's *Eſtate*, at what they Pleas'd; (except their own, the *Taxing* of which they Reſerv'd to *Themſelves*) and to *Levy* from them what *Summ* they thought fit, within the *Twentieth* Part; (that is indeed what *Summ* they Pleas'd, for they could *Value* at what they Pleas'd) And for *Non-Payment*, to *Diſtrain* by the *Train'd-Bands*; and for want of ſufficient *Diſtreſs*, to *Compound* and *Diſcharge* all *Debts* due to them; and if they ſuſpected any to *Conceal* the *Debts* due to them, to *Impriſon* their *Perſons* during *Pleaſure*, and *Baniſh* their *Wives* and *Children*. And theſe *Four Aſſeſſors* to be *Un-Accountable* to any *Law* or *Authority* whatſoever, only to their *Conſtituents*; for They were now the *People!* That is, the *Supreme Authority!* This you will ſee at Large in Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, *Vol.* 2. p 77. Read from p. 75 to p. 82.

Here is an Example of Preſerving *Liberty* and *Property* by the *Power* of the *People*.

And all this, to ſecure themſelves from the *Encroachments*, and the *Fears* they Rais'd of the moſt *Merciful* and *Benign Prince* that ever ſat on the *Engliſh Throne!* Who Granted away to them, by *Piece-meal*, as they were Pleas'd to *Demand* it, all the *Power* and *Prerogative* of the *Crown*; to *Satisfy* their *Jealouſies*. But they were not *Satisfied* while the *Crown* ſat upon his *Head*, or his *Head* upon his *Shoulders!*

VI. *Whether the* Un-Reaſonableneſs *of* People, *or the* Mal-Adminiſtration *of* Kings *are moſt to Blame?*

And when we look into *Hiſtory*, and find this to have been Generally the *Fate* of the moſt *Mild* and *Gracious Princes*; it Prompts Us to Reflect, with a General View, upon the Condition of Deprav'd *Humane Nature*. And to conſider, whether the Cauſe of More *Rebellions* and *Convulſions* of *Government* has Ariſen from the *Male-Adminiſtration* of *Princes*; or from the *Petulancy* and *Un-Reaſonableneſs* of the *People?*

And becauſe we may be ſure of Right *Information*, we will take it from the *Sacred Records*.

Moſes.

Moſes was the *Meekeſt* Man upon *Earth*. So *Juſt*, that he had never taken an *Ox* or an *Aſs* from any of the *People*. Gave them the Wiſeſt *Laws* in the *World*, from the *Mouth* of *God* Himſelf.

ſelf. Was ſet over them by *God*. He *Reſcued* them from the *Houſe* of *Bondage*, by a Multitude of *Miracles*. Had ſuch a *Fatherly* Affection to them, as if he had *Begotten* them All.

Three ſeveral times he fell down before the *Lord*, forty *Days* each time, without *Eating* or *Drinking*, *once* to Receive the *Law*, and *Twice* to *Deprecate* the *Sin* of the *People*, for which *God* ſaid he would have *Deſtroy'd* them, had not *Moſes* his *Choſen ſtood before Him in the Gap, to turn away his Wrathful Diſpleaſure from them.* He *Pray'd* to be *Blotted* out of the *Book* of *Life* Himſelf, to *Save* that *People*; tho' God Promiſed him, to Raiſe out of him, a Greater *Nation* than they. Deut. ix. 9. 18. 25.

One would think it *Impoſſible* for any *People* to *Mutiny* or *Rebel* againſt ſuch a *Governor* as this! Yet never any was ſo Tormented, as this *Meek* Man, with their Continual *Inſurrections*. Inſomuch that he Pray'd to God to take away his *Life*, rather than Bear it. They laid *Arbitrary Government* upon him, and *Ambition*, to *make himſelf altogether a* PRINCE *over them.* They did not like this *Governor* of *God*'s Appointment: They were for *Popular Election.* They would *Chooſe* for Themſelves. *And they ſaid one to another, Let Us make a Captain.* And what would they do with *Moſes?* Why *Stone* him!

They *Rebell'd* Twice againſt *David*, a *Man after God's own Heart*, whoſe *Son* CHRIST delighted to be call'd. *He Fed them with a Faithful and True Heart, and Rul'd them Prudently, with all his Power.* He was *Glorious* in *War*. And *Subdu'd* their *Enemies* under them. But all that was nothing! *Nay, but whom the Lord, and this People, and all the Men of Iſrael Chooſe, His will I be, and with him will I abide.* This is the firſt time we heard of that *Maxim*, *Vox Populi, vox Dei.* That the *Choice* of the *People*, is the *Choice* of *God!* *David.*

But if *David*'s Reign was Incumber'd with *War*, tho' *Victorious*, and that they had a Mind to Live at *Eaſe*, his Son *Solomon* (of *God*'s own *Chooſing* too) gave them perfect *Peace* and *Plenty* Un-Parallel'd: He advanc'd their *Trade*; and made *Silver* as *Stones* in *Jeruſalem.* They were the *Envy* of all *Nations* for *Solomon.*

Riches. He built them a *Temple*, the *Glory* of the whole *World* And was the *Wiſeſt* of All ever *Begot* by *Man.*

Yet, all this wou'd not do? They Complain'd of *Taxes*, and his *Toke* was *Heavy*! And they *Rebell'd* againſt his *Houſe* for Ever.

Theocraſie. There is but one *Step* Higher to go in this *Scale*; and that is to *God* Himſelf. For after the *Meekeſt* and *Juſteſt*, the moſt *Pious* and *Victorious*, the moſt *Peaceable*, *Richeſt*, and *Wiſeſt*, whom elſe of *Mortal Race* ſhou'd we Name!

But *God* did once Vouchſafe to take the *Government* into his own Hands, and to be *King* Himſelf. He Nam'd all their *Captains* and *Judges*, and went out before their *Armies*. But they grew *Weary* of this *Theocraſie*, and in the Days of *Samuel*, they *Rejected GOD* too from being their *King!* And would *Chooſe* for *Themſelves!* And of *All* they *Choſe*, not *one* Prov'd *Good.*

Now let us look a little to the other Side, of the *Perverſeneſs* that is found among the *Generality* of *Mankind.* As we have ſeen how *Un-eaſie* and *Mutinous* they are under the moſt *Mild* and *Gentle Governments*: So, on the other hand, where they *Rul'd* with a *ſtrait* Reign, and even *Tyrannically*, they commonly ſpeak *Beſt* of thoſe *Princes*, and *Adorn* their *Memories.*

How the *Mild* Family of the *Stuarts* have been Treated ſince they came into *England*, I need not Repeat.

And yet none of theſe *Severities* can be Alledg'd in any of their *Reigns*, as were in thoſe of *Hen.* VIII. or *Q. Eliz.*

That Uſage which either of them gave their *Parliaments* would not be born now. *Swearing* at them, and taking their *Members* out of the *Houſe*, and *Impriſoning* them during Pleaſure, and not ſuffering any Reaſon to be aſk'd them for it. And yet K. *Char.* I. but deſiring *Juſtice* againſt five of their *Members*, was a *Breach* of *Privilege*, and a ſufficient Ground for a *Rebellion!*

He Courted the *Fanaticks*, Eſtabliſh'd them in *Scotland*, Indulg'd them in *England*, and even made Himſelf a *Sacrifice* to them. Yet they *Hate* his *Memory.*

Q. Eliz. Proſecuted them with the Utmoſt *Rigor.* Made Severe *Laws* againſt them, and put them in full Execution. She reckon'd them, as her worſt *Enemies*, even worſe than the

the *Jesuits* themselves, and to have been Instrumental in the *Spanish Invasion*. As you may see in the Lord Chancellor *Puckering*'s Speech, which I have therefore *Annexed*. *Num.* 3. And yet they Pretend to Reverence her *Memory*!

One Cause of which I take to be, That when Men are Hinder'd from any *Wickedness*, they are willing to take the *Honour* to themselves, of never having *Design'd* it. But rather to have *Suffered* under an Un-just *Suspicion*, Which Use, some of the *Dissenters* late *Books* have made of their Patient *Suffering* under Q. *Eliz.* as a *Testimony* of their *Loyalty* and *Passive Obedience-Principles*, to *Vie* therein with the *Church* of *England*.

On the other hand, when Men have *Perpetrated* their *Wickedness*, they think themselves obliged to stand by it, and Justifie it. And therefore must not afford a good Word to those whom they have *Injur'd*; for that is to Condemn themselves. And herein is that *Saying* Verified, *That it is he who doth the Injury, cannot Forgive*.

Another Reason there is for this *Perverse Temper* of *Men*. That the *Multitude* are like the *Waters* (as they are often Represented in the H. *Scriptures*) which will go, as far as they have Way. And when they who bear the *Sword* of *God*, will suffer Pernicious *Principles* to be *Spread*, and the *Populace* to *Rage* and *Swell*; As they are Accountable to *God*, for Bearing his *Sword* in *vain*, and suffering His *Authority*, with which they are *Entrusted*, to be vilely *Prostituted* to the *Beasts* of the *People*: So they often let these Bad *Humours* Encrease, till they are *Involv'd*; and seek to *Extricate* themselves by mean *Compliances*, which Render them and their *Authority* more and more *Contemptible*; till at last it be *Wrested* out of their Hands; and they themselves often *Perish* with it. For that *Maxim* must for ever remain *Ir-Refragable*, That it is in vain seeking to *Compound* with those who *Contend* for *Power*. For the more they get, the more they must have till they have All. Can one *Exception* be Produc'd!

Therefore Q. *Eliz.* Watch'd the Beginnings of the *Faction*, and kept them under; from so much as any *Expectation* of coming into *Places* of *Power* or *Trust*; And she had *Peace* and *Quietness* with them; And has their *Good Word* still.

But K. *Car.* I. Endeavour'd to *Compound* with them, and Gave them *Part*, that they might not *ſeek* the *Whole!* For which they *Condemn'd* him as a *Tyrant* and a *Traytor*. And have his *Memory* in *Deteſtation!*

It had been much better for the *Nation* to have had a Rigorous *King* over them, than a *Prince*, tho' of never ſo many Perſonal *Vertues*, who, out of a Miſtaken *Clemency*, ſhould let *Factions* Grow to the *Deſtruction* of the *People*.

VII. *Of* Tyranny *and* Revolution.

A *Tyrant* muſt *Die*, or may become *Better*. God ſays, That the *Hearts* of *Kings* are in His Hands, and he turns them, as it ſeemeth beſt to Him. He ſends *Good Kings* to a *Good People*; and *wicked Princes* for the *Puniſhment* of a *wicked People*.

But when we have over-turn'd the *Foundation* of *Government*; will let it be no longer from *God*, but ſet it up upon the *Foot* of the *People*, which has no *Foundation*; It is not for one *Life* or *Age* we may endure the Effects of it! What did the *Depoſition* of *Rich.* II. coſt *England?* A Train of *Miſery*, *Blood*, and *Deſtruction* for above an Hundred Years, till the *Right Line* was at laſt *Reſtor'd!* And was the Difference betwixt *Rich.* II. and *Hen.* IV. worth all this? So that *Tyranny* may Laſt for a *Life*; But *Rebellion*, if it ſucceeds, for *Ages*.

No *Kingdom* was ever yet *Deſtroy'd* by the *Tyranny* of a *King*. But by *Rebellion* Many have.

Yet our *Author* thinks *Tyranny* much more Deſtructive to the *People*, than *Popular Revolution*. And proves it thus, p. 18. *Let any one Conſider the Cruelties that have been Inflicted upon the Poor Proteſtants in* France; *not to mention the many Illegal Arbitrary Proceedings that we have ſeen in our Nation, and compare them with the manner with which our Popular Revolution was brought about, and try in his Conſcience, if he can be of his* (the Author of the Aſſociation's) *Opinion. And let any one Reflect upon the Condition we muſt have been in before this time, had not God come in to our Reſcue, and I am ſure it will be Impoſſible for him to Subſcribe to ſuch downright Falſities, and ſuch Slaviſh Principles.*

This *Author* is ſtill very *Sure!* I firſt, except againſt the laſt part of the *Compariſon*, What he apprehends might have come to paſs! *Jealouſies* and *Fears* will bear no *Argument*. A Man may

may be as *Fearful* as he Pleaſes. There are ſome who *Fly*, when when none *Purſueth*. And ſome Pretend *Dangers*, to *Frighten* other Folks; to Raiſe *Mobs*, and carry on *Deſigns*.

But I deſire to know what he means by *The many Illegal and Arbitrary Proceedings that we have ſeen in our own Nation?* I ſuppoſe he does not mean the *Laſt Reign*. Therefore I will not Mention it. It muſt then be the *Two* former *Reigns*. For we have ſeen none other.

By this *Repreſentation*, a *Stranger* would Expect many Men *Maſſacred*, *Dragoon'd*, *Baniſh'd*, &c. in the *Reigns* of K. *Char.* II. and K. *James* II. When this is brought in as a *Ballance* to the *Deſtruction* that Attends *Popular Revolutions*. But when he is told, That no one *Man*, *Woman*, or *Child* can be Produc'd in both theſe *Reigns*, that did Suffer otherwiſe than by the known *Laws* of the *Land*. Not one *Gaffny'd* or *Glen-Coe'd*. But many *Pardon'd*, and *Re-pardon'd*, who had been in open *Rebellion*, and Detected in ſeveral *Aſſaſſination-Plots*, to have *Murther'd* the *King*, and *over-turn* both *Church* and *State*; And this ſo fully *Prov'd*, as to be *Confeſſed* even by *Themſelves*: I ſay when this is ſhew'd to be the Caſe, as it Truly is; What wou'd a *Stranger* think, What ſhou'd *We* think (we are *Strangers* to our ſelves!) if ſuch *Writers* as theſe, who Blacken *Princes*, whoſe *Mercy* was their *Fault* and their *Ruin*, as if they had been the Greateſt *Tyrants* in the World; when yet they have no one *Inſtance* to ſhew of what they wou'd ſo *Impudently* Impoſe upon the World!

This Reaſonably *Abates* the *Credit* we are to Give them, when they ſpeak of *Foreign* Affairs, and bring no *Proof*. Yet I will not take that Advantage, ſo as to Wave that Part of his *Compariſon*, which Relates to the Treatment of the *Hugonots* in *France*. Nor will I ſeek to *Alleviate* or *Leſſen* it, by the known *Principles* of theſe Men as to *Government*, and the *Depoſing* of *Kings*; Their former Frequent *Rebellions*; And thoſe *Diſcoveries*, which the *Advocates* for the *French King* Alledge he had made of their *Treating* with *Foreign Powers*, in Order to an *Inſurrection* in his own *Kingdom*. I Wave all this, nor will I undertake the *Proof* of it.

Our *Compariſon* lies only as to the *Number* of *Men* that were *Deſtroy'd* in this *French Perſecution*. I have heard much of the *Dragooning* there. And it was very *Barbarous*. I *Deteſt* it. But I have not heard much of any put to *Death* upon that Account

of

of *Religion*, excepting of a Few of their *Miniſters*, who being *Baniſh'd* on Pain of *Death*, did *Return*. But let the Whole *Detail* be made out, in the moſt *Ample* Manner, we will by no Means *Stint* them; And when they have Agreed upon the *Number*, with any ſort of *Probability*, I will give them Leave to *Multiply* it *Ten-fold*; And then will Enter upon the *Compariſon* of thoſe who *Periſh'd*——

Not in our late *Revolution*, as this *Author* wou'd Fix it: No, I will not meddle with that. I allow that to be an *Exception*. Becauſe it was *Worth* All that it *Coſt* Us! What was ſome *Hundreds* of *Thouſands* that were *Starv'd* to *Death*, and Fell by the *Sword* in *Ireland*, in about *two Years* time; beſides *Families* and *Perſons* that were *Ruin'd*, without *Number*! What were all thoſe who *Periſh'd* in *Scotland*; And in our *Ten-Years War* Abroad, by *Sea* and *Land*! What was All this; Beſides about Eighty *Millions* in *Taxes* (more than all our *Kings* ſince *William* the *Conqueror* had, put together.) What was all this, if it had been *Ten* times more, in Compariſon of the *Preſervation* of our *Laws* and *Liberties*! But this I will ſay, That this is the firſt *Popular Revolution* that ever was worth the while!

Therefore I will carry our *Compariſon* Higher, to the *Former* of *Forty-One*. And to that of *York* and *Lancaſter*. And will Double the Advantage I before offer'd this *Author*, as to the *Number* of thoſe who *Periſh'd* and were *Ruin'd*, in either of theſe *Revolutions*; compar'd with thoſe who *Periſh'd* in the late *French Perſecution* of the *Hugonots*. And I will give this lateſt of the *Sevennois* into the Bargain. Nay I will go further, and let him Add to the Account, the late *Perſecutions* of the *Proteſtants* in *Hungary*, and in *Savoy*. So vaſt a *Diſ-proportion* there is betwixt *Tyranny* and *Revolution*! And ſo little Reaſon has this *Author* to call theſe things *downright Falſities*, which are as *Flagrant Truth*, as the *Sun* at *Noon-day*! But none ſo *Blind* as they who *will* not *See*.

VIII. Slaviſh Principles

As little Ground had he, to call the *Jure Divino* Doctrines, *Slaviſh Principles*. For let theſe *Doctrines* be *True* or *Falſe*; It cannot ſurely be call'd ſo *Slaviſh*, to ſubmit my ſelf to one *Royally Born*, ſprung from the Loins of many *Kings*! Whom I believe

believe to be *Invested* with a *Divine Commission*; and likewise Better for the *Salus Populi*, and Preservation of the Publick *Peace* and *Security*; And whose *Heart*, *GOD* says, He keeps in His own *Hand*; And that he will Eternally *Reward* those who *Faithfully Serve*, *Honour*, *and Humbly Obey such in Him*, *and for Him*, *according to his Blessed Word and Ordinance*, *considering whose Authority such an One hath*, that is *God's*. Now whether is it more *Slavish* to *Obey* such an One, for *Conscience* towards *God*; or to put my self *Creepingly* under the *Feet* of the *Beasts* of the *People*, of one upon the same *Level* with my self, it may be, *Worse Born*; and who by *Hypocrisie* and *Trick*, has squeez'd himself into *Power*, perhaps, by Undermining *Me*, who had the same *Plot* upon *Him*! And stands upon no other *Foundation*, than a Pack'd *Party* who call Themselves the *People*; To which I have as good *Right*, if I can get a *Party* to follow me; And so has every other, if he were my *Foot-Man*, or a *Massanello*, who can do the same; Whether is more *Honourable*, or more *Slavish*, to submit *Tamely* under such an *One*, or, which is worse, a *Mobb* of them; without any *Rules* of *Law*, or *Constitution*, but what they Please to Call so; And in Opposition to all the *Laws* of *God* and *Man*; To the Trampling down of all *Nobility*, and *Distinctions* of *Men*; I leave it to any Man of *Honour* or *Sense*, Whether there is not more of *Slavery* and *Poorness* of *Spirit* in *Submitting* to such, than to a *King*, whom it is an *Honour* to *Serve*; And has been so Reputed, in the whole *Earth*, from the first *Division* of *Nations*, to this Day; except among a Sett of *Filthy Dreamers*, who have of late Years, Rose up in our *Land*; *Who speak Evil of the things they Understand not*; *And are not Afraid to despise Dominion*, *and speak Evil of Dignities*; *Whereas Angels dare not bring Railing Accusations against them*, tho' *Wicked*, tho' the *Devil* himself! The *Blessed Angels* serve *Willingly*, in the several *Ranks* of that *Hierarchy* wherein *God* has Plac'd them; And this is their *perfect Freedom*. The Devil won'd not *keep his first Principality*, and is a *Slave* in his *Rebellion*! To *Serve* a *Nobler* than my self. is *Honourable*; but to *Serve* my *Inferior*, or *Equal*, is *Slavish*. Happy is that *Land* whose *King* is the *Son* of *Nobles* And Wretched are those *People*, over whom *Servants* bear *Rule*.

Having

IX. *Of a Limited and Mix'd Monarchy.*

Having thus Diſpatch'd theſe *Popular Objections* of our *Author*; Let Us now Purſue the *Argument*, we have been upon; and conclude it with the Explaining of ſome *Words*, which are a *Stumbling-Block* to Many, becauſe not well Underſtood; Theſe are the *Phraſes* of a *Limited* and *Mixed Monarchy*, which are in Every Bodies Mouth, and the Burden of all our *Republican*, and *Whig-Pamphlets*.

They ſay, That *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons* are a *Mixture* of *Monarchy*, *Ariſtocraſie*, and *Democraſie*, altogether. For that the *Supreme Power* is *divided* between them. Thence they Raiſe their *Ballancing* of *Power*, between theſe *three Supremes*. Of which ſufficient has been ſaid before, That it is *Nonſenſe* and *Contradiction*. That *Power* is *One*, and therefore cannot be *divided*, &c.

But muſt there be no *Limitation* then, or *Mixture* of *Monarchy*?

Mixture can be None. That cannot be in the *Nature* of the *Thing*. All the *Mixture* is this, That the *Lords*, who are the *Ariſtocratical* Part, and the *Commons*, who are the *Democratical*, do both Compoſe the *King*'s Great *Council* of the *Parliament*. Which is an Excellent and Wiſe *Diſpoſition*. As it is ſaid, *In the Multitude of Counſellors there is Safety*. But then the *Supreme Power* is only in the *King*, not in theſe *three Kings*. As it it likewiſe ſaid, *For the Wickedneſs of a Land, many are the Princes thereof*. One *King*, and Many *Counſellors*. That is the *Safeſt*. And it is Our *Conſtitution*.

Diſmiſſing then this *Mixture* of *Government*, let Us come to the *Limitations*.

May not a *Monarch* be *Limited*? Yes, as is ſaid before, He may *Limit* Himſelf, by *Limitations* and *Conceſſion*. And, in this Senſe, ours is the moſt *Limited*, and Conſequently the Moſt *Happy* Government in the World; if we know our own *Happineſs*, and will be *Content* with it.

But as to *Limitations* of *Coercion*, the *King* cannot *Limit* Himſelf, nor be *Limited* by any other. For that Moment the *Government* is *diſſolv'd*. And nothing but *Confuſion* can follow. And our Laws have ſufficiently ſecur'd againſt any *limitation* of *Coercion*, as before has been ſhew'd.

In

In the next Place I will ſay, That no *Commonwealths*, or what they call *Popular Governments* (tho' no ſuch ever truly was, or can be in the World) have Granted ſuch *Limitations* of *Conceſſion*, as *Monarchs*, at leaſt, *Ours* have done. And no *Subjects* in the World may be ſo *Eaſie* and *Happy* as We; if that *Rebellious Principle* of *Coercing* our *Kings*, and making our ſelves *Co-ordinate* with Him, were once Rooted out from among Us. If we wou'd be Guided either by *Reaſon*, or *Scripture*, the *Law* of the *Land*, or, the *Experience* of all *Ages*, chiefly of *our own*. Till when, *Peace* and *Settlement* will be as Impoſſible to us, as to Reconcile *Contradictions*.

And without Reflecting upon One or Another *Party*, conſidering them only as *Men*, where there is a *Conteſt* for *Power*, one or the other muſt Have it. And there can never be any *Settlement* in ſuch a *State* of things. Or any *Government* Fix'd without a certain *Foundation*, *Centre*, and Ultimate *Arbitrator*. Which can never be the *People*. They are the *Party* to be *Govern'd*; And therefore cannot be the *Governors*.

And now we have ſeen all that is ſaid in this *Occaſional Letter* againſt the *Principles* laid down in the *New Aſſoc.* I could take Advantage of ſeveral *Expreſſions*. But all I Aim at is to ſettle *Principles*. And I ſhall be Glad if any will ſhew me, wherein I have *Reaſon'd* Amiſs; Or Miſtaken the Senſe of the *Holy Scriptures*; or of our own *Laws* and *Conſtitution*; Or in Matter of *Fact*, as to the Dreadful *Conſequences* of theſe *Popular* Principles, which take *Government* from off the *Foundation* of *Divine Right* and *Eſtabliſhment*; And place it upon the *Face* of the *Waters*, upon the Giddy *Multitude*, perpetually *Ebbing*, and *Flowing*, and Raiſed up into *Storms* and *Tempeſts*, by every *Breath* of *Seditious* Spirits to their own Deſtruction; and overthrow of all *Order*, *Laws*, and *Conſtitution*.

And the Endeavouring to ſettle ſure and Laſting *Foundations* of *Government*, in Oppoſition to theſe *Popular* no *Principles*, of *Sedition* and Eternal *Confuſion*, is all the Reaſon I know that has ſtirr'd up the *Wrath* of theſe *Orators* for the *Populace*. And it is a ſufficient *Reaſon*, in one Senſe, That while they are

X. Character given of the New Aſſoc.

Reſolv'd not to *Repent*, they wou'd not be *Inform'd*, nor have others to be ſet *Right*. And if the *Principles* of *Government* before-mention'd, of a *Divine Original* and *Right*, cannot be *Diſprov'd*; nor the other ſupported, of Founding it upon the *People*, then the *Temple* of the *Republican-Dagon* Tumbles down all at once; And *Reſtleſs* Spirits are *Diſ-arm'd* of their Main and Perpetual *Pretence* for ſtirring Men up to *Sedition* and *Rebellion*. This is it which makes them ſo *Angry*, ſo Exceedingly *Concern'd* at all *Diſcourſes* of this Nature; And to Treat the *Authors* with ſo much the more *Rage* and *Malice*, the leſs they find themſelves *Able* to *Anſwer* them.

It was this, which made the *Occaſional Letter*, p. 7. call the *New Aſſoc. The moſt Malicious and Virulent Book of the Age.* And tell the *Author*, That he Deſerves the *Pillory*. And again, p. 25, 26. *This Writer has the beſt way of turning every thing, without any Prejudice to a Party, juſt to his own Humour, of any Man I ever met with.*

But Sir, there is an Eaſie *Receipt* for this, and is no ſuch *Maſter-piece* in that *Author*. There goes no more to it than this, To fix True *Principles*, from which it is eaſie for any Man to Argue; and to have no other *Humour* or *Deſign*, than to find out the *Truth*; And then, *every thing will turn juſt to his own Humour*; And that *without any Prejudice to a Party*, while he only Battles their *Principles*; And thereby Endeavours to Reclaim them from their Evil *Practices*: Which likewiſe he *May* and *Ought* to Lay before them, *Fully* and *Freely*, to Deter them the more from *Relapſing* into them. And all this, without any *Prejudice* to them. No. It is the greateſt *Kindneſs* can be ſhew'd to them. Much *Greater* than to *Sooth* and *Palliate*, and *Excuſe* them! And if any will *Harden* themſelves againſt all *Conviction*, and Return nothing but *Railing* and *Billingsgate* to whatever *Reaſons* or *Arguments*; and ſeek to *Pervert* others, by *Corrupting* the *Right ways* of *Truth*; ſuch are to be Rebuk'd *Sharply*, to ſave others from their *Infection*. Eſpecially when the *Support* or *Ruin* of a *Nation* depends upon it.

Concerning the Education of Children. Serm. 2.

Arch-Biſhop *Tillotſon* ſaid very well, *That we muſt not uſe Mildneſs in the Caſe of a Wilful and Heinous Sin, eſpecially if it be Exemplary, and of Publick Influence. To Rebuke Gently upon ſuch an*

an Occaſion, is rather to Countenance the Fault, and ſeems to Argue that we are not ſenſible enough of the Enormity of it, and that we have not a due Diſlike, and Deteſtation for it. Such cold Reproofs as thoſe which Old Eli *gave his Sons,* 1 Sam. 2. 23, 24. Why do you ſuch things; For I hear of your Evil Dealing by all this People. *That is, their Carriage was ſuch as gave Publick Scandal:* Nay, my Sons, it is not a good Report that I hear, you make the Lord's People to Tranſgreſs. *Such a Cold Reproof as this, where the Crime was ſo Great and Notorious, was a kind of Allowance of it, and a Partaking with them in their Sin; And ſo God Interprets it.*

And ſo no doubt He will, if we give *Allowance* to the *Witchcraft* of *Rebellion*, and *Partake* with it, by ſuch *Mild* and *Gentle Reproofs*, as ſeem rather to *Countenance* or *Excuſe* it: And not to give Men a Due *Horror* and *Deteſtation* of ſo *Deſtructive* a *Wickedneſs*, for which they will *Receive to themſelves Damnation*; And which Hurries them to their own *Deſtruction*, and of the whole *Community* with them! This Sin ought to be *Painted* out in its Proper *Colours*; the Wicked *Nature*, and Diſmal *Conſequences* of it ſhould be Expos'd to the Full, that it be not thought a *Small* and *Indifferent* thing.

To this there is a Strange *Anſwer* given, *That if this Faction are ſo Implacable in their Principles, if they enter into Aſſociations that are Treaſonable by Law*, And *if they have* done ſuch and ſuch things, which are there ſet down, and Quoted out of the *New Aſſoc.* —— Well, What then? What *Inference* does he draw from it? Do's he Deny any of theſe things? Or ſay, That they are *Falſly* Charg'd? No. He ſays not a Word againſt the *Truth* of the *Charge*. For the *Aſſociations* are ſet down *verbatim* in the *New Aſſoc.* And the whole *Charge* Prov'd in every Particular, paſt the Poſſibility of a *Denial*; And this *Author* do's not *Deny* one Word of it. But makes this *Inference*, as the Plain Deſign of the *New Aſſoc.* viz. *That the Government, for its own Security, and for Recompenſing them that they have Deſerved, ſhould order Gallows to be Erected, and without mo e ado ſhould have them all Hanged.* And calls to Mind again *The Shorteſt Way.* They are ſtill Fond of that *Precious* Piece! *Guilty Conſcience!*

Occaſional Letter, *p.* 8.

But the *New Assoc.* is so far from Intending any thing of this *Hanging* Business, That he Expresly Clears himself from it; And shews his Meaning to be no more than to Trust them with the *Power* of Acting their former *Mischiefs* over again. And no *Answer* is given to that in this *Occasional Letter*. But the Objection Repeated over again, That nothing but *Hanging* was the Design! Nay, it is said, *That it is a very plain and necessary Inference.*

Now, by this way of Argument, if that *Author* had Qoted, *Rom.* xiii. 2. That *they who Resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation*, then it had been as *Plain* and *Necessary* an *Inference*, That he design'd their *Damnation* as well as *Hanging*, because they *Deserv'd* Both.

At this Rate, no Man must Preach *Sin* to be *Damnable!* Nor tell the *People* of their *Sins*, lest he be thought to have a *Design* to *Damn* them All!

Wolf Stripp'd. Append. N. 2.

We have been told of another *Association*, since those mentioned in the *New Assoc.* (And it is Given Us likewise *Verbatim*) by some of the same *Faction*; and *Affixed* up *Publickly* upon the *Mercat-Cross* of a *Royal Borough*, at *Noon-day*, by about *Seven Hundred* Men in *Arms*, in the Name of all the True *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*; And Order'd to be *Dispers'd* all over the *Kingdom*; wherein they Renounce Queen *Ann*, in Expres Words, because She had Promis'd to support *Episcopacy* in *England*; which having been once a *Covenanted Kingdom*, they will have it so Again, to the Peril of their *Lives*, and All that they have.

Now, is not this *Treason?* Must it not therefore be Mention'd? Tho' to no other Purpose, than to keep the *Sword* out of the *Hands* of *People* so *Principl'd*; and not to Trust them with the *Power*, who have all along Given Abundant Demonstration, that they want not the *Will* to *Destroy* Us, our *Church* and *Government!* I say, must not this be Mention'd, without a *Design* to have them all *Hang'd*! Is there not such a thing as *Repentance* and *Amendment*, upon the full Discovery of *False* and Pernicious *Principles?* Or, if they be past that, to secure what others we can from falling into their *Snares?* Or Lastly, That the *Church* and the *Monarchy* shou'd stand upon their *Guard*, and

Watch

Watch ſuch Reſtleſs *Spirits*, and Inveterate *Enemies* to Both? Muſt We have a *Deſign* to *Deſtroy* Them, except we give Them *Leave* to *Deſtroy* Us?

Here is an Invincible *Aſylum* to all *Rebellion*, and to *Blacken* any who ſpeak againſt it; That they are *Cruel* and *Mercileſs* Men, who have a *Deſign* againſt the *Lives* of thoſe they call *Rebels*! Tho' the *Proofs* be never ſo *Flagrant*, and the *Principle* Juſtify'd by *Them* All, by every *One* of *Them*, without *Exception*; And *Propagated* in *Print*, all over the *Nation*, to *Poyſon* it, and to *Ruin* bring. And the *Principle* of *Loyalty*, and Patient *Submitting* for *Conſcience* ſake, on Account of any *Divine Character* or *Authority* in *Kings*, is, by theſe Men made the *Jeſt* and *Hatred* of the *People*. And they who are for *Peace* and ſettl'd *Government*, are call'd *Perſecutors*, and *Tyrannical*, becauſe they Fear *God* and the *King*, and *Meddle not with thoſe that are given to Change!* Now whether their *Arguments* be Good or not, yet it is certain their *Deſign* is *Peace* and *Quietneſs*, and rather to *Suffer* Injuries, than to *Offer* them; And it is what they are Perſwaded is the Beſt for *Salus Populi*, and Attended with much leſs *Ruin* and *Deſtruction* to the *Community*, than what they ſuffer by *Popular Revolutions*. Yet this is call'd a *Bloody* and *Tyrannical Principle*, whereas that of *Rebellion* and Perpetual *Innovations*, is call'd *Generous*, and likewiſe *Merciful*, tho' it Deſtroy one *Half* of the *People*, to Preſerve the *Reſt*; and *Sacrifice* to every Prevailing *Faction*, the *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Properties* of the whole *Nation*, with all its *Laws* and *Conſtitutions!*

Now as a *Sample* of theſe two *Sorts* of Men, Let Us Look into theſe two *Books* here before us. The *New Aſſoc.* having Prov'd the *Whigs* and *Diſſenters* to have been formerly *Perfidious*, *Deſigning*, and *Rebelling*, *and Enemies to Church and State*, carries the Conſequence no farther than not to have them Intruſted with the *Power* to Act all this over again: But the *Occaſional Letter* ſays, p. 28. *And indeed were they as bad as he has deſcrib'd them, I could not but think that Hanging or Baniſhment is what they well Deſerv'd, and what the Common Safety Required.*

Now as to his Suppoſe, whether they were ſo Bad, *Perfidious*, *Deſigning*, and *Rebellious*, the *Proof* is Hard Matter of *Fact*, which will not be *Deny'd!* And tho' this *Author* and other of their

Advo-

Advocates, do Deny the *Charge* in the *whole*; yet they Answer not the *Particulars*, nor can *Deny* any *One* of them.

But this shews how they would Deal with those whom they Esteem their *Enemies*, as the *High Church*, &c. if it were in their Power; to make *Root* and *Branch work* with *Episcopacy*, according to the Maxim in their *Private Accademies*, which Mr. *Wesley* has shewn in his *Letter* concerning them, and the *Defence* of it, lately *Printed for* R. Clavel, *and* James Knaplock *in St.* Paul's Church-yard, 1704. Which are well worth the Reader's Perusal, and the Consideration of our *Superiors*.

XI. *Of the Calves-Head Feasts.*

This *Occasional Letter*, p. 29. falls upon the *Author* of the *New Assoc.* for mentioning the *Calves-Head-Feasts*, and joyns with him in the same Accusation, The *Author* of the *Dedication* of the *Second Volume of the Lord* Clarendon's *History*, and Replies smartly upon him, thus, *The Author of that Dedication might indeed know of Publick Musick and Rejoycing on that Day, at* Oxford, *where his Dedication was Printed. But if any where else such Rejoycings or Feastings have been Practis'd on that Solemn Day, these Gentlemen might know, that the* Party *at whose Door such Impiety is laid, Abhor, and Disown it as much as themselves.*

Here is *Scandal* thrown, no Matter whom it hits. As to the *Publick Rejoycings* at *Oxford*, I leave the *Author* to *Explain*, and the *Persons Concern'd* to *Answer*. I will only say for the Present, that this comes from a *Party*, to whom *Slander* is no new thing, especially when thrown in *Innuendo's*, which they know sufficient to those with whom they have to do.

But I observe he do's not put *Feasting* into his *Oxford Accusation*, and as for *Musick*, that is not always a Sign of *Rejoycing*. There are *Lamentations*, and *Penitential Psalms*, and *Psalms* are usually Sung at *Executions*. But he calls it *Publick Musick*. Why? Was it at the *Theatre*? But tho' *Feasting* be not in the *Premises*, he has slid it into the *Conclusion*, to make the *Charge* Full and Round! For he says, *If any where else such Rejoycings or Feastings have been Practis'd*, &c. Which Implies, they were Practis'd there; unless he thinks to come off, when Question'd, by the Particle, *Or*, which may refer to *One* or *Both*. If so, it was more *Artful* than *Honest*. And if the *Evening* of a *Fast-day* be Clos'd

Clos'd up with Answerable *Musick*, is that Equal to the making it a *Feast-Day*?

But how do's he come to make an *If* of it? *If any where else* ——As if he had never heard one tittle of these *Calves-Head Feasts*, which are so Notorious in *London*, their *History* and *Anthems* Printed, and have been continued from that *Fatal* Day to this! One would Fancy this not wrote by an *Englishman!*

But it is a Happiness every Man is not Born to, to *Believe*, *See*, and *Hear*, just as he *Pleases!*

But this *Author* further says, *That the Party at whose door such an Impiety is laid, Abhorr and Dis-own it.*

First, as to the *Party* he supposes concern'd, he must *Know* them very well, else he cold not so frankly *Undertake* for them. And they are the same whose *Principles* brought to pass the Dismal *Tragedy* of that *Day*. And they seem more Consequential to themselves, who *Avow* both the *Principle* and the *Fact* pursuant to it, than they who still *defend* the *Principle*, but would *disown* the *Effects* of it.

For, Sir, you must know, That it is not the *Meat*, but the *Principles* of those *Feasts*, which Render them so *detestable*; that is, the *Deposing-Doctrine*, and setting up the *Power* of the *People* above the *King*. For if those *Principles* be true, that *King died* by the *Sentence* of his Proper *Judges* and *Superiors*. And *Justly*, too, for *Denying* of their *Supream Authority*, and Refusing to be *Try'd* by it.

Now, Sir, If you Please to *Examine* over that *Party* for whom you have *Vouch'd*, and see how many of *them* will Renounce their *Calves-Head Principles*——And all the Rest are of the *Club*, whether they come to their *Feasts* or not. By this *Test* we shall find whether this *Calves-Head-Club*, consists only of a *Few* profligate *Men*, as this *Author* Represents it, or of *those in general, who are Represented under the Name of* WHIGS, whose *Principles* he undertakes to Vindicate, and says, *They are Entirely for our Monarchy, as by Law Establish'd, and for all that Allegiance to Kings and Queens, which the Law of God and Man requires.* How far the *Deposing Doctrine* is Consistent with these, has been spoke to before, and particularly as to the *Laws* of the *Land*, Express in full

full and very particular *Acts* of *Parliament*, yet *Un-repeal'd*, as to any *Coercive* Power over the *King*, in the *People* either *Collectively* or *Representatively*. So that if we will be Determin'd by the *Laws*, the *Laws* have Determin'd Us: And if we fly Higher, to the *Original* of *Nations* upon the *Earth*, then we hope from the next *Occasional Letter* (since we are to have more, for this is but *Numb.* 1.) a *Clearer* and more *Certain* Account of it than what is before given. Till which be done, it is not a *Few Profligate*, but the whole *Body* of the *Whigs*, that lie under the *Imputation*. And they are desired to shew, How they *have always Detested the Barbarous Murther of K. Ch.* I. (as this Author says) while they *have always* Maintain'd the very same *Principles*, which (more *Guiltily* than the *Ax*) cut off his *Head!* And which still do *Threaten* all *Kings* and *Queens* that ever shall wear the *Crown* in *England*! And which actually pass the same *Sentence* upon All who are not *Better* than that Blessed *Martyr!* Who are not more *Vertuous*, more *Pious* than He! More *Willing*, more *Ready* to Give up their *Prerogative*, and Grant *Concessions*, to whatever Prevailing *Party* Pretend to *Act* in the *Name* of the *People!* Or, who Obstinately, like him, shall deny the *Authority* of these their *Constituents*, to call them to *Account*, to *Adjudge* the *Crown* from off their *Heads*, or their *Heads* off their *Shoulders*! For that is the Highest *Treason* and *Rebellion* any *King* can commit against his *Sovereign Lord*, the *People*! It is a downright *Dis-owning* of their *Authority*, and *Usurping* it to Himself! It is a making *Them* his *Subjects*, instead of his being *Subject* unto *Them!*

Now when the *Whigs* call it a *Barbarous Murther* in the *People*, to put such a *King* to *Death*: And yet Maintain the same *Principle* upon which they did it; it is Impossible *Both* shou'd be *True*, because they are *Contradictions*; And in which of them they Play the *Hypocrite* is easily Discern'd; while they *Act* upon the one, the *Principle* of *Power* in the *People*, openly *Assert* and *defend* it; and *Persecute* those who Deny it, as *dis-affected*, *Seditious*, and which is worse, as *High-Church-Men*! But their Acknowledgments to the *Martyr*, is only in *VVords*, and that very *Short*, a Passing *Expression* or so, for *Popularity* sake, since it is the *Fashion*; but without any *Reason* given for it, or so much as saying, That he did not deserve to *die*, who Deny'd, and

Refus'd

Refus'd to *Submit* himſelf to the *Supream Power* of the *People*. Such *Crocodile-Tears* as they beſtow upon the *Hearſe* of the *Martyr*, while they Juſtifie the *Fact* in all its Conſequences, is a more Outragious and Provoking *Mockery*, than the Bare-fac'd *Impudency* of the *Calves-Head-Feaſts!*

But if there are any indeed of ſo very weak a Judgment, as to think that they can pay a juſt *Veneration* to the *Memory* of the *Martyr*, and yet Retain the *Principle* of *Power* in the *People*; This is to let them ſee, that they muſt Part with *One*, for they cannot Serve *Two* ſuch *Maſters*.

I am told, That laſt 30th of *January*, at one of the Principal of their *Calves-Head-Feaſts* here in *London*, they uſed a ſort of a *Symbolical Ceremony*, of *Sticking* their *Knives*, all at once, into the Biggeſt of the *Calves-Heads*, thereby Engaging themſelves in a *Band* of *Unity*, for the *Reſtauration* of *Puſs*, that is, their *Commonwealth*; And the *Extirpation* of *Monarchy*, eſpecially in the *Line* of the *Martyr*, whom they thus Repreſented. And in one of their *Poems* ſince Publiſhed, this Year 1704. Intituled, *Faction Diſplay'd. The Second Part.* Which deſerves its Room among their *Anthems*, they ſpeak it out as Plainly, p. 21. Where Juſtifying the *Depoſition* of the Late K. *Jam.* II. They ſay.

I own the Right an Injur'd Nation did,
When She from Rome *Her Threatn'd* Altars *freed,*
Applaud the Juſt and more Approv'd Deſign,
Of quite Exploding that deteſted Line.

Is not this fair *Warning* (in *Print*, and Cry'd about the *Streets*) to his *Daughter*, now Sitting upon his *Throne!*

When any Perſon is Dear to us, we uſe to *Embalm* his Memory, and cannot ſeek Occaſions to Beſpatter and Revile him; As this Author does, tho' he ſays he does it not, p. 9, 10. Where coming to Anſwer the *Abolition* of *Epiſcopacy* in *Scotland*, and the Cruel Uſage the *Clergy* met with there in the laſt *Reign*; he *Confeſſes* the *Charge*, for it was not to be *Deny'd*, and the only Method he could find to *leſſen* the *Weight* of it, was, to lay

XII. *This Author's* Reviling *the* Memory *of King* Charles *the* Martyr.

Load much more *Heavily* upon King *Charles* the *First*, for the ſame, and ſays, That what he advances, p. 10. *Sets off King* W's *Management of the Affair to better Advantage than that of his Royal Grandfather's.* Of which the Reader ſhall Judge when I have offer'd theſe few Conſidrations, not to Aggravate againſt the *Grandſon*, but to do Juſtice to the *Memory* of the *Royal Grandfather.*

I Grant this to be the Greateſt and moſt Fatal *Blot* in that *Good* King's Reign. But he ſeverely *Repented* of it. And *Aggravates* it againſt himſelf. Thus ſays he to God in his Confeſſion, *Was it through Ignorance that I permitted a wrong way of thy Worſhip to be ſet up in* Scotland? *And Injured the Biſhops in* England? *O no; but with Shame and Grief I confeſs, that I therein followed the Perſwaſions of Worldly Wiſdom, forſaking the Dictates of a Right Inform'd Conſcience; wherefore, O Lord, I have no Excuſe to make, no Hope left, but in the Multitude of thy Merciess*—— I hope this Author will be able to produce to us as truly *Chriſtian* and *Heroical* a *Confeſſion* of the *Grandſon*'s, and then it would be very Wicked, and a *Breach* of *Charity* to remember his *Sin* any more, to his *Diſ-advantage.*

But the *Grand-father* Expreſs'd his *Repentance* in more than *Words*, for he *Sealed* it with his *Blood*; and choſe rather to loſe his *Head*, than conſent to ſuch another *Act* of *Abolition* of *Epiſcopacy* in *England.* Whether his *Grandſon* might not have done the ſame, if it had come to the Tryal, I will not ſay, but leave it to this *Author*, to give us what *Indexes* of it he has obſerved; becauſe he ſpeaks of himſelf, as one let into his moſt ſecret Councils; for he ſays, p. 10. *I have great Reaſon to be Confident he* (K. *Will.*) *had ſuch a Deſign* (of Reſtoring Epiſcopacy in *Scotland*) *if ever he could have had it in his Power to have Effected it.* Now whatever *Reaſon* this *Author* had to be *Confident* of K. W's *Deſign*, which I will not Aſk, for I care not to be Intruſted with *Secrets*; yet he would Oblige the World to let us know why it was not in his *Power* to have *Effected* it! When the firſt *Rabble Preſbyterian-Convention* was continued all his *Reign*, againſt all the *Sollicitations* could be made to give the *Nation* a Free *Election.* And why were the *Biſhops* turn'd out, and the *Epiſcopal Clergy Rabbl'd* and *Diſ-poſſeſs'd*, before the *Oaths* were put to 'em,

or

or known which of them would *Swear* to the *Government*, or not?

He ſays (*ibid.*) That K. W. *made no Grants of the Church Lands* in *Scotland*. This was his *Ignorance* or his *Innocence!* For when Her preſent Majeſty had Piouſly deſign'd to apply the *Biſhops Revenues* in *Scotland* towards the Support of the Surviving *Biſhops*, and *Depriv'd Epiſcopal Clergy* there, it has been found upon Enquiry, that almoſt the whole of them have been *Granted* away, and that even by Act of *Parliament*, to *Lay-men* there, ſo that there is but a *Pittance* left for Her Majeſty to Diſpoſe of. While Mr. *Carſtares*, who was in the *Rye-Houſe Conſpiracy*, Enjoys the whole Revenue of the *Biſhoprick* of *Dunblane*, by Grant from K. *William*. × ×

XIII. *What will pleaſe the* Diſſenters.

But from the whole of this *Story*, there is a *Uſeful Leſſon*, to ſhew what it is will *Pleaſe* ſome ſort of People. For when K. *Char.* I. had *Granted* all that they did *Deſire*, or could Invent for their *Security*, even to the *Abolition* of *Epiſcopacy*, and, as this Author Quotes my Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, *Whatſoever elſe they were Pleaſed to preſent to him, concerning Church or State, ſo that he ſeem'd to have made that Progreſs into* Scotland, *only that he might make a perfect Deed of Gift of that Kingdom*; Inſomuch that they *Declar'd* they had no more to *Ask*, and that he left them, as the Phraſe then went, a *Contented King* from a *Contented People*; and on that Occaſion Renew'd their *Vows* and *Aſſurances* of Perpetual *Loyalty*, &c. Yet all the uſe they made of theſe *Condeſcentions* of His *Majeſty*, and the *Power* which he had put into their *Hands*, was to Raiſe an *Army* againſt him, and follow him into *England*, in Conjunction with their *Good Brethren* there, who were in *Rebellion* againſt him; and *Declaring* that they would not be Satisfied till the ſame thing was done in *England*, That *Epiſcopacy* ſhould be *Aboliſhed*, and the whole *Power* put into the Hands of the *Faction* there, as has been done in *Scotland*. Which you may ſee in the ſaid Lord *Claredon*'s Hiſtory, *Vol.* 2. *p.* 283, 292, 295, *&c.* × × ×

This ſhews how far any *Party*, that contends for *Power*, will be contented with a certain *Share* of it!

The Proceeding of the Parliament of Scotland, 1703. Printed 1704. P. 20.

Yet the *Preſbyterians* in *Scotland*, even then when they were at the Higheſt in the *Reign* of K. *Char.* I. And afterwards, when having *Murther'd* him, they had the whole *Government* in their own Hands, did not in all that time go the Length that they have done now in *Scotland*, to make it *High Treaſon* to *Speak*, *Act*, or *Write* in Defence of *Epiſcopacy*, or againſt *Preſbyterian* Government in the *Church*.

So that we ſee, as Men Grow *Older*, they grow *Wiſer* in *Miſchief*, as well as in *Vertue!* We ſay, *Uſe* makes *Perfect*. And the longer Men have *Practis'd Rebellion*, they come to their Work more *Expeditely!* Theſe Men have already Iſſued *Declarations*, Renouncing Q. *Ann* (as beforemention'd) becauſe She has Promis'd to ſupport *Epiſcopacy* in *England*; into which they are reſolv'd to bring their *Covenant*, and *Preſbytery*, as they did before; which their *Predeceſſors* in *Forty-One*, did not ſo much as pretend to, in the Beginning of their *Inſurrection*. Their Party was not then ſo well *Fix'd*, nor had that *Power* in *England*, as they think they have *Now!*

XIV. *How far the Whiggs and Diſſenters were concerned in the Murther of K. Char. I.*

But Leaving this Melancholly Subject to the *Wiſdom* of our *Superiours*, I go on to Examine the Ground and Foundation of the *Whig-Loyalty*, which this Author Inſiſts upon, That they *have always deteſted the Barbarous Murther of K. Char.* Some of the *Preſbyterians*, tho' not many, have ſpoke againſt it. And on that *Head*, have Endeavour'd to Repreſent themſelves as *Loyal* Men. Therefore it is fit every Reader ſhould know the Truth of that Matter, which is this;

That ſome time before the *Murther* of K. *Char.* I. The *Independent* Party, and *Oliver* at the Head of them, had *Out-trick'd*, and *Worm'd-out* the *Preſbyterians*, by the like *Artifices*; as they before *Outed* the *Cavaliers*: This Enrag'd the *Preſbyterians* beyond all Meaſure, to find themſelves *Over-witted* and *Supplanted*, by thoſe whom they taught to *Rebel*. And as great *Violence* was ſhew'd by theſe *Parties* againſt one another (calling each other *Sectaries*, *Pirfidious*, *Treacherous*, *Betrayers* of the *Rights* of the *People*, &c.) as either of them had before Spew'd out againſt the *Church* or the *Crown*.

In

In this falling out of *Thieves*, the *Church* gain'd ſo much, That thoſe Arguments which ſhe had made uſe of againſt the *Preſbyterians*, of Cauſleſs *Separation*, and Breaking the *Unity* of the *Church*, were Urg'd by the *Preſbyterians*, with Greater *Violence* againſt the *Independents*, whom they call'd *Sectaries*, Diſturbers of the *Peace* of *Jeruſalem*, &c. And on the other hand, all the *Pretences* which the *Preſbyterians* had ſet up againſt the *Biſhops*, of Aſſuming *Spiritual Juriſdiction*, and *Lording* it over their *Brethren*, were Retorted with Advantage, by the *Independents* againſt the *Preſbyterians*, and their *Claſſical* Conſtitution; whoſe *Little Finger* was ſhew'd to be *Thicker* than the *Loins* of *Epiſcopacy*.

And as to the *King*, each endeavour'd to Blacken the other, with that Part of the *Rebellion*, which was *ſeparately* their *Share*. The *Preſbyterians* laid the King's *Death* upon the *Independents*. The *Independents* ſaid, they *Kill'd* no *King*. That the *Preſbyterians* had long before *Un-King'd* him, and *Deſpoil'd* him of all *Marks* of *Royalty*, had Reduc'd him perfectly to a *Private* Perſon, and carry'd him up and down a *Priſoner*, for the *Shew* of the *People!* That the *Independents* had indeed, at laſt, *Mump'd* the *Preſbyterians* of him, and made their own Advantage of this *Royal Sacrifice*, which the *Preſbyterians* had Deſign'd; And were now *Enrag'd* to ſee others, and their *Younger Brother*, Reap the *Fruit* of all their *Labours*.

Upon this Head, it is not to be Forgot, which is told in the *New Aſſoc.* Par. 2. p. 25. But nothing Reply'd to it in this *Occaſional Letter*, That the *General Aſſembly* of the *Preſbyterians* in *Scotland*, did by their *Declaration* Dated *July* 31, 1648, Condemn the Reſolution of the *Scots-Parliament*, which ſtill Remain'd ſo *Loyal*, as to Raiſe an *Army* for the *Reſcue* of the *King* out of the Hands of his *Murtherers*; which they did, and ſent it into *England*, under the Command of *Duke Hamilton*, this was commonly call'd, The *Duke*'s *Engagement*. Which *Engagement*, the *General Aſſembly*, by their *Declaration* aforeſaid, did call an *Unlawful Engagement*, and *Thunder'd* out their *Anathema*'s againſt it; as they Afterwards when the *King* was *Murther'd*, put all thoſe to *Open Penance*, with the utmoſt *Rigour*, who had been concern'd in it; to ſhew, That they were no way *Aiding* or *Aſſiſting* to his *Death!* But the very next *Day* after this their *Declaration*

ration againſt the *Duke*'s *Engagement*, *viz.* On the *firſt* of *Auguſt*, 1648, they Iſſued a *Declaration and Exhortation to their Brethren in* England, wherein they Addreſs themſelves to the *King*, in theſe Words, *Albeit Your Majeſty, through the Suggeſtions of Evil Men, may haply entertain hard Thoughts of Us, and our Proceedings, yet the Searcher of Hearts knows, and our Conſciences bear Record unto Us, that we bear in our Spirits thoſe Humble and Dutiful Reſpects of Your Majeſty that Loyal Subjects owe to their Native Sovereign, And that it would be our Greateſt Contentment upon Earth, to ſee Your Majeſty Reigning*, &c.

And as if this had not been Enough, they *Eleven* Days after, *viz.* On the 12th of the ſame *Auguſt*, 1648, ſent their *Humble Supplication* to the *King*, wherein they tell him, *That they were very ſenſible of His Majeſty's Sufferings and Low Condition*; *That they did not in the leaſt meaſure, Approve, but from their Hearts Abhorr any thing that had been done to His Majeſty's Perſon*; *And that they did not oppoſe his Majeſty's Reſtitution to the Exerciſe of his Royal Power*, &c.

And yet, at the ſame time, they *Proteſted* againſt His *Majeſty*'s being Admitted to come to any of his *Houſes*, in or near *London*, with *Freedom*, *Honour*, and *Safety*, as they had *Stipulated* for him, when they had *Sold* him (for it was the *Preſbyterian Faction* only, and not the *Nation* which did it) or for Concluding any *Treaty* or *Agreement* with Him till he had firſt taken the *Covenant*, Aboliſh'd *Epiſcopacy* in *England*, as he had done in *Scotland*; Turn'd out all whom they call'd *Malignants*, that is, all his *Friends* who had been *True* to him; And put the whole *Power* into the Hands of the *Godly*, who had Rais'd the *Rebellion* againſt him!

I have Tranſcrib'd this out of *New Aſſoc.* becauſe no Notice is taken of it in the *Anſwer*. And perhaps there is not to be found in *Hiſtory*, ſuch another Inſtance of *Perfidy*, and Sanctify'd *Hypocriſie!* Except in what I am next to tell you, of their Dealing with K. *Char.* II. Of which they ſtill continue to *Boaſt!*

If K. *Char.* I. Would have turn'd *Preſbyterian*, have Deſtroy'd the *Church*, and Reveng'd the *Preſbyterians* upon the *Independents*, then the *Preſbyterians*, having no other Game to Play, would have let him *live* a little Longer, till they could have done their own Buſineſs

Buſineſs without him, and ſet up their *Common-Wealth* in the *State* as well as the *Church*.

And I doubt not but the *Independents* would have done the ſame, if they had been *Hew'd* down by the *Preſbyterians*; And that they cou'd have made the *King* a *Tool* to have ſet them in the *Saddle* again. The like would the *Ana-Baptiſts*, or any other of the then *Sectaries* have done, if it had been their Caſe; And have had as much Cauſe to *Boaſt* of their *Loyalty*, as the *Preſbyterians!* But the *Deſtruction* of the *Church* was the *Cauſa ſine qua non* with them All. None of them would have the *King* Preſerv'd upon any other *Terms*. They all Agreed in that *Point*, tho' they *Quarrelled* with one another, about *Dividing* of the *Spoil*, and ſetting up their own Different *Models*. But *Epiſcopacy* was their *Common Enemy*.

Let the *Diſſenters* of ſeveral Sorts, Divide the *Murther* of the *King* among them. They were All *Guilty* of it. The *Preſbyterians* began the *Rebellion* againſt him, and brought him to the *Block*: And juſt as they were ready to ſtrike the *Stroke*, the *Independents* ſnatch'd the *Ax* out of their Hands, and did it Themſelves. There is no Difference betwixt *Rebellion* and *Regicide*, the one is in order to the other. In vain therefore do theſe *Rebels* lay the *Murther* of the *King* upon one Another! One *Diſ-Arms* him; Another *Binds* him; And a Third *Cuts* his *Throat!* Which are moſt *Guilty?* Even all alike! However it is among the *Diſſenters* and *Whigs*. If it was not they, Who elſe did it? I hope they will not ſay it was the *Biſhops*, or the *Cavaliers*. That it was the *Church* which Led them into *This* too! Their *Diſ-owning* of this *Fact*, renders them *Self-Condemn'd* as to all the *Pretences* of their *Rebellion*, that eſpecially of the *Power* in the *People*, which was the *Foundation* of All the Reſt. For that *Principle* muſt either *Juſtifie* the *Regicide* or *Condemn* the *Rebellion*. Their Pretences to *Loyalty* has Involv'd them paſt all Poſſibility of Eſcape! A *Half-fac'd Rebel* can never hold it out. They ſtand ſurer, when they own the *Whole Truth*, That they are *Thorough-pac'd*, even to the *Height* of the *Calves-Head-Club*. For then they have ſome *Principle* to go upon, be it *True* or *Falſe*. And we know, That many *Well-meaning* Men have been *Seduc'd*, through *Weakneſs* of *Judgment*, by Falſe *Principles*, and Speci-

ous

ous *Pretences*. But when they come to ſee their *Error*, they Return *Wholly* and *Heartily*, and not by *Halves*. They have an *Indignation* againſt themſelves, for their former *Evil* Courſes, and Endeavour to make *Amends*. They do not *Palliate* or *Excuſe*, but rather *Aggravate* their *Guilt*. This is the Condition of all True *Penitents*. And there is nothing more *Chriſtian*, or more *Glorious!* But a Snivelling *Laodicean*, who will neither *own* his *Principle*, nor *Diſ-own* it; who wou'd keep his *Principle*, but would not be Anſwerable for the *Effects* of it; ſuch an one is the *Contempt* and *Hatred* of *God* and *Man*, and fit only to be *Spew'd* out of their *Mouth*, out of all *Converſation* and *Eſteem!* Eſpecially, when not *Forc'd* to it by *Hardſhips* and *Perſecution*; for tho' there is no *Excuſe* for *Sin*, yet Great *Allowances* muſt be made for *Humane Infirmities*, by thoſe who are likewiſe in the *Fleſh*, leſt they themſelves alſo be *Tempted*. But there is no ſuch *Temptation* now in the way of our *Preſbyterians*, Expoſe their Guilty *Loyalty* in the Year 1648. And to *Re-print*, as they have juſt now done, a *Sheet*, they ſay, was *Printed* then, Entitul'd, *The Diſſenting Miniſters Vindication of Themſelves from the Horrid and Deteſtable Murther of K.* Char. *of Glorious Memory*. Re-printed, 1704. Where p. 5. They lay the *Cauſe* of the *Miſeries* and *Deſtruction* of thoſe *Civil-Wars* (which they do not call *Rebellion*) upon *the Woeful Miſcarriages of the King Himſelf*, which they ſay, were *Many and very Great*. Was this to make his *Memory GLORIOUS!* Is this a *Vindication* of their *Loyalty!* To throw all the *Blood* of their own Curſed *Rebellion* upon the *King*!

XV. *Of the* Presbyterians *being Inſtrumental in the* Reſtoration *of* K. Ch. II.

No leſs *Shameful* are the *Boaſts* they now make of their *Loyalty* to K. *Char.* II. which is Repeated in this *Occaſional Letter*, and Apply'd to the *Whigs* in General, p. 29. *who* (as is there ſaid) *were Inſtrumental in Reſtoring K.* Char. II. *and who have always Deteſted the Barbarous Murther of his Royal Father.*

Now if this were True, it can be ſaid only of the *Preſbyterian Whigs*, when they were *Kick'd* out by the *Independent Whigs*. So then the *Prevailing Party* were *Whigs* ſtill.

But now as to the *Preſbyterians* Carriage in this Affair, they being under *Hatches*, could find no way to *Retrieve* themſelves, but

but to try if they could make a *Preſbyterian*, and a *Property* of the Young *King*; and thereby gain the Advantage of the *Royal* Name on their Side againſt their *Enemies*, the Independents. And the *Preſbyterian* Party ſtill Prevailing in *Scotland*, thence ſent *Commiſſioners* to Treat with the *King* then at *Breda*. And he having Agreed (thro' the Neceſſity of his Affairs) to all the Inſolent *Articles* ſent to him by the *Parliament* and the *General Aſſembly*, he came into *Scotland*, in the Year 1650, about two Months after they had, in a moſt *Infamous* manner *Hang'd* the Glorious *Marqueſs* of *Montroſe*, His Majeſty's *Commiſſioner* and *General*, as an Earneſt what he himſelf was to Expect!

But now behold their *Truth* and *Sincerity*! As ſoon as they had got the *King* into their Hands, they conſider'd him as their *Priſoner*, and a *Victim* to the *Good Old Cauſe*. The *Commiſſion* of the *General Aſſembly* publiſh'd a Paper I have now before me, and was afterwards *Printed* in the Year 1653. Entitul'd, *Cauſes of the Lord's Wrath againſt* Scotland, *&c.* Where p. 52, 53, they aſſign'd this as one of the Cauſes, *The Authorizing of Commiſſioners to Cloſe a Treaty with the King, for the Inveſting him with the Government, upon his Subſcribing ſuch Demands as were ſent to him.* And coming to Anſwer the Objection that he had done all that was Demanded of him by *the Parliament of this Kingdom, and the Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly; to which we Reply* (ſay they, p. 55.) *That thoſe Demands were Deficient.* And that *a Paper and Verbal Security* was not ſufficient. And that *to ſettle with him upon ſuch Paper Securities, and accordingly to Intruſt him, was but to Mock God, and to Deceive the World, and to Betray and Deſtroy our ſelves.* For they Pretended to know his Heart, and give this as one Reaſon why it was not Sound, p. 57 That when *he did condeſcend to ſubſcribe the Demands, and take the Covenant, it was with a Reſerve of a Declaration to be Printed therewith, which he did not paſs from, until the Commiſſioners of the Church did Refuſe to admit thereof.* If we had this *Declaration*, it might in ſome Meaſure, alleviate the *King*'s Sin in taking that Curſed *Covenant*. But he was *Young*, and willing to be at *Home*. In the ſame *Page* they fall upon the *Parliament* of *Scotland* for their over-forward *Loyalty*, as one of the *Cauſes* of *God's Wrath*, *That the News of the late King's Death being brought to* Edinburgh *as on the Lord's Day that Night, the Par-*

liament did the next day, before Twelve of the Clock, Proclaim this King with all Publick Solemnity, without ſetting any Time apart to ſeek the Lord for Counſel and Direction therein.

The meaning of their ſeeking the Lord

Yet they ſay, p. 58. *Albeit they durſt not altogether deny duty to be in making Application to the King; yet did the Senſe of the Lord's Controverſie with him and his Houſe, together with his walking in his former way, lie heavy on their Spirits, and made them rather fear a Curſe, than expect a Bleſſing thereupon.*

How! Fear a *Curſe* for Performing what they Confeſs to be their *Duty*! Is there not more Cauſe to Fear a *Curſe* for not doing our *Duty*? But theſe Men, as the *Quakers*, think nothing that is Commanded in Holy *Scripture* to be their *Duty*, unleſs it be Commanded by their own *Spirit ANEW*. The *Quakers* Learn'd this *Doctrine* from them. And indeed, all *Enthuſiaſm*, when Purſu'd to the Fountain, is the ſame. They *Pray* not for *Grace* to Reſiſt *Temptations* againſt their *Duty*; but, like *Balaam*, in things which *God* has already Commanded, they Aſk new *Counſel* and *Advice*, whether it be His *Will* or not? And when they find a ſtrong *Inclination* for what they have a *Mind* to, this is the *Anſwer* of *God* to them! And they Proceed accordingly. And this they call *Seeking* of the *Lord*! Thus *Oliver* Pretended to *Seek* the *Lord*, and went to *Prayer*, when the *King* was carried to the *Scaffold*, And ſaid the *Lord* had Anſwer'd, That he muſt *Die*. Some of the *Regicide* Pleaded the ſame at their *Tryals*, That they *Sought* the *Lord* for what they did.

Some have *Sought* the *Lord* to know whether *Fornication* was a *Sin*? And being Anſwer'd by *Impulſes*, have been Perſwaded, even to *Argue* and *Write* in Defence of it, and make *Proſelytes* to it. And too many have they made. Thus of *Robbery*, *Lying*, and *Cheating*. And thus of *Schiſm*, of *Sacriledge*, and of *Rebellion*. Who ever heard among all the *Long-winded Prayers* of the *Diſſenters*, one *Petition* to ſave them from the *Sin* of *Rebellion*, or of *Sacriledge*? No. They know no ſuch *Sins*! In their *Aſſembly's Annotations* upon the whole *Bible*, Printed 1646, they could find no ſuch *Sins* in all the *Holy Writ*! No *Sacriledge* in the Sin of *Achan*, of *Belſhazzar*, of *Ananias* and *Saphira*. And indeed there is no ſuch *Sin*, if ſeizing upon the *Revenues* of the *Church*, nay

nay upon the *Churches* themſelves, and things *Conſecrated* to *Holy* Uſes, be not it! We cannot *Rob GOD* in *Perſon*. But in the *Perſons* of His *Prieſts*, and in things *Dedicated* to His *Service*. And we *Rebel* againſt *God*, when we *Rebel* againſt his *Vicegerents*, thoſe Lawful *Kings* and *Governours* whom He has ſet over Us.

But if he will *Diſpenſe* with us, in theſe *Small* Matters, we will be *as Good to Him another way*! We will *Preach* againſt *Sabbath-Breaking*, even to *Judaizing*! We will Abhor *Idols*, if He will let us Commit *Sacrilege*! We will make as *Long Prayers* as the *Heathen*, if we may *Devour Widows Houſes*, ſet the whole *Nation* in a *Flame*, and take the *Plunder* to our ſelves! We will *Rebel*, and *Perjure* our ſelves for the *Glory* of the *Lord*! And we will *ſeek* to *Him* in every thing, and not give over our *Importunity*, till we find His *Anſwer* in our Hearts!

But to go on with our Story, *Oliver* was then in *Scotland*, at the Head of an *Army* againſt them and their *King*, And Expoſtulating with them for their Back-ſliding from the Principles of the *Good Old Cauſe*, in ſetting up a *King*; They to obviate this, and ſatisfie, or *Gull* their Brethren the *Independents*, fram'd a *Declaration* for the *King* to Sign, wherein he ſhou'd lay the *Blood* and *Guilt* of the whole *Rebellion*, upon his *Father* and *Himſelf*; and Juſtifie the *Loyalty* and Godly *Intentions* of the *Saints* who had *Fought* againſt them; and Promis'd to Root out *Epiſcopacy* in *England*, as well as *Scotland*. To Diſcard all *Malignants*, &c. I have *Annex'd* that *Declaration*, *Append.* N. 1. becauſe it is not Preſerv'd in any of our *Hiſtories* that I know of.

The *King* refus'd to *Sign* this, as he had very good Reaſon. Whereupon the *Commiſſion* of the *General Aſſembly* met at the *Weſt Kirk*, at *Edinburgh*, and drew up the *Declaration* hereunto likewiſe *Annex'd*, commonly call'd *The Act of the VVeſt Kirk*, Wherein they *Renounce* the *King* and his *Cauſe*, upon any other *Terms*. And they oblig'd the *Committee* of *Eſtates*, then ſitting, to *Ratifie* the ſame. And order'd the *General* of their *Army* to ſend this *Declaration* to *Oliver*, as the Ground of their *Quarrel*, ſuppoſing the *King* ſhould comply with it; which *Letter* is likewiſe *Annex'd*.

The *King* finding himſelf thus *deſerted*, and *Betray'd*, and nothing elſe to ſave him from Immediate *Ruin*, and being deliver'd up, as his *Father*, into the Hands of his Implacable *Enemies*,

mies, did at laſt Prevail with himſelf to Sign the Declaration. Which yet did not ſatisfie the *Preſbyterians*. For in the aforeſaid *Remonſtrance* of their *General Aſſembly*, p. 57. They lay this upon him, *That he did for a long time Refuſe to Subſcribe the Declaration which was Tender'd to him, for the Acknowledging of his own, and his Parents Guiltineſs for the time paſt, and according to his Duty for the time to come; And after that he had, with a great deal of Reluctancy, ſubſcribed the ſame, he did oftentimes Expreſs, That he did not think his Father Guilty of Blood, and that notwithſtanding he had ſo declared, he had his own Meaniag thereof.*

And as the *Manner* of his *Signing* this *Declaration* did not Pleaſe the *Preſbyterians*, for that was Impoſſible! As little did it ſatisfie the *Independents*, when it was *Sign'd*, or Reconcile them to the *Preſbyterians*; for the Conteſt then was betwixt theſe two *Parties* for the *Power*. And they *Bang'd* the *Preſbyterians* heartily at *Dunbar*, whoſe *Word* that Day was the *Covenant*, The beſt *Victory* ever the *King* Loſt!

But the *Preſbyterians*, after this *Defeat*, ſought to *Revenge* themſelves upon the *King*, and Preſs'd upon him other *Acts* more *Shameful* and *Outragious*; which the *King* Reſolutely *Refuſing*, ſeeing no end of their *Encroachments*, was Threatned with no leſs than the laying Hands upon His *Perſon*, which forc'd him to fly for the ſaving of his *Life*, to his *Northern Friends* and *Forces* under General *Middleton*; where he Treated with the *Preſbyterians* at a Diſtance, and had *Hoſtages* given on both Sides for Performance of *Articles*; one of which was, that he ſhould be forthwith *Crown'd*, as was ſtipulated with him at *Breda*; But nothing leſs Intended by the *Preſbyterians* all this time, till they had ſufficiently Peel'd all *Royalty* from him. But it was perform'd in a very *Uncouth* manner, *January* the *Firſt*, 165$\frac{0}{1}$. Mr. *Robert Douglas* from the *General Aſſembly*, Preaching the *Coronation Sermon* full of *Treaſon* before him, (which is in *Print*) telling him what ſort of a *Covenanted King* they had made him. And the Old *Marqueſs* of *Argyle* ſupplied the Place of the *Arch-biſhop*, in ſetting the Crown upon his *Head*, and giving his *Benediction*.

The *Auguſt* following, 1651, the *King* March'd into *England*. And the *Independents* kept a Watchful Eye upon the *Preſbyteri-*

ans

ans in *London*; then hoping to get into the *Saddle* again. And that ſame *Month*, one Mr. *Love*, a *Preſbyterian Miniſter* was *Executed*, for Correſpondence with the *King* and the *Preſbyterians*. His *Tryal* was *Printed*, which I have Read, with the manner of his *Execution*, and his *Speech* upon the *Scaffold*, which was Exceeding *Long*, and full of *Cant*. In it he took ſpecial Care, to Free himſelf and the *Preſbyterians* from the leaſt Tergiverſation from the *Good Old Cauſe*, or the *Scandal* of being thought to *Repent* of their *Rebellion* and *Actings* againſt K. *Char.* I. Which he *Vindicated* to the laſt. This is their *Royal Martyr*, of whom they have made ſuch *Boaſts!* And of whom the *Diſſenters Anſwer to the High-Church Challenge*, lately Printed, 1704. ſays, p. 43. *I aſſure you the Author of this wears a Mourning Ring on his Finger, given at the Funeral of Mr.* Chriſtopher Love, *a Preſbyterian Miniſter, Beheaded* An. 1653. (it ſhould be 1651.) *For the Horrid Phanatick Plot, Contriv'd for the bringing in, as they then call'd him,* Charles Staart, *and the Reſtoring of Monarchy.* But how comes this to be a Vindication of the *Diſſenters* and *Phanaticks?* Were they not ſuch who put Mr. *Love* to Death? But if it clear not the *Diſſenters* in general, yet it do's the *Preſbyterians*. As we have ſeen — To make uſe of the Name of a *King* for their own Ends, Diveſting him, at the ſame time, of the *Power* of a *King*; and Juſtifying all their *Treaſons* againſt his *Martyr'd Father!* And laying all the *Blood* and *Miſery* which Attended their Un-natural *Rebellion* upon his *Head*, as *the Diſſenting Miniſters Vindication beforementioned* likewiſe do's. There is a Reaſon, why our *Diſſenters* keep the *Fifth* of *November*, for that was a *Popiſh Plot*; But not the 30th of *January* (excepting in their *Calves-Head Solemnities*) for that plainly lies among the *Diſſenters*, let 'em ſhove it from one to Another as they Pleaſe! And if they had that *Horror* and *Deteſtation* for that *Execrable Murther*, as they *ſometimes* Pretend, to ſerve a *Turn*, they would not *Revile* and *Ridicule* it, as they do, calling it a *Madding Day*, and ſuch like *Tokens* of their *Reſpect*, which they ſhew Us every Day in *Print*. And we know how their *Party* ſtruggled hard in the *Houſe* of *Commons*, ſince the *Revolution*, to have the *Obſervation* of this *Day* laid aſide. And why ſo? If they thought it no *Reproach* to them? If they were *perfectly Innocent* of it?

But

But to give the *Whigs* and *Diſſenters* all the Advantage they would have, ſuppoſe that *Part* of them, call'd *Preſbyterians*, had been really againſt the *Murther* of K. *Char.* I. And for the ſetting up of his *Son* K. *Char.* II. As this had been no Juſtification of the *Reſt*; ſo neither would it be any *Proof* of the *Loyalty* or *Monarchichal Principles*, even of theſe *Preſbyterians*. For Mens *Actions* are no certain Proof of their *Principles* (except of thoſe who Voluntary *Suffer* for them) where there is an Apparent *Temptation* for them in the way of *Advantages* to be made by it, as theſe *Preſbyterians* had, in the ſetting up K. *Char.* II. Thereby to Regain that *Power* which the *Independents* had taken from them, and uſed *Rigorouſly* over them. But they ſhew'd their Averſion to *Monarchy*, tho' thus forc'd to make uſe of it, by thoſe Unworthy *Limitations* before Mention'd which they put upon it, in the Perſon of this *King*.

Mens *Principles* are only known when they Act *Freely*; without *Compulſion* or *Temptation*. In Times of *Perſecution*, Menhave *Renounc'd* that *Faith*, which notwithſtanding they did Firmly *Believe*; And others have been *Brib'd* to Act quite Oppoſite to their own *Sentiments*. But where no ſuch *Byaſs* is in the Way, Men are to be *Diſtinguiſh'd* by their known and avow'd *Principles*.

Now let the *Whigs* or *Diſſenters*, or any of them, ſhew any one *Principle* of *Loyalty* that they have, or any Notion of *Government* that is conſiſtent with *Monarchy*, or indeed with any ſettl'd *Frame* or *Conſtitution*: Or any *Principle* of *Treaſon*, of Perpetual *Rebellion* and *Revolution*, which they have not; and they will ſhew the World a *Diſcovery!* When they had the *Power* in their own Hands, they *Supplanted* and *Kick'd* out one another, without Intermiſſion; and all upon the ſame Foot of *Power* in the *People*; till their own *Confuſions* brought in *Order* and *Reſtauration* of the Antient *Government* and *Monarchy*.

And ſo much for their *Loyalty* at this time.

XVI. *Of* Occaſional Conformity.

I come now to a New *Notion* and *Reaſon* for *Occaſional Conformity*, that I have met with no where elſe but in this *Occaſional Letter*, which coming to Anſwer the *Objection* of thoſe who Receive the *Sacrament* OCCASIONALLY in the *Church*, and afterwards *Rail* at her, do's Juſtifie it, with this Reaſon, p. 25.

For

For as I take it, the Receiving the Sacrament, is not Engaging to be True to the Church a Man Receives it in. This is a very *Extraordinary* Reaſon! For the H. *Sacrament* is the very *Teſſera* and *Bond* of *Chriſtian Unity* and *Love*, which is Exemplified in the *Unity* of the ſeveral *Corns* in one *Loaf*, as the *Apoſtle* ſpeaks, *We being Many, are one Bread, and one Body*, 1 Cor. x. 17. Now ſure the *Members* of the ſame *Body*, ought, at leaſt, to be *True* to one another, and to the *Body*.

But to Leſſen the *Horrour* of this *Poſition*, which ſeems a *Diſſolution* of all *Chriſtian Faith* and *Charity*, I muſt not conceal a *Salvo* he brings in for it, which yet is no *Salvo* at all, but brought in meerly to *Amuſe!* For when he ſays, *That the Receiving the Sacrament, is not Engaging to be True to the Church a Man Receives it in*, He adds, *So much as to be Faithful to his God.*

Now, what is the Meaning of this? Is it not *God* who Requires Us to keep that *Bond* of *Unity* and *Love*, of which the H. *Sacrament* is a *Symbol?* And is it not being *Unfaithful* to *God*, not to be *True* to this?

May not the ſame be ſaid in any *Church*, or *Communion*, where a Man Receives the *Sacrament?* And ſo, it is not any *Bond* of *Unity*, or ſo much as *Truth* in any *Church*! What then? It may be made Uſe of in *Diſſimulation* and *Hypocriſie*, to *Undermine* and *Deſtroy* that *Church*, under the moſt *Sacred Symbols* of *Truth* and *Love*, even the very *Body* of *Chriſt!* It is *Frightful* to *Repeat* this! When the *Holy Kiſs* went along with this *Sacrament*, wou'd it not be a *Judas-Kiſs*, which ſuch an *Occaſional Conformiſt* ſhou'd give to his *Fellow-Communicants*, with whom he thought not himſelf *United*, and ſought their *Undoing*, and the *Ruin* of that *Church*, with whom he did *Communicate!*

By this ſort of *Salvo*, a Man may *Securely* vent all the *Treaſon* and *Wickedneſs* in the World! For Example, I owe not *Obedience* or *Truth* to my *Prince*, ——*So much as to God!* To be *Faithful* or *Juſt* to *Man* —— *So much as to God!* And ſo, not to be *True* to the *Church*, tho' I Receive the *Body* and *Blood* of *Chriſt* with her; and, in that Senſe, do *Pawn* them to her, for my *Truth* and *Fidelity* to her, and my *Unity* with her! And all is *Solv'd*, by ſaying, *Not ſo much as to be faithful to my God!*

Whither

Whither will Men *Wander*, when they ſeek to *Defend* what Themſelves know to be *Wicked!* When they give Themſelves up to the *Drudgery* of *Writing* for a *Party*, which they muſt Support, *Right* or *Wrong!* When they have no *Principles* left, but to ſerve Preſent *Turns!*

XVII. *No* Treaſon *againſt* an Hereditary *King.*

What elſe is it cou'd make this *Author* Inſinuate, as if no *Treaſon* cou'd be Committed againſt K. *Char.* II. Or ought not to have been *Puniſh'd.* For, *p.* 27. he calls thoſe *Very Innocent Men*, who ſuffer'd for the *Rye-Houſe-Conſpiracy*, and *Confeſs'd* it at their *Deaths.* And Slanders *ſome Parliaments ſince*: as if they had ſaid the ſame. His Reaſon muſt be, becauſe their *Attainders* were *Revers'd*, as of *Walcot*, &c. In the Beginning of this *Revolution.* Tho' the ſame *Walcot*, as others, did *Confeſs* themſelves *Guilty* of the Deſign'd *Aſſaſſination* of the *King* and *Duke*, and utter Subverſion of the *Government*, both in *Church* and *State*, even when they were at the *Gallows.* The *Attainders* likewiſe of *Argyle*, and others, who openly Invaded *Scotland*, to the *Reign* of K. *Jam.* II. were taken off in that *Country.* But may not a *Guilty* Man be *Pardon'd*, or his *Attainder* Revers'd after his *Death*, for the Benefit of his *Heirs?* Do's not this rather ſuppoſe him to have been *Guilty?* Elſe what need of a *Pardon?* But did any of theſe *Parliaments* Declare them to have been *very Innocent Men*, as this *Author* Infers? The Conſequence of which wou'd have been, That no *Treaſon* cou'd have been committed againſt K. *Char.* or K. *Jam.* But only againſt K. *Will.* Did not K. *Char.* II. *Pardon* ſome of the very *Regicides?* Did he therefore think them *very Innocent Men*, who *Murther'd* his *Father?* But theſe Men think, that it is no *Treaſon* to *Depoſe* or *Murther* an *Hereditary King*; as not being the *Peoples* King! This is our *Author*'s Doctrine, if I can make *Sence* of it. But he has full Liberty to Explain himſelf. Which we expect in his *Next.*

He goes on and Accuſes K. *Cha.* II. of *Tyranny*, for the few that were *Executed* in the *Rye-Houſe-Plot*, and propoſes it as a *Frightful* Example to after Ages. For Quoting out of the *New-Aſſoc.* how eaſily that *Faction* was ſubdued by K. *Char.* II. after the *Rye-Houſe-Plot*, and the *Oxford Parliament*, only by *ſhewing his Authority, and letting them ſee he was not afraid of them*

them (tho' they boaſted as much of their *Numbers* and *Power* in the *Country* as they do now) this *Author* Anſwers, p. 26. *But if he would have ſpoke out, the ſame Meaſures muſt be, preparing Axes and Gallows; for that was the Method which was then taken.* Theſe *Axes* and *Gallows* run ſtrangely in this *Man*'s Mind! Has he any *Qualms?* He will have the *Diſſenters* Hang'd whether we will or no! But they were not all *Hang'd* then that did *Deſerve* it. If more had been, ſome had been ſav'd from the Guilt of *Rebellion* a *Second* time! But as it was not that *King*'s Deſign, nor, I dare ſay, any Body's now, to have all this *Sett* of People *Deſtroy'd*; only *Diſ-arm'd* from doing farther *Miſchief*, by having no *Power* put into their Hands; ſo where any thing is Touch'd upon that *Point*, they have no *Defence* to make, but that *Senſleſs* and *Invidious Clamour*, to ſay that the *Deſign* is to have them all *Extirpated*! As if there was no Medium betwixt that, and putting the *Sword* into their Hands! That they might *Extirpate* Us!

But to ſhew you ſome more of his *No-Principles*, he falls upon the *Author* of *New Aſſoc.* for an Expreſſion (which I cannot find in the Place he Quotes, which is p. 24.) wherein he happen'd to ſay, *The Rebellion of the Sevenois*, and Hews him down for calling thoſe People *Rebels*. Now Sir, perhaps that *Author* was one of the *Jure-Divino-Men*, who think it *not Lawful upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms*, &c. As our *Laws* once ſpoke. And in that Caſe, Sir, you ſhould have afforded him ſome *Reaſon* to open his *Underſtanding*, beſides calling theſe *a Poor diſtreſſed People*. Perhaps he thinks ſo as well as you. And the more, for what he calls their *Rebellion*; which has Render'd them much more *Miſerable* than they were before. He will ſay, that he Pities all People in *Diſtreſs*, and is an Enemy to *Perſecution*. But he may be apt to Aſk, whether the *Proteſtants* in *Hungary* were not *Perſecuted*, and Terms broken with them, and had not as much *Right* to take *Arms* for their own *Preſervation*, as the *Sevenois*? And how then came theſe to be *Rebels*, more than the *Sevenois*? Do's their *Succeſs* alter the *Juſtice* of the *Cauſe*? Or their being a *Diſturbance* to the *Emperor*, who is one of our *Allies*? If ſo, we go not upon *Principles*, but upon what makes *For* us, or *Againſt* us! And Sir, this makes us very *Contemptible* to thoſe *People* who Pretend to *Principles*; And gives

XVIII. *Their Notion of* Rebellion.

them Opportunity to think that we have none. Therefore in your next, Pleaſe to Clear this Matter a little more, and for the Future, beware of giving ſuch *Handles* againſt the *Cauſe* you wou'd Maintain; That you be not thought a *True Tom-Double*, either ſet down your *Principles*, and *ſtand by them*; or elſe *Renounce* them; but do not *Betray* them.

XIX. *The* Sevenois *clear'd from* Rebellion.

And if you would not Deſpiſe a little *Help*, I offer this *Method* to your Conſideration, to get over all this Matter more eaſily. Let then the *Sevenois* be *Rebels*, equal to the *Hungarians*, or not, upon the Point of *Principle*: Yet the Caſe of *War* alters the thing, as to Us. Who knows not, that *War* makes many things *lawful*, which otherwiſe are not ſo? Even to ſtir up *Rebellion* and *Sedition* in our Enemies Country; as they wou'd ſerve Us, if they cou'd. Tho' I know, that Men of Strict *Principle* do *Object* againſt this *Method*. But we have the *Practice* of the World on our ſide! Therefore, we will Beat down the *Proteſtants* in *Hungary*, and call them *Rebels*, becauſe they are againſt our *Allie*; and we will ſupport the *Sevenois*, and they ſhall not be *Rebels*, becauſe we are at War with *France*. The One are *Rebels*, and the other are not, as to *Us*, however it be as to *Themſelves*! Let them look to that!

And who can Deny, but that *War* will Juſtifie this *Method* with *Subjects*, when it do's as to *Kings* themſelves! Who would not Pull down a *King* he is at *War* with, and *Own*, or *diſ-own* his Title, as ſerves beſt for our *Turn*? We did own *Philip* of *Spain* before the *War*; What then? And tho' he was ſet-up upon the Foot of the *People*, and *Recogniz'd* by the *Corteze*, or *Parliament*, by the *Grandees*, and *viſibly*, to all *Appearance*, by the *Generality* of the *People*; and is now King *de Facto*; And, as far as the *People* can give him a Right, *de Jure* too; What of all this? By the Unqueſtionable *Prerogative* of *War*, have we not Reduc'd him to plain *Duke* of *Anjou* again; And ſet up the *de Jure* of *Char.* III. by *Inheritance*, againſt the *de Facto* of *Philip* by the *People*? And tho' this was not done at the Beginning of the *War*, nor was the *Cauſe* of the *War*; And that even ſince the *War* was *Proclaim'd*, our *Gazettes* did own *Philip* as *King* of *Spain*; All that makes nothing to the Matter, For in *War*, we muſt take our own *Time*; we are not to be Directed by our *Enemies*!

Sir, I leave it to you, Whether this do's not *Solve* all theſe *Objections* Cleverly. And by the *Principles* of *War*! So that you need

need not be Afraid to go on with these Men upon *Principles*. You must always set up one *Principle* against another. And *VVar* makes every thing *Lawful*, it makes *Robbery* to be *Plunder*, and *Killing* no *Murther*, and why not *King* and *No King*! Remember that your *Scene* is in *VVar*, and you are safe in your *Entrenchments*!

But I would not Advise you to make such Desperate *Sallies* as you do, and where you are sure to be beaten Back. You throw your *Flail* about so *Heedlessly*, that you may Beat out your own *Brains* with it. What need had you, in the very next *Paragraph*, to that above Quoted, *p.* 28. to make so *Severe* a *Reflection* upon the *Author* of the *New Assoc.* for his *Praying*, with *David*, to *Scatter the People that Delight in War, and would Entail it upon Us and Our Posterities?* XX. *This Author an Enemy to Peace.*

Is it not a Good *Prayer*? And must not every Good *Christian*, and True *English-man*, say *Amen* to it? But you are very *Angry* with it, and say *Ironically* of it, *A kind Reflection indeed! An Agent for* France *cou'd have said little more.* Pray, Sir, How is *France* concern'd? Is Praying against *People* that *Delight* in *War*, speaking in Favour of *France*? Is it not *France* that would Entail *War* upon Us? And is speaking against such, being an *Agent for France*? You will give Us a New Notion of *France*? Is not the *French King* Apparently the Cause of the *War*? Is not He the *Aggressor*? And must not the *Blood* Shed then lie upon Him? *A kind Reflection indeed!* But it seems, this *Author* is an *Agent*, for *Some* he knows, who *Delight* in *War*, and wou'd *Entail* it — against whom we *Pray* every Day in our *Churches*, That *God* wou'd *Abate* their *Pride*, *Assuage* their *Malice*, and *Confound* their *Devices*. } x x

Postscript to *LEGION*. New-Vamp'd *MILLION*.

Gentlemen,

WHO Subscribe your Selves *Devils*, saying, *Our Name is Legion, for we are Many*. You have been call'd *Roundheads*, *Whiggs*, and such like *Nick-Names*; But we knew not your true *Name*, till your *Godfathers* have now told Us! And if you had not been *Possess'd*, you would never have taken such a *Name* to your selves. But you think to *Frighten* Us with your *Numbers*, and now Subscribe your selves *MILLION*, and *more*.

You

You wou'd Reduce Us to the *Indian Religion*, to *Worſhip* the *Devil* for *Fear*. Is this your *Reformation!*

And as to your *Numbers*, none can take it to be any thing elſe but an Empty *Brag*, while we ſee the *Houſe* of *Commons* is againſt you: And how better can the *Senſe* of the *Nation* be known?

And your now falling Foul upon the *Houſe* of *Commons*, who are the *Repreſentatives* of the *People*; and taking Sanctuary with the *Lords*, who are Created *Arbitrarily*, at the *Meer Will* and *Pleaſure* of the *King*, is a total Overthrow of your *Foundation-Principle* of the *Power* in the *People*, Whoſe *Choice* you like not ſo well as whom the *King* has *Choſe*; Yet you Rail at *Prerogative!*

Upon your Foot, the *People* ſhou'd have Power to Turn out their *Repreſentatives*, whenever they are Diſpleas'd with them; And to *Chooſe* others, by their own *Authority*; To meet *When*, and *Where*, and as *Often* as they *Pleaſe*. And to be *Accountable* to the *People*.

But it was never ſo in *England*, or any where elſe. Nor indeed can be. It wou'd be perfect *Anarchy* and *Confuſion*.

Therefore you *Whigs*, or *Devils*, have given a Demonſtrative *Proof* againſt your own *Pretences* of *Power* in the *People*:

And if you cannot Solve theſe things, you can no longer be Believ'd by any Man of *Common Senſe*. But, to Purſue your own Alluſion, your *Legion* muſt be turn'd into the *Herd* of *Swine*, thoſe *Beaſts* of the *People*; who being once *Poſſeſs'd* with *You*, Run *Headlong* to their own *Deſtruction*.

And now, my *Little Devils*, I'll tell you a Story. The *Secretary* of *Oliver Cromwell*, Mr. *Thurlo*, being Ask'd by a *Noble Peer* (whom I can Name) ſoon after the *Reſtoration*, 1660. How it came to paſs, That their Party being Poſſeſs'd of the *People* and the *Power*, came ſo Unaccountably to loſe *Both*, as it were in a *Moment?* Mr. *Thurlo* Anſwer'd, That it was chiefly owing to the *Cavalier-Pamphlets*. And tho', ſaid he, thoſe wrote on our Side were much more *Numerous*, having the *Countenance* and *Encouragement* of the *Government*; yet, I muſt confeſs, That the other wrote for the *Royal Cauſe*, had the *Wit* and the *Argument* of Us. They expos'd what the *People* at laſt *Felt*, the *Oppreſſion*, the *Giddineſs*, and *Unſtableneſs* of *Government*, upon the Foot of the People. And all our *Authority* cou'd not keep our Ground againſt it.

The Application, Gentlemen, is Eaſie. If you cannot Learn to ſpeak *Senſe*, if you will ſet up *Principles* which you cannot *Maintain*; and then *Act* in Direct *Oppoſition* to them; tho' you have all the *Connivance* (at leaſt) of the *Government* to *Write* on, without *Controul*; And that the *People* have been hitherto even *Bewitch'd*, (a *Second* time) with your *Pretences* of *Liberty* and *Property*; Yet their *Eyes* will be open'd by the Force of *Truth* and *Experience*. And you ſent to the *Place* from *whence* you *came*. And the *Nation* Reſcu'd from the *Fatality* you have brought upon them, of being a *Kingdom Divided againſt it ſelf*. And which cannot *Stand*, unleſs your *Leven* be Purg'd out of it.

F I N I S.

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CASSANDRA.

Numb. II.

THE *Occasional Letter* is not content to spend its *Wit* and *Malice* against the *Author* of the *New-Association*, but falls upon others, whom he supposes to be of the same *Party*. And undertakes to *Battel* them All! One he does not name, nor his *Book* neither; but makes what he says an Act of the *Party*, thus p. 21. *By one of their late Books we are all, that are hearty at least for the Principles of the late Revolution, call'd Schismaticks, and Foreign Churches Appeal'd to, and Declarations made, That there was no Continuing in our Communion, without Hazard of their Salvation.*

I. Several Authors Reflected upon in the *Occasional Letter*.

1. One not Nam'd.

Now in the Book which I am Confident he means, there is not, in the first Place, any Argument against the *late Revolution*. It meddles not with the State-Point. It is wholly an *Ecclesiastical* Dispute, of the *Rights* of the *Church*, with Relation to the *Civil Powers* in General, without Entring into the Contest of *Competitors* about that *Power*.

In the next Place, as to the Point of *Schism*, he makes it Allowable only in such Cases where there is a *Hazard* of our *Salvation*. And is not this more *Orthodox* and *Rational*, and more for the *Peace* and *Unity* of the *Church*, than such a slight Notion of *Schism*, as that we may run into it, for Things our selves own to be *Indifferent*; and with which we may Comply *Occasionally*, without any *Hazard* at all to our *Salvation*? Yet these *Latter* he sets himself to *justify* and *Condemn's* the *Former*!

The Point that *Author* inſiſts upon is *Lay-Deprivation*. And if I miſtake not the *Author* of this *Occaſional Letter*, he has expreſs'd himſelf elſewhere againſt it. I know not a *Clergy-Man in England* that is for it in plain Terms; or wou'd ever wiſh to ſee it *Practis'd* again in *England*: Whatever ſome may ſay to juſtify the *Complying* with it, when it is done by an *Irreſiſtable Force*. So that there needed not ſuch an *Exclamation* againſt that very *Learned Author*.

2. *Abridgment of Euſebius.* He next fall's upon the *Abridger* of *Euſebius* in the ſame Pag. 21. and ſays, *That all the Paſſages which Proteſtants make uſe of againſt Papiſts, and which are ſome of them the ſtrongeſt againſt them of all Antiquity, are omitted.* He names none of them. And the *Abridger* profeſſes that he cannot ſo much as *Gueſs* at what he means. Deſires him to *Inſtance* and he will be oblig'd to *juſtify* himſelf.

He has put but four *Marginal Notes* of his own to the whole *Abridgment*, and *Two* of them are againſt the *Papiſts*, one p. 85. upon the *Sufficiency* of the H. *Scriptures*; the other, p. 100, concerning the *Canon* of the *Scriptures*. That p. 90 is againſt the *Arians*. And the *Fourth*, p. 177, is of the Patient *Suffering* of the *Primitive Chriſtians* under their *Perſecutors*, and that they thought not *Rebellion* a Lawful *Remedy*, which may be juſtly reckon'd againſt the *Papiſts* too and their *Depoſing Doctrine*, on account of *Religion*. But it ſeems it has Hit ſome other ſort of *Folks*, who have no worſe Word than *Popery* to beſtow [except that of an *High Church-Man*] And they throw it as a *Blind-Man* do's his *Club*, at All who come in their Way.

3. *Preface to the Abridgment.* The next who is attack'd in the ſame *Paragraph* is the *Author* of a *Preface* or *Epiſtle*, before the ſaid *Abridgment*; *wherein* (ſays this *Occaſional Letter*) *there are vile Reflections unjuſtly caſt upon Archbiſhop* Tillotſon, *and very kind Encomiums upon ſome of the Great Managers in K.* James's *Reign, and one of the Chief Champions for a Popiſh Cauſe.*

As to this laſt of *Encomiums*, I can find nothing like it, not a Tittle in that *Preface*. This is pure *Invention*, and *Slander* for *Slander*-ſake! Let this *Author* point it out and name it.

As to the other Part of the *Accuſation* concerning Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, he is not once nam'd in all the *Preface*, nor any *Book* of his, or any *Book* at all, in the Place intended. So that

that the *Applyer* of this to any Body is the *Author* of the *Scandal*. There are indeed ſome very offenſive *Tenets* named, p. 17, 18, wherein the *Truth* of the *Chriſtian* Religion is Highly Concern'd. And that ought to take Place of the Regard we have to any Man. And how more tenderly cou'd it be done, as to the *Author*, than neither to *Name* him, nor the *Books* where they are to be found? Others might ſay the ſame things. But if this *Vindicator* will Put it upon Arch-Biſhop *Tillotſon*, he ought then to have *juſtified* thoſe *Paſſages*; or to have ſhew'd, that they were Falſly Attributed to the *Arch-Biſhop*. I deſire that neither I nor any *Friend* of mine may have ſuch *Vindicators*! To bring a Man's *Name* upon the *Stage*, under an *Accuſation*, and then not to ſay one Word in his *Defence*! I leave it to the *Reader*, whether the *Author* of that *Preface*, or this *Occaſional Letter*, has done moſt Injury to the *Memory* of Arch-Biſhop *Tillotſon*?

II. Of Charging *Books* upon *Parties*.

But be that as it will. Why are theſe *Books* Charg'd upon whole *Parties* of Men? Unleſs you will Allow the ſame Liberty. We muſt ſuppoſe that is intended.

Therefore we have Liberty, by your own Rule, to Charge upon the whole Body of the *Whigs* and *Diſſenters*, thoſe *Pamphlets* that come out on their Side; thoſe which Endeavour'd to Defeat the *Succeſſion* of the *Queen*, and bring in the *Houſe* of *Hannover* before Her; or now upon her, to *Supplant* her. Which repreſent the *Houſe* of *Hannover* as Enemies to our *Church*, and fix'd to the Intreſt of the *Diſſenters*. So that the way to make *Court* to them, in time, is, to Set up the *Diſſenters*, and Depreſs the *Church*. And all thoſe *Pamphlets*, which purſuant to this *Politick*, do daily throw out the moſt Bitter *Invectives* againſt the *Church* of *England*, under the Name of the *High-Church*; And cry up *Moderation*, that is, as they Explain it, to let in the *Diſſenters* to all Places of *Power* and *Truſt*; I ſay, That by the *Rule* here ſet down, and *Practis'd* by this *Author*, all theſe are to be Charg'd upon the *Party*, upon the *Whigs* and *Diſſenters*.

Obſervator.

And they ſtand particularly Anſwerable for their *Obſervator*, who expreſly maintains the *Depoſing Doctrine*; makes the *King* but one of the *Three Eſtates*; Accountable to the other *Two*, or one of them which Repreſents the *People*; And even *Depoſable* by them, to be *Attainted*, and put to *Death* by them.

Or,

Or, to give it you in his own *Modest* Words, [*Vol.* 2. *Num.* 22.] *To be Depriv'd of all Power, Imprison'd, Depos'd, and Confin'd to Monasteries, drawn through the Streets, Cut to Pieces,* &c. *And all this for their Treason against the State.* He instances in *Nero*, who, he says, *was attainted of Treason, and Condemn'd to Die.* This was bringing the Matter as near as he cou'd to our *Royal Martyr*; whom these *Infernal Fiends* call'd a *Nero*, as their *Predecessors* did his *Master* a *Beelzebub.* And to cut off the *Distinction*, That the *Emperours* of *Rome* were then *Elective*, but our *Kings* are *Hereditary*, he asserts in a following *Observator* [*Vol.* 2. *Num.* 25.] *That the Regal Dignity can never be Hereditary*; His Reason is, because it is an *Office*, and Compares it to that of the *Lord Mayor* or *Sheriffs*. It is an *Affront* to *Argue* with such a *Brute.* This is only to shew the *Maxims* of the *Party.* He endeavours to Prove that our *Government* was never *Hereditary*, because the *Line* of *Succession* was often *Broke*, and *Usurpations* made upon it. But if he had *Common Sense*, he wou'd have seen, That this is a *Proof* it was *Hereditary*, else, the *Hereditary Line* cou'd not have been *Broke.* In the *Contests* of *York* and *Lancaster*, both *Parties* did pretend to be *Next* in *Blood* to the *Crown.* That was the whole *Dispute.* Which shews that the *Hereditary* Right was the *Rule.* He quotes a *Statute* of Q. *Eliz.* [*Vol.* 2. *Num.* 23.] That the *Queen, with and by the Parliament*, may *Limit* the *Succession* of the *Crown*; and Imposing *Penalties* on those who shall Deny that this may be done by *Parliament, with the Royal Assent.* And the Inferences he draws from it are, That the *Parliament* may do it, without the *King* [or *Queen*] or *Against* them; and without the *Royal Assent*: And that it is a *Right* in the *People* to do it, which is so far from being *Asserted* or *Imply'd* in the said *Statute*, that the direct *Contrary* is the *Import* of it. He quotes [*ibid. Num.* 27.] some *Acts of Parliament* in *Scotland*, made in the *Reign* of K. *Char.* 2. which Assert the *Hereditary* Right, from the *Laws* of *God*, as well as *Man*; And that no *Difference in Religion, nor no Law, nor Act of Parliament, made, or to be made, can Alter or Divest the Right of Succession, and Lineal Descent of the Crown, to the Nearest and Lawful Heirs.* And how do's he Answer this? He calls it an *Act* of the *Episcopal Dissenters of Scotland.* Was the *Episcopal* Church *Dissenters* then? And may they not call other *Acts* made since, *Presbyterian* and *Whigg-Acts*? And so there

there is an End of all *Acts of Parliaments*, if they may be thus Thrown off by any *Party* that is not Pleas'd with them! Then the Known *Laws* of the *Land* are no *Standard* of *Right* or *Wrong*, of *Juſt* or *Unjuſt*; Nor are we to be *Determin'd* by them! This is the *Doctrin* of theſe Men, who ſtand ſo much for the *Laws!* Who Cry out, The Laws! The *Laws!* And yet will be *Concluded* by no *Laws* which Croſs their *Humour?*

But what will they ſay to the many *Acts* of *Parliament* in *England*, particularly 1 *Eliz.* c. 3. and 1 *Jac.* c. 1. which Acknowledge the *Crown* of *England* to be *Hereditary*, and that *Jure Divino* too? Why? They were *Epiſcopal* Acts likewiſe! And of *Epiſcopal Diſſenters* too, who *Diſſented* from the *Honeſt Diſſenters!* And the *Former* were *Popiſh* Acts! What have we to do with them?

But how will they anſwer their own, even the *Presbyterian Confeſſion of Faith?* Which ſays, *Chap.* 23. That *Difference in Religion*, nay, that *Infidelity* it ſelf, *doth not make void the Magiſtrate's juſt and Lawful Authority, nor free the People from their due Obedience to him.* Cou'd they *Sham* at this Rate, and even in their *Confeſſion* of *Faith*, to blind the Eyes of the World, that they might carry on their wicked *Deſigns!* Otherwiſe let *Obſervator* try his hand, if he can Salve this from being Rank *Paſſive Obedience*, and *Jure divino!*

However he will not be out of Countenance! In the ſame *Obſervator*, laſt nam'd, he puts a *Caſe* will Frighten the *Presbyterian Loyalty*, and *ours* too. He ſays, *Was there ever yet a Chriſtian People, who ſuffer'd a Prince to Wade to the Throne thro' the Blood of his Father? This wou'd indeed be an Un-natural Succeſſion.* It wou'd *indeed!* And yet I fancy it not *Impoſſible*, that the *Whigs and Diſſenters* might be brought to *Allow*, even of *This*, upon a *Valuable Conſideration!* To Promote the *Good-Old-Cauſe!* To turn *Hereditary* into *Elective*: And Mumble *Kings* and *Biſhops!*

In the ſame *Obſervator*, to ſhew his Skill in the *Laws*, he ſays, *Treaſon is two fold, either as Committed againſt the King, as he is Inveſted with the Executive Power, or againſt the People, as they are Inveſted with the Legiſlative Power.* Here the *Superior* Power is put in the *People*, and the *Supreme* which is the *Legiſlative*. The *Executive* is no other than that of an *Executioner*, who *Executes* the *Sentence* paſs'd by his *Superiors*; and he is Accountable to them for his *Performance*. Thus ſays the *Obſervator*

ſervator in the ſame Place, *The King of England is the Peoples King; and the Laws of England are the Peoples Laws.* That is, Both *Made* by the *People.* Thence he Infers, as before Quoted, That *Nero* was *Attainted* of *Treaſon*, that *Kings* may be *Depos'd, drawn thro' the Streets, Cut to Pieces*, &c. for their *Treaſon* againſt the *People*!

But he will find no ſuch *Nonſenſe* in our *Laws*, which know of no *Treaſon* but againſt the *King*. And as has been before quoted in the firſt *Part*, Sect. 2. Debar the *People*, either *Collectively* or *Repreſentatively*, from having any thing to do with the *Legiſlative*, without the *King*. And it is made *Premunire* to Aſſert it. 13. *Car.* 2. c. 1. Let the *Obſervator* think of this!

But his *Fury* blinds him, he knows not what makes *For* or *Againſt* what he wou'd be at. He quotes [*ibid* p. 24.] *The Incomparable and truly Honourable* **Algernoon Sidney** *his anſwer to* **Filmer**, ſaying thus, *He is no King, who aſſumes the Title to himſelf, or is ſet up by a Corrupt Party.* Now this is moſt *Incomparable Nonſenſe*, upon his *Scheme* of *Government* in the *People*; unleſs he can ſhew, that ever any *Party* of the *People*, eſpecially the *Prevailing* Party, who cou'd ſet up a *King*, did call themſelves a *Corrupt Party*! Or, that they were not call'd ſo, by the *Oppoſite* Contending *Party*! And who is *Judge* betwixt theſe ſeveral *Parties* of the *People*? Is there any other, but *Civil War* and *Deſtruction*, till the one can *Conquer* the other, and *keep* them down? The leaſt *Drachm* of *Thought*, wou'd ſhew ſuch a *Scheme* to be *Contradiction* and endleſs *Confuſion*!

But who then do's **Algernoon Sidney** allow to be *King*? None, *but he who according to the Uſages requir'd in the Caſe, is made King. If theſe be wanting* [ſays he, as here quoted by the *Obſervator*] *he is neither* de Facto, *nor* de Jure Rex; *but* Tyrannus ſine Titulo. Did Mr. *Obſervator* Conſider where this wou'd light!

But he grows *Bold* to Purpoſe! And having plainly ſaid in many of his *Obſervators*, That the *Queen* had no *Title* to the *Crown*, but the *Act* of *Settlement*, he Affirms [*ibid. Num.* 86.] That *to aſſert an Hereditary Government in* England, *is a Squint-Ey'd Reflexion on her Majeſty's Title.* How now! Is the *Obſervator* turn'd *Perkinite*? Will he Run *Counter* to the many *Loyal Addreſſes* made to her *Majeſty*, upon her *Acceſſion*; where they

they Acknowledg'd her *Undoubted Right*, as well by *Blood* as by *Law*?

Nor will it ſerve his Turn, to ſay, that he meant this only againſt the *Perkinites*; for that wou'd be no *Reflection* on her *Majeſty's Title*, what a *Few Inconſiderable Men* may ſay! But he *Explains* it, and *applies* to it the *Title* it ſelf, in the *Words* juſt going before, where he Expreſly *Battles* this *Poſition*, That *our Government is an Hereditary Monarchy*. And ſays to him that Aſſerted it, *He can never prove our Government to be an Hereditary Monarchy, either be our Laws, the Cuſtom of our* Anceſtors, *or our own; the Act of Settlement, I am ſure, ſays no ſuch thing, but the Contrary; and for this Man to aſſert an Hereditary Government in* England, *is* a *Squnit-ey'd Reflection on her Majeſty's Title*. This is Arguing from the *Thing*; and not from what any Body *Says* of it. And is not a *Squint-ey'd* but a *manifeſt Reflection* upon her *Majeſty's* HEREDITARY *Right*, and the General *Senſe* and *Joy* of the *Nation*, Expreſs'd in their Dutiful *Addreſſes*, wherein they do *Recognize* the ſame. But theſe Gentlemen think, that the Addition of an *Hereditary* Right, do's *hurt* her *Title*; according to their *Maxim*, and the *Name* of one of their Treaſonable *Pamphlets*, *The Worſe Title, the better King*.

But as the *Hereditary* Right is acknowledg'd to be *Jure Divino*, in the *Acts* of *Recognition* of Q. Eliz. and of K. *Jam.* 1. and by the Tenor of our *Laws*: So her *Majeſty's Title* ſtands *Firmer* upon that Foundation than by the *Revolution Acts*; Wherefore ſome who ſtood out all the *Revolution Acts*, and wou'd not *Recognize* K. *Will.* while the *Princeſs* of *Denmark* liv'd, have Submitted to Her, ſince She came to the *Crown*. Some do it on the Foot of the *Revolution*, others upon her *Hereditary* Right. If *Both* then Centre in Her, it cannot be meant for her Service to Deprive her of *either*. But theſe Men wou'd have her ſtand only upon the *Revolution-Foot*, that they may more Eaſily *Trip* up her *Heels*.

They *Hate* the Name of *Hereditary* Right. Eſpecially which is Deriv'd from K. *Charles* the *Martyr*, or his *Son* K. *James*. It makes the *Obſervator* remember the *Whipping* was *Forgiven* him, and the *Hanging* too which he Deſerv'd, for being Engag'd in *Monmouth's Rebellion*; which he will let go to be ſuch, only becauſe it did not *Succeed*! And he has Pay'd

his Thankful *Return* for the *Mercy* then ſhew'd him, according to the old Proverb, *Save a Rogue from the Gallows*——

Towards which he has ſhew'd his *Loving Inclination*, not *Obſcurely* in his *Obſervator* [*ibid.* N. 13.] where he does *Summons* his *Party* to Arms, and ſays, *I am Reſolv'd to get my ſelf and Family Compleatly Arm'd; I have got already two good Proteſtant Muskets, and three Basket Hilt Swords, that were us'd at* Marſton-Moor, Edge-Hill, *&c.* Theſe were the *Fatal* Battles *ſucceſsful* to the *Rebels* againſt K. *Char.* 1. which are here Remember'd with *Pleaſure*! And *Notice* given to be *Ready* for the like again! To ſet up *Puſs* (as they call their *Commonwealth*) in her *Majeſty*! Which they have begun in *Scotland*, by the Appearance of *Seven Hundred* Men in Arms [for a *Beginning*] Giving out *Declarations*, Renouncing Q. *Ann*, *&c.* as before is mention'd. And we have Allowance to take Notice of the Behaviour of the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*; ſince this Author has beſtow'd ſo many of his *Obſervators* upon the *Epiſcopal Church* there. All which, or any thing elſe that comes from ſuch an *Infamous* Hand, were not worth any Body's Regard, if he were not ſet up as the *Cryer* and *Trumpet* of the *Party*!

And therefore, I may bring him in as Evidence againſt this *Occaſional Letter*, which Abuſes the *Whigs*, in ſaying that they *diſown* their *Calves-Head-Feaſts*, as if they were *aſham'd* of them! And counted thoſe *Profligate* Fellows who frequent them. If that Author be not one of them, he ſhou'd let them ſpeak for themſelves. They will give him no *Thanks* for ſuch *Vindications*!

Their *Obſervator* [*Vol.* 2. *N.* 89.] calls their *Calves-Head-Feaſts* by no ſuch Names of *Reproach*, nor *diſowns* them at all. But *Laughs* at thoſe who Object it, and calls them *Cods-Heads*.

And is far from *Condemning* the *Fact* which they there *Commemorate*. He ſays of it, *I have ſo High a Value for the Prudence and Juſtice of our Fore-Fathers, as not to Condemn any of their* Actions *for the Common Good*. He adds [with a *Smile*!] *but upon good Grounds, which we of this* Age *can never have in that Particular*. How ſo? Have we not the very *Tryal* verbatim? And ſeveral yet *alive* who *Heard* it, and were *Spectators* of the *Bloody Tragedy*? Have we not the Horrid *Indictment*, and the *Sentence*, the *Original* of which is ſtill in Being, with the very *Curſed Hands* to it who *Sign'd* it? Have we not *Bradſhaw*'s Learned

Speech

Speech upon Passing the *Sentence*, of the *Power* in the *People*, and all the *Whig-Principles*, which they have *Transcrib'd* and *Repeated* ever since? Did not the *Observator* know this, who has taken all his Doctrines and Arguments out of it, for the most Part, in the same *Words*? Has not he seen the *Tryal* of the *Regicides*, wherein they said all they cou'd for their Defence? And cannot this *Cause* then be Known?

But he thinks his *Cause* too *Glorious*, not to be own'd *Publickly* and *Above board*! He goes on, *We are unkind to our selves, in Censuring the* **Justice** *of our* **Fore-Father**'s Actions; *and thereby do give a Handle to our Successors to Censure ours. Did our Fore-fathers* **Detruncate** *the* **Father**? Did *not we* **Depose** *the* **Son**, *and put one more* **Righteous** *in his stead*? Did *we not divest him of all his* **Regalities**, *make him a* **Fugitive** *on the Earth; and may not Future Ages examine the difference betwixt the* **Decollation** *and the* **Abdication**.

Are not these fine Lectures to be *Read* to the **Nation** *twice a Week*!

1. Here is a Manifest *Justification* of the *Decollation*, as he *Respectfully* calls it!

2. As plain an *Arraignment* of the whole *Revolution*, which he makes full as *Bad* as the *Decollation*.

3. A Civil *Lesson* to the *Queen*, That she is Liable to the same *Usage* as *they* Bestow'd upon her *Father*, or Royal *Grand-Father*! And to *Put one more* **Righteous** *in her stead*! And we know whom they count *Righteous*! None that will *Maintain* the *Church* of *England*! Who will Countenance *Malignants* or *High-flyers*, either for the *Church* or the *Monarchy*! See the *Declaration* annex'd.

4. The Un-parallel'd *Insolence* with which they Treat her *Majesty*, in *Trampling* so *disdainfully* upon the *Ashes* of her Royal *Father* and *Grand-Father*. Their *Story* is too *Lamentable* to be *Insulted*, in so *Scornful* a Manner, and that before her *Face*, as to Call her *Father* a *Fugitive* on the Earth, the very *Curse* of *Cain*! And to speak with an *Air* of *Triumph*, of **De-collating** and **De-truncating** her Royal *Grand-Father*, calling it *Justice*, and the *Common Good*!

And then Minding her *Majesty* of *Edge-Hill*, *Marston Moor*, &c. And Boasting, That the same *Protestant Swords* and *Muskets* are Ready to *Fight* for her——As they did for her *Grand-father*!

Such *Inſolence* was never offer'd to a *Crown'd-Head*, while upon the *Throne*. Which makes it Juſtly to be Fear'd, that they have ſomething near in *View*, which is not Good! Pray God Avert.

They made not near ſo much Haſt with her Royal *Grand-father*, to whom they were *Profeſſing* and *Addreſſing* their *Loyalty*, till they juſt had his *Head* upon the *Block*.

And they were not Behind in their *Addreſſes* to her Royal *Father*; Calling *God* to *Witneſs* their *Sincerity*! At the ſame time they were *Plotting* to *Deſtroy* him! And *We had done it ſooner* [ſays *Obſervtoar*, *Vol.* 2. *N.* 84.] *if we had an Opportunity of ſo doing*.

Such an Impudent *Herald* wou'd never be Imploy'd, if they were not *Ready* to give the *On-ſet*!

His *Character* is beſt taken from *himſelf*, who, when one ask'd him what he had to ſay for all the Monſtrous *Villanies* Charg'd upon him in *Fuller's* Penitential *Confeſſion*, cou'd not deny the *Fact*; and made but a *Jeſt* of it, ſaying, *The more Miſchief, the better Sport*. And *that he lov'd Miſchief dearly*.

From this *Qualification* it was, that he had the Intolerable *Impudence*, in his *Obſervator* [*Vol.* 2. *N.* 79.] when he was order'd to be taken into *Cuſtody* by the *Houſe* of *Commons*, not only to *Banter* and *Ridicule* that *Honourable Houſe* (knowing what *Party* he had to Support him) ſaying, he wou'd *drink a Glaſs of Wine with their Sergeant next* May *day* (when he ſuppos'd the *Parliament* wou'd be up) but wou'd not *keep him Company this Winter Seaſon*, &c. And not only this, but he Endeavour'd what he cou'd to ſet the *Houſes* of *Lords* and *Commons* at Variance, upon his *Worthy* account, and Threatens them withal, ſaying, *So that if the Lords do not Inſiſt on their Privilege, as I am now their Servant*, &c. He tells what the *Nation* will Suffer by it! And he *Inſults* over the *Houſe* of *Commons*, as his *Servants*, ſaying, *I have now two Members in the Houſe of Commons, Repreſenting my Perſon*. Theſe *Commonwealth Principles* make Men *Inſolent*, and to Forget all *Deference* and *Regard* to their *Superiors*; every Man looking upon himſelf as the *Original* and *Maker* of *Kings* and *Parliament*! And *above* them! As he ſays, in the ſame *Obſervator*, *Their Power is deriv'd from the Native Right of the People, which Authorizes them to make Laws, to Settle the Succeſſion and Limitations of the Crown; every King or*

Queen

Queen of England *has her or his Political Eſſence and Being from Parliament*, &c. It is *aſtoniſhing* that Men ſhou'd be ſo far given up to *Deluſion*, as to Argue againſt the plain Matter of Fact which they ſee before their Eyes! For is it not *Demonſtration*, that the quite *Contrary* to this *Republican* Notion, is the Fact with us? *Viz.* That the *Parliament* has its *Political Eſſence* and *Being* from the *King* or *Queen*? Can the *King* then have his *Being* from *Them*? Who call'd that *Parliament* which made the *firſt King*? Do the *Freeholders* who *Vote* for *Parliament Men* derive that *Power* from the *People*, and not from the *King's Charters* to them? When did the *People* agree to give up their *Power* into the Hands of ſuch and ſuch *Freeholders*; and Excluding all others, tho' of *forty* times their Eſtates and Intereſt in the *Kingdom*? Who have of theſe *Freeholders* to wear their *Liveries*, and *Clean* their *Shoes*!

But tho' there is neither *Senſe* nor *Reaſon* in theſe *Schemes*, and that they are againſt Fact too; yet, as the *Obſervator* ſays of himſelf, there is *Miſchief* in them; and that *delights* him! And too many others of his *Party*. Tho' I am ſatisfy'd ſeveral of them are led *aſtray* thro' *Weakneſs* of *Judgment*, or not giving themſelves *Time* to *Conſider* and *Examine*.

Of this *Natural Inclination* to *Miſchief* and *Lying*, the *Obſervator* has given another Notable *Inſtance*; in that when he was in the *Secret* of that *Godly Murderous Deſign*, of *The Shorteſt Way with the Diſſenters*, he lent all his *Might* to carry on the *Jeſt* (as they call it, ſince it was *Diſcover'd*) and in his *Obſervators*, Charg'd it Home upon the *High-Church*. To raiſe the *Mob*, if they cou'd, upon the whole *Church*; or leave *Them* to *diſtinguiſh* as they thought fit! And it was going on *Apace*, before the Happy *Diſcovery*; it being put in the *Mouths* of the whole *Party* of *Whigs* and *Diſſenters*, that it came from the *High-Church*; not that I ſuppoſe they were *All* let in to the *Secret*; But they *All did Belive* it, or they *ly'd*! And the *Clergy* were *Pointed* at, and *Mark'd* as they walk'd along the *Streets*, and *Inſulted* in Private *Converſation*; and call'd no better than *Cut-Thoarts* and *Bloody-Minded-Men*! They were growing into the *Contempt* and *Hatred* of the *Nation*! And all this call'd now a *Jeſt*! They wou'd have thought it better *Sport*, if it had *Succeeded*! *Godly Men*! Who make a *Mock* of *Sin*.

But

But it is not only the *Clergy* who are *Stigmatiz'd* by this *foul Mouth*. In his *Obſerv.* of *Mar.* 18. *N.* 99. he throws at the whole *Government*, the *Bench*, the *Council Table*, thoſe at St. *Stephen's*, that is, the *Houſe of Commons*, but in the *Houſe* of *Lords* he only names the *Wooll-Packs*, that is, the *Judges* (it ſeems the *Lords* continue yet in his good *Graces*) and ends with *The* CHURCH in his *Liſt* of *Knaves*, he affords them no better Word. In his *Obſervator* of *March* 11. 1703. *N.* 97. he is plainer with the *Judges*, and ſays, *I am Ready to anſwer in Court to any Indictment, where I expect to have fair Play, and not to be condemn'd without being Heard, which will be the Practice of our Courts of Juſtice, as long as our preſent Judges are in Being. And if they are Succeeded by the Race of* Jefferies *and* Jenner, *I can but go into another Country; I have been taught the Way already.*

Yes. And what to do when you are there! Even what you did before, to bring about another *Revolution*, and Serve the *Queen* as you did her *Father*! What elſe is the Meaning of Rendring her whole *Adminiſtration* ſo *Odious*, and Comparing it to what they had *Repreſented* that of her *Father*? Her *Judges*, her *Council*, &c.

But he goes further in the ſame *Obſervator*, and directly *attacks* his Royal *Highneſs* the *Prince*. He had long *Shot* at Him by a *Side Wind*, yet ſo as every body muſt ſee it, by finding Fault with the Management of the *Fleet*, and Directing whom he thought Fitter to be Entruſted with it. And coming now to Anſwer the Objection of theſe *Reflections* upon the *Lord High Admiral*, he tells Him Roundly, That *Affidavits were made and deliver'd to the Prince's Council, of Embezlements of the Stores*, &c. *Notwithſtanding which, the Grand Grievance was not Redreſs'd, and the Perſons Guilty were ſtill continu'd to be Employ'd in the Service.* And, That *the Higheſt Office in* England, *is not above the Law of* England, *and the Laws of* England, *were made to Detect and Puniſh Offenders.* But the *Higheſt Office* is the *Regal*. And that he means, for Employing ſuch an *Admiral*. That is his Conſtant *Theme* and *Doctrine*, to Call the *Crown* to Account for *Male-Adminiſtrations*.

The *Faction* want but the *Fleet* in their Hands, and then they wou'd be *Ready*! To this End, they have been *Blackning* all the *Admirals* and *Officers* in the *Fleet* who are not of their Kidney, as well in their *Converſation*, as *Proclaiming* it in their

Obſervators.

Obſervators. Many of which are ſpent upon Sir *George Rook*, *&c.* They would fain *Talk* them out of their *Places.* When any Thing Miſcarries in the Hands of their *Friends* (which happens oftner than in the others) then they lay the Fault upon the *Government*, and their *Orders* from *Above*; there is *Treachery* at the *Fountain*! &c.

Never was a *Government* ſo openly and Bare-fac'd *Attack'd*! This *Enflaming Paper* go's ſtill abroad, and is become more *Virulent*, ſince the *Votes* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*, and the *Proclamation* purſuant againſt the *Author.* He *Banters* and *Ridicules* both the *Queen* and *Commons*, and Declares he will ſtill *Write* on. He *Trumpets* more *Loudly* than ever. And, with the Help of his *Party*, thinks himſelf an *Over-Match* for the *Government.* And they make uſe of this, as an argument to ſhew its *Weakneſs.* As if it could not *Suppreſs* this *Paper.*

The *Grand-Jury* at the *Old-Bayly* laſt Seſſion, *Mar.* 9. 170¾. made a *Preſentment* againſt a *Paper* wrote in Oppoſition to the *Obſervater*, call'd *Heraclitus Ridens*, for Reflections upon Sir *Rob. Jefferies*, lately deceaſed. And they did well, if they had ſufficient Grounds for it. I have not ſeen it. *Slander* and *Defaming* particular *Perſons*, is by no means to be Endur'd. Eſpecially in *Print*, where they can make no *Defence.* But I wonder how they came to miſs the *Obſervator*, who not only ſpeaks evil of *Dignities*, but Beſpatters private Perſons by *Name*, *Clergy Men*, and others in the *City*, even *Women* who are Related to them, and for that only Reaſon, endeavours to Blaſt their *Reputation*, as the *Siſter* of a *Clergy-Man* in the *City*, &c. What a Deſcription do's he give of Mr. *Fuller*, a *Juſtice* of the *Peace*, in his *Obſervator* of *March* 11. *Num.* 97. whom he calls *Paunch-Belly'd Fellow*, a *Kidnapper*, a *Dog* in a *Wheel*, a *Blood Sucker*, &c. No Man is ſafe from him. He is like a *Mad Man* throwing *Fire-Brands.* But he is Supported by a *Party*, and thinks himſelf ſafe at the hand of *Grand Juries* in the *City.* And is Carry'd on by his own *Natural* Inclination to *Miſchief*, as he truly ſaid of himſelf, and Repeats it again, *Obſervator Vol.* 2. *Num.* 98. *I love Miſchief you know.* He is *foud* of the *Character.* He ſays, *Num.* 99. That he will *Trace the Scent of Miſchief to its proper Fountain.* But that at preſent it *lies a little out of his Depth*, and he wou'd not *Drown* himſelf. But bids us *have a little Patience, and he may be open-hearted again.* That he has been already, as to the *Church*, the

the *Prince*, the *House* of *Commons*, the *Council*, the *Judges*, &c. We may easily guess then whom he means by the *Fountain* of *Mischief*!

And he begins to *open* finely in his *Observ. March* 29. 1704. *Vol.* 3. *Num.* 2. where he Accuses all the *Officers* employ'd in *England*, from the *Highest* to the *Lowest*. And Promises to give such *Catalogues* of their *Villany*, and *Knavery*, as he *Prophanely* Compares to what is said of our *Blessed SAVIOUR's Miracles*. John 21. 25. And this will go down among the *Godly*, being intended for their *Service!*

But that they might not mistake at whom he Aim'd, he Asks what *Religion* these *Officers* are of whom he thus Threatens? And answers, *Church-Men, All Church-Men, true Blue Protestants of the Church of* England. And that *there are no Dissenters among them.* Then he falls upon the *Bishops*, whom he so Highly *Courted* while the *Bill* of *Occasional Conformity* was depending; And O! How he Prais'd their *Moderation*! But now putting the Question where the *Rogues* are to be found? He says, *Go ask the Upper House of Convocation; There you may hear them at the old Trade of Billingsgate, thou Rogue, and thou Rogue.*

The *Dissenters* Love-Fit to the *Bishops* is over, as soon as their *Work* is done---Till they have *Need* of them again!

In the same *Observator* he gives the *Character* of our *Country Clergy*, and the *Justices of Peace*; and makes them both vile *Sots* and *Beasts*. Then cries out, *There's your Magistrate and Parson, your Spiritual Guid, and your Temporal Guide, both Drunk together.* He puts Dr. *Kennet* (his Name at full Length) among the *Billingsgate Rogues*, with the *Upper House* of *Conv——on.*

We see now whom they mean by the *High-Church*. Even all the *Church* of *England*, one and other! They have Invented this Name of *Distinction*, on Purpose to give themselves full Liberty to vent all their *Spleen*, unseen as they think, against the whole *Church*, under the Title of the *High-Church*.

And that they may leave no Stone unturn'd, they recall the Times of *Forty one*. [Tho' they are very Angry with others who mention any thing of them, on the side of the *Church* or the *King*:] And their Chief *Malice* is spent upon those whom their *Cursed* Hands have *Martyr'd*, for their firm Adherence to the *Church*. They *Triumph* to this Day, in their *De-Collating* and

De-

De-Truncating K. *Char.* I. as the *Observator*, before-quoted, Expresses his *Martyrdom*, with *Exultation* and *Contempt* of it!

And many *Observators* [*Vol.* 3. from *N.* 18. and so on to this Day *June* 10.] are spent upon that Great *Pillar* and *Support* of our *Church*, whose *Blood* they likewise Drunk, for that, and no other Reason, the Glorious Arch-Bishop *Laud*, whom they call a *Papist*, and a *Right Reverend Father* in *SATAN*, to shew the *Meekness* of their *Temper*, and their *Moderation*! And they tell you the great Reason, in *Observ. Num.* 21. *That he Permitted and Countenanc'd a Popish Hierarchy, or Ecclesiastical Government to be established in this Kingdom.* This was one of the *Articles* then Exhibited against him. And we well know what they meant by a *Popish Hierarchy*, even the *Constitution of the Church of* England, which therefore they *Abolished*. And it is as Plain what they Mean by it now. For was there any other *Hierarchy* or *Ecclesiastical Government* in Archbishop *Laud*'s Time, than there is now? Or did he Exercise an Higher *Authority* over his *Fellow-Bishops*, or over the Inferior *Clergy* in *Convocation*, than is done now? Did he ever *Deprive* any *Bishop* by his own *single Authority?* That wou'd have been more than even the *Pope* of *Rome* ever did. And might have been call'd a *Super-Papal* Exaltation! And if the *Hierarchy* of our *Church* was *Papal* in Arch-Bishop *Laud*'s time, what is it now? If he was a *Father* in *Satan* for Supporting that *Hierarchy*, what are they who Support this? What will they be call'd by Mr. *Observator*, whenever they shall happen to lose his Good *Graces*? Whose *Commendations* now is the greatest *Scandal* they lye under!

If it be not *Demonstration*, that the whole *Hierarchy* of the *Church* of England is here Struck at, even as now Establish'd, I shall Despair of ever making any thing Plain. And then we know the Meaning of their Calling out upon *Papists* and *High-flyers*, and whom they Describe by these *Appellations*, even All who, as Bishop *Laud*, are for Supporting this *Hierarchy*.

They Re-Print in these *Observators* the *Articles* exhibited against Arch-Bishop *Laud*. But take no notice of the Noble *Defence* he made, which is Publick through the Nation. And there is no *Book* Extant, which shews more lively the Cursed *Spirit* of those times, in carrying on their *Cause* with the Blackest *Lyes* and Diabolical *Malice*.

Here you ſee the Effect of *Anſwering* theſe Men, and *Proving* even to *Demonſtration*. They *Reply* nothing! Take no Notice of any *Anſwer!* But repeat their *Calumnies* and *Objections*, without End!

Arch-Biſhop *Laud* having wrote againſt the *Church* of *Rome*, the beſt of any Man in his Age; And Sealing it in his *Dying* Words upon the *Scaffold*; and no one *Article* of *Popery* or any *Tendency* that way, have ever been Prov'd againſt him, makes no Impreſſion upon theſe *Saints!* It ſtops not their *Mouths*, tho' it muſt ſatisfy their *Conſciences!* He was for the *Liturgy*, for the *Altar* to be *Rail'd* in, and other *Decencies* in our *Worſhip*, which are now Univerſally *Practis'd* and *Eſtabliſh'd* in the *Church* of *England*. Therefore he muſt be a *Papiſt*! And then they all are *Papiſts* who *Practiſe* theſe things, that is, all the *Church of England*. All who are not for Pulling down our *Altars*; Aboliſhing our *Liturgy*, and *Epiſcopacy* it ſelf!

When the old *Cant* of *Forty One* is taken up again, we may be ſure it is for the ſame *Ends!*

If this be not ſufficient to *Awaken* all that are Concern'd for the *Church* of *England*, their *Sleep* is *Lethargick*; and her *Ruin* is *Nigh!*

As to the *Author* of the *Obſervator*, enough has been ſaid before, and is ſufficiently known, of his *Worthineſs!* But there is no *Book* or *Paper* comes out, that is ſo much a *Party-Book*, and for which the whole *Faction* is ſo Anſwerable as this; it being *Hugg'd* and *Cheriſh'd* by them All. And the *Author* Supported, in direct *Oppoſition* and *Contempt* of the *Government*. Which he *Ridicules*, *Threatens*, and *Laughs* at, the *Judges*, *Secretaries of State*, and All, for thinking to Reach him by *Law*; Conſidering what a *Back* he has to ſtand by him!

We are now come to one, which, by what has yet Appear'd of it, is a *Party-Book* too, and a *Violent* one. The *Secret Hiſtory* mention'd in the *New Aſſociation*. In Vindication of which this *Occaſional Letter* ſpends ſeveral Pages. Before I enter upon it, I muſt tell the Reader, That the *Author* of the *New-Aſſociation* owns he has receiv'd, ſince that *Pamphlet* was Publiſh'd, an *Information* in two *Particulars*, different from what is *ſaid* or *Imply'd* there. The *firſt* is, That his

De-

Deceaſed Friend, who *Tranſcrib'd* that Part of the *Hiſtory* which he ſaw, was not put under any *Reſtraint* or *Promiſe* of not *Tranſcribing* for himſelf, or any thing elſe of that Sort, as that *Author* was told; occaſioned, as he ſuppoſes, by that *Gentleman's* Refuſing to give any *Copy* of it, as thinking himſelf under an Imply'd Obligation, tho' none was put upon him, as that *Author* is now ſatisfy'd from the Perſon who gave it him to *Copy*.

The other Point is, That the *Author* of the **Secret Hiſtory** was ſo far againſt the *Bill* for *Excluding* the *Duke* of *York*, that he found Means of *Informing* his *Royal Highneſs*, very Early of that *Deſign* in Agitation againſt him; and thereby came into his *Good Graces*. But that he Drove on with the *Faction* againſt him, at the ſame time, is Apparant from his *Hiſtory*; where he owns himſelf to have been for the *Bill*, and that he *Travell'd much among Noble-Men in Negotiation of that Affair*. That my Lord *Shaftsbury* was for a *Total Excluſion*; but my Lord *Halliſax* for a *Limited Power*. And the *Author* tells how he took Pains with my Lord *Halliſax*, to bring him over to my Lord *Shaftsbury's* Opinion, but *in vain*. So that theſe two *Parties* broke upon it. Then he tells of a *Project* he Contriv'd to Reconcile both *Parties*, which was to have a *Guardian Regent* ſet over the *King*, in Caſe he were a *Roman Cathalick*. And he tells how this *Project* of his *was Generally Applauded by the while Party*. But *Cruſh'd* by the *King*, and wou'd not Paſs the *Parliament*.

Now the *Author* of the *New Aſſo.* does Confeſs, that when he wrote it, he did not know of the *Author* of the *Secret Hiſtory's* being ſo faſt a *Friend* to the *Duke*, as to *Diſcover* to him the *Councils* of thoſe who were *Plotting* againſt him. If he has *Forgot*, that *Author* ſays, Sir *J. B.* can Refreſh his *Memory*, and tell whether the *Author* was rightly *Inform'd* or not.

Now let us ſee what is ſaid, concerning that *Hiſtory* in this *Occaſional Letter*.

Firſt, the *MS. Hiſtory* is *Confeſs'd*, That there is ſuch an one; and the *Author* call'd an *Excellent Hiſtorian*, p. 14. And it is ſaid of this his *Performance*, p. 15. *That whenever his Hiſtory ſhall ſee the Light, the World will ſee as great Impartialities in it, and find as many Admirable and Inſtructive Paſſages in it, as in any Book of its kind.* By this we muſt ſuppoſe it was not the *Author* who

wrote this *Defence* of it. Unleſs he *ſtrain'd* upon his *Modeſty*, as a *Blind*, that he might not be *Suſpected*.

However, why ſhou'd ſo *Admirable* and *Inſtructive* a *Piece* be longer *Hid* from the *World*? Cannot this *Age* bear the *Truths* that are in it! If the Reigns of K. *Char.* 2. or K. *Jam.* 2. were not *Commodious* for its *Edition*, there has been a Time *ſince*, when for that Reaſon, it wou'd have been moſt *Acceptable*! And that wou'd have Obviated the *Objection* of its being kept up, till there ſhall be none Alive, who can *Contradict* it.

But if the *Whole* muſt not be *Publiſh'd*, Why are not thoſe *Paſſages* ſet down, in the *Author*'s own *words*, which are Pretended, in this *Occaſional Letter*, to have been *Falſly* quoted? Becauſe, now I think of it, that is ſaid of never a *One* of them; only in General of *All*. And not that they are *Falſe* neither, but as it is ſaid, p. 12. *Either falſe, or at beſt very groſly Miſ-repreſented*. And he has Forgot to give any one *Inſtance*, even of that. But he ſays, p. 13. *And indeed every one of them that ſo much as bears a Reſemblance to the Originals, happens to be falſly ſet down, and ſeparated from what go's before and after, ſo that by the Unfair Recital, the thing is wholly miſrepreſented; as if one wou'd quote the words of the* Pſalm, THERE IS NO GOD, *without prefixing to them*, THE FOOL HATH SAID IN HIS HEART.

And what *Anſwer* wou'd you give to ſuch an one? Wou'd it not be to ſet down the Words *omitted*; and to ſhew that they quite *Alter'd* the *Senſe*? Cou'd there be any other *Anſwer*? And why then did you not give that *Anſwer*, as to the *Hiſtory*? There was a *Reaſon* —— You ſay his *Quotations* are *ſeperated from what go's before and after*. So I take it to be in all *Quotations*, unleſs you wou'd *Tranſcribe* a whole *Book*: But do's what go's before or after *Alter* any thing of the *Senſe* of what is *Quoted*? That ought to have been ſhew'd. And we ſuppoſe *Wou'd*, if it *Cou'd*.

But that *Author* had another *Reaſon*, why he left out ſeveral things; that is, Becauſe there were ſeveral *Severe*, and he believes *Unjuſt Reflections* caſt upon Perſons of *Honour*, and *Reputation*, of which he had no Mind to be the *Publiſher*; nor will he do it now: But that you may not think he ſpeaks at Random, he gives one Inſtance, with ——— for the Name which in the *Hiſtory* is at length. The *Character* which the Hiſtory gives of the *Cergy* in General is ſet down in the *New-Aſſoci-*

Aſſociation, p. 23. That the *Author* of the Hiſtory, *thought ill of them all, till he ſaw Cauſe to think otherwiſe*, as to any *Particular Perſon*. But he Condeſcends to name a Reverend and Learned *Divine* of the firſt *Figure*; now living, who, he ſays, *Is a Man that has but Little knowledge in Divinity, and as little Senſe of it*; and Deſcribes him to be a Man *much* Addicted *to Pleaſures*. And ſpeaking of two *Sermons* Preach'd before the *Houſe* of *Commons*, the one by *Himſelf*, and the other by —— He ſays, that his own *Sermon* had both the *Applauſe* and *Thanks* of the *Houſe*. But ſays, of —— his Sermon (who has the Reputation of as *Ingenious* a Man as any in *England*) *That it was the worſt Sermon that ever he heard him Preach*, &c.

He confeſſes that ſome of the Quotations of the *Secret Hiſtory* do *Bear a Reſemblance to the Originals*. Why will he not ſhow us this *Reſemblance*?

He ſays, That the *Title* of that Book is not *a Secret Hiſtory*, but *in Imitation of* Thuanus, *The Hiſtory of his own Time*. I ſuppoſe the *Author* of the *New Aſſoc.* did not call that *A Secret Hiſtory*, as if it had been the *Title* which the Author gave it, but becauſe it was kept *Secret*, as if he had ſaid a *Manuſcript Hiſtory*. Theſe are Material Objections!

As is that p. 14. where he lays ſuch *Load* upon the *Memory* of the *Deceas'd* Gentleman, who *Tranſcrib'd* part of that *Hiſtory*, for *Breach* of *Truſt*, &c. For beſides what is ſaid above of the *Miſtake* in that Point; What *Breach* of *Truſt* was it in that Gentleman, if having *Tranſcrib'd* a *Part* for his own Satisfaction, and kept it Intirely to himſelf all his Life, it ſhou'd be found among his *Papers* when he was Dead? This is *Fiſhing* for Objections, and *Finding* them to no *Purpoſe*!

But becauſe the Author of the *New Aſſoc.* is accus'd of giving ſhort *Quotations*, without *Fore* and *After*; I having got a Sight of ſome Part of that *Secret Hiſtory*, will give a Paſſage more at large out of it, which was brought upon this Occaſion. A Year or two before the deſign'd *Aſſaſſinatian* of the *King*, &c. at the *Rye-Houſe*, and the Overturning of *Church* and *State*, there came out as *Preparatives*, a Multitude of *Treaſonable*, and *Seditious Pamphlets* againſt the *Church* and the *Monarchy*. The *Biſhops* and *Clergy* then, as vigilant *Watchmen*, ſaw the Danger that *Threaten'd*; and took Care that thoſe Poyſonous *Books* and *Pamphlets* ſhou'd be *Anſwered*; And from their *Pulpits* gave Warning to their *Flocks*, of the *Wolves* then Stirring

ring among them; And Endeavour'd to *Fix* them in the *Principles* of their *Duty* to the *Church* and to the *Crown*; that they might not be *Debauch'd*, by theſe *Liers in wait*, to their *Deſtruction* both of *Soul* and *Body*. And Minded them of what had been done by the ſame *Sett* of *Men*, upon the ſame *Principles* and *Pretences*, in the former *Reign*, yet Freſh in their *Memories*. And the *Iſſue* ſhew'd, that there was ſufficient Reaſon for all this *Caution*. For ſoon after follow'd the *Rye-Houſe Conſpiracy*, Proſecuted *Induſtriouſly* to the *Diſſolution* of the *Oxford Parliament*. Now the *Secret Hiſtory* (for ſo let us call it, till it is made *Publick*) takes Notice of theſe *Treaſonable Books*, but calls them not ſo, only ſays they were againſt the *Church* of *England*; and takes no Pains to *Cenſure* them, or find any *Fault* with their *Authors*. But as to thoſe who *Oppos'd* them, he ſays (under that *Head* of *the Earl of Danby's Tryal*) in theſe Words, *Many Books came out likewiſe againſt the Church of* England. *This Alarm'd the Biſhops and Clergy much. So that they ſet up to Preach againſt Rebellion, and the late Times, in ſuch a Strain that it was viſible they meant a Parallel between theſe and the Preſent Time. And this produc'd at laſt that Heat and Rage into which the Clergy has run ſo far, that it is like to End very Fatally. They on their Part ſhou'd have ſhew'd more Temper, and more of the Spirit of the Goſpel; whereas, for the Greateſt part they are the Worſt-Natur'd, the Fierceſt, Indiſcreeteſt, and moſt Perſecuting Sort of People that are in the Nation. There is a Sort of them do ſo Aſpire to Preferment, that there is nothing ſo Mean and Indecent that they will not do to Compaſs it; And when they have got into Preferments, they take no Care neither of Themſelves nor of their Flocks Committed to their Charge, but do generally Neglect their Pariſhes. If they are Rich enough, they Hire ſome pitiful Curate, at as Low a Price as they can, and Turn all over on him: Or if their Income will not Bear out that, they Perform the Publick Offices in the ſlighteſt Manner they can; but take no Care of their People in the way of Private Inſtruction or Admonition; and ſo do nothing to Juſtify the Character of Paſtors or Watch-Men, that feed the Souls of their People, or watch over them. And they Allow themſelves in many Indecent Liberties of going to Taverns and Ale-Houſes; and of Railing Scurrilouſly againſt all that Differ from them; and they Cheriſh the Prophaneſs of their People, if they but come to Church, and Rail with them againſt the Diſſenters; and are Implacably ſet on the Ruin of all that Separate from them,*

them, if the Conrſe of their Lives were otherwiſe ever ſo Good and Unblamable. In a Word, many of them are a Reproach to Chriſtianity and to their Profeſſion; and are now perhaps one of the moſt Corrupt Bodies of Men in the Nation.

Thus *Verbatim* out of the *Hiſtory*. Which I cannot let paſs, with out theſe *Obſervations*.

1. That *England* never ſaw before a more *Learned*, *Pious*, and *Eminent Clergy* than were at that Time, of which this *Hiſtory* ſpeaks.

2. That it is never to be expected but among ſo Great a *Body* of *Men*, there will be ſome who live not up to their *Profeſſion*. But this *Accuſer* of the *Brethren*, from the *Many*, and the *Generality*, and *for the Greateſt Part*, draws his Concluſion againſt the whole *Body*, as *the moſt Corrupt Body of Men in the Nation*.

3. This was not meant as an *Admonition* to them, to *Amend* them. But left as a *Character* upon them for after *Ages*, when they were *Dead*, and could not *Juſtify* themſelves.

4. He declares his *Inſufficiency* to give a *Character* of the *Clergy*, from his own *Knowledge*; Becauſe he makes it one of his great *Boaſts*, that as he *Hated* and *Abhorr'd* them; ſo he by all Means Avoided their *Converſation*. And gives this as one Reaſon why he *Refus'd* ſeveral Good *Livings*, which, he ſays, were offer'd to him, one Particularly in the *City*, of *Five hundred Pounds* per Annum, Firſt, Becauſe he could not in *Conſcience* take upon him ſo great a *Cure* of *Souls*. And if he thought *himſelf* not fit, ſurely he thought none *other*! And ſo none muſt take it. But in good *Conſcience* ſuch *Cures* muſt lie *Vacant*! But he had a *ſecond* Reaſon, for he tells, *that the* Temple *in appearance being to fall Vacant at that Time, he was rather Deſirous of that, and ſo much the Rather, that he was Averſe to mingle himſelf with the* CHURCH *and* CLERGY. He kept better Company! Among *States-Men* and *Politicians*; and was very *Buſy*, as he tells himſelf, in their *Plots* and *Contrivances* againſt the *Church* and the *Crown*; where he ſaw better *Examples* of *Chriſtian Moderation*, of *Vertue* and *Sincerity*, than he Expected to find among the *Clergy*, but would not *Try*! Only took their *Character* from the *Whigs* and *Diſſenters*, with

with whom he *Plotted* their *Ruin*, and therefore *Avoided* their *Converſation*.

But why wou'd he take the *Temple*? Did he look upon that as a *fine Cure*, with which his *Tender Conſcience* only cou'd Diſpence? Or did he think the *Lawyers* had no *Souls* worth taking *Care* of? But he thought them fitter Company for a *Politician*, than the *Dull-Unthinking-Divines*, who were Rooted in their *Slaviſh Principles* of *Jure Divino* and *Loyalty*, and had Notions of *Schiſm*, and ſuch like *Fulſom Stuff*.

But if he thought it a *Sin*, to take the *Cure* of a *Pariſh*, how came his *Conſcience* to Diſpence with a *Greater*? But it was in a better *Time*! When the *Clergy* were *Mended!*

However, how could ſo much *Tenderneſs* of *Conſcience* and *Charity*, as he pretends to, think it no *Crime* to leave ſo *Black* and *Odious* a *Character* to Poſterity of the *Church* his *Mother*, had ſhe deſerv'd it! But when the *Brighteſt* State of our *Church*, ſince the *Reformation*, is thus *repreſented*, what name ſhall we give it! And coming from a Perſon of *Figure* in it, and living in that time, what wou'd Hinder *foreign Churches* to *Believe* it; and our *Diſſenters* at *Home* to make their own Uſe of it? For what other End can any Man Imagine it was put upon *Record* in this *Hiſtory*; Which, contrary to the *Author's* Intention, has by a good Providence appear'd Time enough, to be *detected* and *diſprov'd*?

But he makes Amends! And the *Church* of *England* ſhall not Suffer *Alone* under his *Characters*. For he ſays further, *And indeed when I conſider the General Corruption of the* Clergy *that has been now for many* Ages *over all Chriſtendom, I know not where to lay the firſt Source and Spring of it.* That is ſtrange! But it is not Hard to Gueſs the *Source* and *Spring* whence he had it, the *Vertuoſo-Clubs* of *Deiſts* and *Whig-Polititians*, where he Learn'd, that *Prieſts of all* Religions *are the ſame!* And to Pronounce aright the *Modiſh* word of *Prieſt-Craft*! Which is but of late Invention among us, I think *Dryden* the firſt, in his *Abſalom* and *Achitophel*. But this *Hiſtorian* was the firſt, I believe, that ever brought it into the *Pulpit*; Crying out there *Stentorically*, and this——*is the Source and Spring of all the* PRIEST-CRAFT

CRAFT *in the World* —— Which I *Heard* from him, to my *Aſtoniſhment*, in St. *James's Church!* And by the *Theatrical* Deportment, with which this *Prieſt-Craft* was Acted, one wou'd have been Tempted, to have thought himſelf at the *Play-Houſe*!

But the *Source* and *Spring*, which in his *Hiſtory* he Fixes upon as the Common Cauſe of the *Corruption* of the *Clergy*, is, *their too Great Livings*. And he wiſhes *they had a more Precarious Dependance upon their People, and that they were only to have their Gratuities and Benevolences, inſtead of a ſettled Living. And this* (ſays he) *wou'd make them more Strict in their Lives, and more Diligent in the Exerciſe of their Miniſterial Function and Office.* Wou'd it not make them likewiſe more *Impartial* and *Couragious* in their *Diſcipline*, to Inflict their Spiritual *Cenſures*, and bring to open *Penance*, or elſe, *Expel* out of the *Church* Notorious *Offenders*, tho' their Chief Benefactors, on whom they muſt *Depend* for their *Bread*! Wou'd it make them leſs *Creeping* and *Cringing* to the *Rich* and *Great* of their *Flocks*; and *Indulgent* to their *Vices!* And leſs Inclin'd to *Follow* a *Multitude* to do *Evil!* Whether wou'd it be a Greater *Ornament* and *Advantage* to their *Profeſſion*, to be Able to *Feed* the *Poor* at their *Gates*, and do Remarkable Acts of *Charity*; or to be *Beggars* themſelves, and *Proſtitute* the Dignity of their *Office*, for a *Handful of Barley*, or a *Piece* of *Bread!* He may ſay, yes, if the *Clergy* wou'd Imploy their *Riches* that way, as well as the *Laity* do's; And were not, *The moſt Corrupt Body of Men in the Nation!* And yet, in that moſt *Corrupt* State of the *Engliſh Church*, which he do's Inſtance, in the *Reign* of K. *Char.* 2. he might have found, if he had been Inclin'd to have Inquir'd on that Side, That more Acts of Publick *Charity* and *Benefit* to the *Nation* were done by the *Biſhops* and *Clergy*, in Proportion to their *Revenues*, than by 500 times as much that was in the Hands of the *Laity*. And by one ſingle *Biſhop*, at one time, more than the *Saints* had done, with all the *Biſhops-Lands* in *England*, during the many *Years* they had Poſſeſs'd them, on Pretence of making Better *Uſe* of them!

But the *Notions* and *Schemes* of this *Hiſtorian* are taken from the *Regulars* and *Mendecants* of the *Church* of *Rome*, to which *Condition* he wou'd have our *Clergy* Reduc'd. And yet I will Appeal to himſelf, Whether greater *Scandals* have riſen, even

in the *Church* of *Rome*, from their *Rich Clergy*, or from these *Begging* and *Strouling Fryers*, who set up for *Abstraction*, and *Flights* of *Devotion* beyond the *Secular Clergy*, and all other Men!

I know not how to Reconcile this Historian's *Principles* with his *Practice*, but by supposing he meant, that all the *Clergy* should be *Poor*, except *Himself!* Why else wou'd he take one of the *Richest Preferments* in *England?* But he thought he cou'd make *Good Use* of it!

The *Wisdom* of *God* foresaw the Consequences of having his *Priests* depend *Precariously* on the *People*, for their *Subsistance*. Therefore he gave them His own *Inheritance*. And made it *Sacriledge* to *Invade* it. And it was much more in Proportion, than belong'd to any other of the *Tribes*.

The *Apostles* were Indow'd with the *Gift* of *Miracles*, which Render'd them Greatly *Respected*.

But in the Common State of things, to have the *Clergy* made *Poor*, is to Render their *Office*, as well as *Themselves* CONTEMPTIBLE. And lays them open to Greater *Temptations*, than if they had a *Settled* and *Comfortable Subsistance*. We may as well expect *Manna*, when we have the *Fruits* of the *Ground*, as that *Reverence* to the *Poor* Clergy which was in the Age of *Miracles*.

Some Men who have already Gain'd, by a long Tract of their *Life*, a great *Reputation* for *Piety*, may, when Reduc'd to *Poverty*, Especially if *Suffering* for a *Good Cause*, meet with *Respect* from some Sort of People; but not the more, when they grow a *Burthen* to them; they wou'd be willing their *Neighbours* shou'd have a *Share!* They might Travel like *Charity*, nothing worse *entertain'd*, or better *Recommended!*

But what is all this to the Generality? What shall the *Poor* young Clergy do, till they have Gain'd such a *Stock* of *Reputation?* That must take up a Great *Part* of their *Life*. And may they not be *Tempted* to *Marry* Folks *Privately*, and other *Irregularities*, for a little *Spell* of *Mony*, when they have never a *Penny* in their *Pockets?* Or to Please a Good *Benefactor*, upon whom they *Live!*

And yet, after all, to make a *Summary Conclusion*, upon the whole Matter, notwithstanding all these *Disadvantages*, let us make this *Experiment*, to take any *Number* of Clergy-Men, without

without *Picking* or *Chuſing*, juſt as they lie; Suppoſe thro' any *two* or *three Streets* in *London*; and take an *equal Number* of the *Laity*, within that Compaſs, without *Picking* or *Chuſing* likewiſe; Suppoſe the *Maſters* of ſo many *Houſes*, next to each *Church*, or at either Ends of the *Streets*, or the firſt you meet with by *Chance*; and then ſee whether in that *equal Number* of *Clergy* and *Laity*, you will find moſt Men of *Sobriety* and *Virttue*? I doubt not but upon ſuch a Tryal, the *Clergy*, not only in *England*, but all the *World* over, wou'd be found to have the *Advantage* by a Great *Majority*.

A *Blot* is ſooner ſeen in a *Gown*, than in another Man. And there are ſeveral *Liberties* which *Lay Men* Allow themſelves, which wou'd give Great *Offence* in a *Clergy-Man*. This ſhews, that as they are under *Stricter* Rules, ſo that their *Lives* are more Strict.

This makes likewiſe a *Corrupt Clergy-Man* to be the *Worſt* of *Men*. The *Corruption* of the *Beſt* things is the *Worſt*. A Corrupt *Angel* is a *Devil*, and a Corrupt *Prieſt* is next to him in *Wickedneſs*.

And there is no more *Senſe* in the word *Prieſt-Craft*, than in that of *Angel-Craft*. It is no more *Reflection* upon *Prieſts*, than upon *Angels*. But it is a Superlative Degree of the *Black-Angel-Craft* to delight in *Lyes*, and give falſe *Repreſentations*, thereby to Deceive the *People*, and Lead the *Blind* out of their Way.

And from what has been before-quoted out of this *Secret Hiſtory*, I leave the Reader to judge whether any did ever better Deſerve the Title of *the Accuſer of the Brethren!*

Of which I cou'd give further Inſtances, if I were not Afraid to Tire the Reader, who, I ſuppoſe, will think what has been ſaid is Sufficient for that Purpoſe.

Yet I will venture upon his Patience, to mention one Particular more, and ſo have done.

It is the Relation given in this *Secret Hiſtory* of the *Murther* of the Lord Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews* in *Scotland*, by the *Preſbyterians* there, *May* 3. 1679. of which this *Hiſtory* ſays, *one of them Fired a Piſtol at him, which burnt his Coat and Gown, but the Shot did not go into his Body.* The *Aſaſſination* of the Lord Archbiſh. of St. *Andrews*.

For what End this is told, you ſhall ſee preſently. But firſt, for the Falſhood of it, I refer to the *Certificate* of the *Doctor* of *Phyſick* and *three Chirurgeons*, who, by Order of the *Privy-Coun-*

cil in *Scotland*, did View and Embalm the *Body* of the Lord Arch-Biſhop; which is upon Record in the *Council Books*, and inſerted in *the Spirit of Popery ſpeaking out of the Mouths of Phanatical Proteſtants*, p. 58. Printed for *Walter Kettleby* at the *Biſhop's Head* in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*, 1680. where likewiſe is told the Reaſon why this *Lye* was Propogated by the *Party*, viz. to Countenance another *Diabolical* Invention of theirs, which they gave about, That the Arch-Biſhop was a *Wizard*, and had Purchas'd a Magical Spell from the *Devil*, to keep him Shot-free.

They were not failing in their *Induſtry* (they never are) to carry on their *Lyes*, but, as told *Ibid.* p. 55. they Publiſh'd a Scandalous and Lying *Narrative* concerning the *Death* of the *Arch-Biſhop*; and their *Party* in *London* ſpread their *Reports* with their uſual Aſſurance. And on the *Margin* are quoted *in particular by* Dr. J. *and* Dr. B. This was Publiſh'd preſently after the *Aſſaſſination*. And in Anſwer to it, a *True Account* of that *Horrid Murder* was Publiſh'd by *Authority*, the ſame Year 1679. Printed at *London* for *Andrew Forreſter* in *King-ſtreet*, *Weſtminſter*. But this not Stopping their *Foul-Mouths*, another *Narrative*, *drawn out of the Records of the Privy Council of* Scotland, *and from the Depoſitions of many Witneſſes examin'd upon Oath before the Honourable Board*, &c. was annex'd to the *Spirit of Popery*, the next Year 1680. Which has ſince *Silenc'd* their *Clamours*. Being undeniable Matter of Fact. But their *Malice* is not Conquer'd.

For here is an *Hiſtory* provided, which is Deſign'd to be kept *Secret*, till theſe *Proofs* may be forgotten; and his *Account* of *Perſons* and *Things* be taken for *Truth!* And thus he Repreſents thoſe Paſſages; after ſaying, That *the Shot did not go into his Body*, he adds, *upon which a Report was afterwards ſpread, that he had Purchas'd a Magical Secret for Securing him againſt Shot. And his Murderers gave it out that there were very Suſpicious things found in a Purſe about him.* But who found that *Purſe?* His *Aſſaſſinators* did not *Rob* him, nor ſtay'd to *Search* him. But having Perform'd their *Murdering Work*, Rid away with what *Haſt* they could. The Hiſtorian adds (for I will do him all the Right I can) *But it was no wonder to find thoſe that Murder'd his Perſon endeavour to Blacken his Reputation.* But did this *Hiſtorian* ſay any thing to Juſtify his *Reputation?* No. But having Poſitively *Aſſerted* the

the *Lye*, upon which this *Slander* was founded, he left it to Shift for it ſelf. Let *Slander* Run————But he Purſues him with a *Stroke* more Barbarous than any the *Aſſaſſinators* gave him, and ſays, *He* (the Arch-Biſhop) *begg'd his Life in a very abject Manner of them, and was in great Diſorder.* The Contrary of which appears in the *Narrative* laſt quoted. No Man cou'd ſhew a more *Chriſtian Courage* and *Reſolution*. He gave them Caution of *Shedding* Innocent *Blood*. And when he ſaw they were Reſolv'd to *Murder* him, he pray'd them to ſpare his *Daughter*, who was with him in the *Coach*; and to give him a ſmall Space of Time to Recommend his *Soul* to *God*. Which they Refus'd, ſaying, *God wou'd not hear the Prayers of ſuch a Dog*. And *Cut* and *Mangled* his *Hands*, while he held them up in *Prayer*, even for *Them*, that *God* wou'd *Forgive* them. Which were the *Laſt Words* he utter'd while they were *Hacking* and *Hewing* of him. No Hiſtory ſince St. *Stephen* can ſhew a Greater Example of *Compoſure* of *Mind*, and true Chriſtian *Magnanimity*, under ſo Suddain and Cruel a *Martyrdom*. For ſo no doubt it was, in a *Biſhop* being *Maſſacred* by *Schiſmatical Zealots*, for no other Reaſon, but their *Good Old Cauſe*. And the *Zealots* of that *Cauſe* do ſtill think that this was no *Murder*, but a Glorious Aſſerting of the *Cauſe* of *God*, as they *Blaſphemouſly* call'd it! And it is told in the *Narat.* p. 65. *That five of their Accomplices, Complotters and Abbetters of the Murder, choſe to Dye and be Hung-up in Chains upon the Place, rather than Confeß the Sinfulneſs of the Action, by Acknowledging it was Murder, or a Sin.* And theſe *Aſſaſſinators* were made Chief *Commanders* in their *Army*, which they Rais'd preſently after this *Maſſacre* of the *Arch-Biſhop* and *Primate* of *Scotland*, and Marched to *Bothwel-Bridge*, where they *Fought* it out, in open *Rebellion* againſt the *King*.

But this *Secret Hiſtorian* gives a Stroke to Excuſe the *Party*, and in a Great Meaſure the *Ruffians* themſelves from the *Heinouſneſs* of this *Murder*, as if it were done by *Chance* only, and a ſudden *Heat*. He ſays, *Some of them have ſince given it out, that they had not Reſolv'd on doing this any time before, but ſeeing his Coach appear alone in the Moor, they took their Reſolution all on the ſudden.* The Falſhood of this he cou'd not but know, if he took the leaſt Pains to Search the *Records* of the *Council*, [And he loves to Search *Records*] or had ever Read any of the *Naratives* before mentioned, which were then very Publick, and wherein he himſelf was Concern'd

cern'd. For there the *Deſign*, and *Concerting* of it is Evidently made appear. Beſides the pretty *Probability*, that ſo many Men, living at diſtant places, ſhou'd happen to Meet, in a wild *More* or *Heath*, ſo *Arm'd* with *Piſtols*, *Blunderbuſſes*, &c. and juſt at that Nick of time that his *Grace*'s Coach paſs'd through; or cou'd have taken ſuch a *Reſolution*, on ſuch a *Sudden*, which wou'd have *Aſtoniſh'd* any Man who had the leaſt *Drachm* of *Chriſtianity*, or Common *Humanity*!

But all theſe things notwithſtanding, this *Author* ſets down the *Suggeſtion*, without any *Confutation*, he gueſs'd it wou'd take with ſome!

And he *Charitably* Concludes, *This was the Diſmal Fate of that Unhappy Man, who certainly needed a little more time to have fitted him for an Unchangable State. But I wou'd fain hope that he had all his Puniſhment in that terrible Concluſion of his Life!*

This is his *Celebration* of the *Memory* of a *Martyr* for *Epiſcopacy*! For other *Crime* the worſt of his *Enemies* cannot Object againſt him. Nor did his *Murtherers* object any other when they revil'd him, and told him why they *Kill'd* him, for being an *Apoſtate*. For he was a *Convert* from *Presbytery*; and, as they ſaid, for the ſake of a *Biſhoprick*.

And ſo they ſay of *Others*. Yet they are not Angry with them: tho' they have been *Converted*, and *Re-Converted*, and *Converted* over again!

The Reaſon is, That *Sharp* (as this *Hiſtorian* Reſpectfully calls the *Lord Primate*, for that was his Name) after he Profeſs'd *Epiſcopacy*, was true to it, and to that *Church* in which he took ſo High a *Station*. He did not *Revile* and *Beſpatter* her *Biſhops* and *Clergy*, and Repreſent them as the *vileſt Sett of Men in the Nation!* And give the moſt *Malicious*, *Falſe* and *Scandalous* Accounts of them! He came among them as a true *Convert* and a *Friend*; not as a *Spy*, to *Betray* and *Undermine* them, to do them more Miſchief than 100 open *Enemies!*

From the *Relation* here given of the *Martyrdom* of the Great Arch-Biſhop, and the Handſome *Turns* in *Alleviation* of the *Fanatical* Rage which Murder'd him; other Men who have been Faithful to the *Church* and to the *Crown*, may Imagine how they may be Repreſented to *Poſterity*, if this *Secret Hiſtory* be not *ſeen* and *Corrected* in time, or elſe totally *Suppreſs'd*.

But

But by what I have ſeen of it to *Correct* it, wou'd be to *Alter* the *Whole*. For upon every little *Circumſtance* his *Byaſs* is *viſible* againſt the *King* and the *Clergy*. Telling of the *Diſſolution* of the *Oxford Parliament*, he ſays, *That the King came to the Parliament in a very undecent Manner, being Carry'd in a Chair to the Houſe of Lords, with the Crown between his Legs, and having ſent for the Houſe of Commons, he Pull'd it out from thence, and Put it upon his Head, and ſo Diſſolv'd the Parliament.* This was utterly *Falſe* in *Fact*. For the *Regalia* were carry'd by the *King*'s Servants and Guards to the Room, where his Majeſty Rob'd himſelf before he went into the *Houſe* of *Lords*. But this Senſeleſs Story was Rais'd by the *Faction*, in *Ridicule* of the *King*; and ſo Eaſe their *Spleen*, for the Brisk *Diſappointment* he gave to their *Plot*, juſt upon the Point of *Execution*. And this *Hiſtorian* Chimes in with them, in this, as in every thing elſe.

Upon this Juncture the *King* Iſſued a *Declaration*, giving the Extraordinary Reaſons which mov'd him to *Diſſolve* the *Parliament*. Which Produc'd very Loyal *Addreſſes* from all Parts of the *Kingdom* to his *Majeſty*, *Signifying their Reſolution to ſtand by the King, and the Hereditary Succeſſion in the true Line.* Theſe *Addreſſes* the *Hiſtorian* calls *Fulſome Stuff* (a mighty *Word* with him) and falls ſeverely upon the *Biſhops* and *Clergy*, as the *Contrivers* or *Pen-Men* of them. Calls them the *King's Heralds*, in Contempt, and ſpends his *Rhetorick* to ſhew how little it Became them. And upon this, as upon every other Occation, he Repeats his Accuſation of their *Looſe Lives*, and that *their Buſineſs was to Drink the Duke's Health*, &c. He ſays of himſelf, That after the *Diſſolution* of this *Parliament* (it was a ſore Mortification to all the *Whigs*) *he did betake himſelf to a more ſtrict Courſe of Life, than he had formerly accuſtom'd himſelf to. That he had formerly been too much Elevated and Carry'd away with the Applauſes of Men; and had been given to a Looſeneſs in his Life; which he wou'd for the time to come Remember with ſorrow of Heart.* That *he gave himſelf then to Faſting and Prayer, and doubted not but the Fruits of it wou'd ever Remain with him.* That *it had made him more Humble, more Watchful, and more Charitable to the Failings of others*, &c.

Flaming *Charity* indeed, as we have ſeen! He was then in in the *Dumps*, upon the *King*'s Vigorous and Unexpected Defeating

feating of the *Conſpiracy* framed to have ſeiz'd his Majeſty, &c. Which puts them all to their *Prayers!*

Ægrotat Dæmon, Monachus
tunc eſſe volebat.

But having Recover'd their Wicked *Spirits* in a little time,

Dæmon ut Ante fuit.

They fell to their old Trade of *Plotting, Lying, Defaming*, &c. How is it poſſible a Man ſhou'd Know himſelf ſo little, as that he ſhou'd talk at this *Sanctify'd* Rate, and perhaps Believe himſelf, while he was paſſing the moſt *Un-Charitable* Cenſures at leaſt, if they had not been *Falſe*, upon the *Lives* of other Men; and upon their *Death* too, as of the *Arch-Biſhop* before Mention'd! Was this being *Charitable* to the *Failings* of Others? He ought not to *Inſult* over the *Death* of Another; who knows not the *Manner* in which his own *End* may be. I wiſh he may have more time for *Preparation*, whenever that *Day* comes than was Allow'd to that Martyr'd *Biſhop*. All Men are not Equally *Fitted* for a *Suddain* Death. And as a *Preparation* in time, I wou'd earneſtly Recommend to him, to *Conſider* ſeriouſly, and *Repent* of the *Hard Speeches* he has Utter'd againſt his *Brethren*; and not to *Flatter* himſelf, that he is *Humble*, and *Watchful*, and *Charitable*, while he gives ſuch *Characters* of Men; not to *Amend* them, or Prevent *Evils* he Apprehends they have in *Deſign*; which wou'd make it *Charitable* indeed, and *Neceſſary*, to give others *Warning* of them, not to be *Seduc'd* by them; and in ſuch Caſe, ought to be Preſs'd home, as far as *Truth* will Carry it; But where none of theſe Ends can be ſerv'd by it, but only to leave a *Stigmatizing* Mark upon their *Memories* to *Poſterity*, and of the *Church* with them; This is far from *Charity*, and looks liker the Gratification of *Spleen* and *Reſentment*, and an *Imbitter'd* Mind. *Reaſon* wou'd Suggeſt this.

IV. The *Character* of an *Enthuſiaſt.*

But the *Spirit* of *Enthuſiaſm* puts out the *Eye* of *Reaſon*. And Deſtroys the *Sobriety* of *Religion*. Leaves a Man no *Principle* or *Rule*, but that of *Imagination* and *Impulſes*. Can make him Believe that he is in the *Exaltation* of *Charity*, while he is in the

the very *Gall* of *Bitterneſs*, and *Delighting himſelf* in the *Sin* of *Ham*. He is not *Afraid* to ſpeak *Evil* of *Dignities*, to *Revile* and *Beſpatter* both *Church* and *State*, to *Expoſe* the *Nakedneſs* of *Father* and *Mother*; And can Perſwade himſelf, That all this is out of an High *Senſe*, and *Zeal* to the *Glory* of *God!* This can Sanctifie *Schiſm* and *Rebellion* in his Eyes! And in ſhort, he can do no *Evil*, becauſe he thinks Every thing that he do's to be *Good*; for he has an *Impulſe* for it! He *Imitates* Nothing of the *Apoſtles*, but their *Miracles!* Turns *Religion* into *Romance*, and will do Nothing *Ordinary!* He keeps Himſelf in a *Sphere* Above other *Mortals*; Whence he looks down upon them with *Diſdain*, which he Calls *Pity!* His own *Infirmities*, if he ſees any in Himſelf, he calls *Human Frailties*; But all others *Offend* of *Malicious Wickedneſs!* He is of all Men the moſt *Impatient* of *Contradiction*, or any *Reflection* upon his *Reputation*; And yet he Seeketh not *Honour* of *Men!* And thinks Himſelf an *Holy* and *Humble* Man of *Heart!* He is all made up of *Contradictions! Proud* in his *Humility! Meek* in his *Rage! Charitable* in *Railing! Zealous* in *Lying! Patient* in his *Revenge!* For *Unity* in *Schiſm!* And *Loyal* in his *Rebellion!* He knows nothing *Truly!* And *Himſelf* Leaſt of all! An *Hypocrite* to Himſelf! He is every thing but what he is! He is *Proof* againſt *Reaſon!* There is no Method with him, but *Exorciſm!* And now I think it is Time to have done with him.

I have one Word more to the *Author* of the *Occaſional Letter*, which is, That he wou'd Adviſe his *Friend* to Publiſh his *Excellent Hiſtory*, rather than have it come out upon him by *Piece-meal*. For I can Aſſure him, there are ſeveral other *Paſſages* in what is *Tranſ-ſcrib'd*, of the like Strain with thoſe that are *quoted*; which are Forc'd out by your *Objections*, one or two at a time; to ſee if that may *Prevent* the Reſt, by obliging the *Author* to *Re-view* his *Hiſtory*, and *Correct* the *Remainder*; And then to *Publiſh* it, or elſe to *Burn* it; that it may not do *Miſchief* in After *Times*. If the Laſt be not his Reſolution, it may then be thought Requiſite to Publiſh what is forth-coming of it, with Neceſſary *Remarks*, in Vindication of *Truth*, of the *Church*, and thoſe *Reigns* and *Perſons* which are *Aſperſ'd*. And as to the *Probity* and *Honeſty* of the *Tranſcriber*, there are *Vouchers* as many as knew him. And for his *Hand* there are ſeveral can *Swear* to it (of which I am one) He likewiſe made

large *Remarks* upon that Part of the *History* which he *Transcrib'd*, all *Wrote* in his own Hand. Which, when Publish'd, may help to Ease the *Author* of that *Temptation* he said lay so hard upon him, the *Applauses* of Men!

Among these *Remarks* there is one (which I will not Repeat) upon a Passage in that History, which the *Author* ought to Clear up, because, however he meant it, it may pass hereafter as a *Reflection* on the Memory of K. *W.* He writes that at the time of the *Bill of Exclusion* against the *Duke* of *York*, the *Prince* of *Orange* gave *Instructions* to Mein Heir——— *Fagel* [to the best of my Remembrance] who was sent by the States of *Holland* to K. *Char.* 2. That he shou'd Deal with some *Members* of the *House* of *Commons*, to Promote the Passing of that *Bill*. If this was meant a *Complement* to his *Highness*, to shew his Early *Zeal*, and sharp *Fore-sight* of *Popery*, I cannot tell. But others may put other *Constructions* upon this underhand *Attempt* against his *Father*, if it was True. However it shews the *Author* to have been at the Bottom of the *Secrets* from the Begining, or that he wou'd be thought so to have been; even at that time when, being *Proscrib'd* his *Country*, not for *Building* of *Churches*, he sent from *Holland* those *Letters* (often quoted) full of *Loyalty* and *Passive Obedience*. And, as the *Remarker* observes, and gives good Reason to Believe, he who owns himself so Great a *Manager* in the *Bill* of *Exclusion* (tho' he Discovered so much of it to the *Duke*, as to Secure himself on that Side too) and in the *Secrets* of that *Party*, more than even *Carstares* himself, was not Ignorant of the *Train* of their *Designs*, at the *Rye-House* it self, and at the *Oxford Parliament*, &c. And having been so Signally *Instrumental* in the *Revolution*, and as himself gives us to Understand, Entrusted with the *Secret* all along from the *Bill* of *Exclusion*, he might *Modestly* have expected not to see *Tove*, who came in at the Eleventh Hour, put over his Head, who had Born the *Burden* and *Heat* of the *Day*. And if he *Blabb'd* this *Secret* of the *Pr.* of *Orange*, or *Invented* it, he was sufficiently Reveng'd of that old *Proverb*, to *Love* the *Treason*, but *Hate* the *Tr——r*.

Upon the *Whole* that has been said, in this and the former *Part*, let us come to a *Conclusion*.

V. *Conclusion upon the Bill of Occasional Conformity*

The *Bill* concerning *Occasional Conformity* has been the Great *Bone* of *Debate*, and Subject of a Multitude of *Pamphlets*. As to the *Argument*, there is nothing in it. Nor is it Pleaded upon any other Account than that of *Places*. So that the whole *Dispute* is about *Power*. Whether that is to be trusted into the Hands of the *Dissenters*? And it is not *doubted* but that it is Extremely *dangerous* both to the *Church*, and to the *Government*; from what the *Dissenters* have formerly done, and the same *Principles* which they still *Maintain*. Besides the Natural Desire of *Power*, which is common to all *Parties*; for which of them wou'd not have the *Whole* in their own Hands, if they cou'd? All *Arguments* against this are *Trifling*.

But the *Considerations* which threw this *Bill* out of the *House* of *Lords*, were the *Unseasonableness* of it at this Time of *War*; And the Necessity therefore of *Unity* among our selves.

As to the first, If the *Dissenters* think this Time of *War* the Fittest for their *Struggling* to get into *Power*. Is it not as Incumbent upon the *Church* and the *Government* to *Secure* themselves? It may be too *Late* afterwards. If *Part* of a *Garison* are *Struggling* for the *Power*, against the *Governour* and the *Officers* whom he Employs, his first Work must be [tho' the *City* be *Besieg'd*, and the Rather for that] to *Secure* his *Government*, and Assert his *Authority*; else, he may be Thrown over the *Walls* to his *Enemies*; and all the Party *Sacrific'd* who are *Faithful* to him. And the Putting the *Mutineers* into the *Posts* they Desir'd, wou'd *Strengthen* them against him, and Double his *Danger*. Especially if there were *Another*, whom they wou'd rather have *Governor* than him, and he near at hand to be Call'd.

And as to the Point of *Unity*, it is very Difficult to Adjust it betwixt *Parties* that Contend for *Power*. And if the *Church* or the *Dissenters* must be *Disoblig'd*, it shou'd not seem hard to *Determine* which of them it shou'd be. Unless that *Notion* still Prevails of Trusting to the *Passive-Obedience-Doctrine* of the *Church*! And whether the *Lords* Rejecting that *Bill* has Produc'd the desir'd *Unity* betwixt the Two *Houses*, and consequently betwixt the Contending *Parties* through the *Kingdom*? I leave it to Time to Determine more fully; and whether it will Prevent the like *Bill* coming in Again next *Session*? And if it *Miscarry* again, Whether that will likely *Heal* or *Heighten* the *Animosi-*

nimosities? But let it be Remember'd, that the *Rejecting* this *Bill* gave the first Occasion.

There was a *Politick* once mightily Cry'd out upon, which seems now more Convenient to some People, that is to *Gratify* your *Enemies*, for your *Friends* will be your *Friends* still!

But besides the *Justice* and *Generosity* of such a *Principle!* I believe *Experience* has since *Convinc'd* us, that

It is much Easier to LOSE a FRIEND, *than to* GAIN *an* ENEMY.

And that where there is a *Competition*, it is *Impossible* to *Please* Both. It will more Certainly *Lose* Both. For *Jealousie* has *Hawks-Eyes.*

It has Prov'd a very False *Maxim* in *Politicks*,

Two STRINGS *to your* BOW.

For,

Such a BOW *never Shoots* TRUE.

6 AP 58

FINIS

Coronat Opus.

A DE-

A

DECLARATION

BY THE

KING's MAJESTY,

To his Subjects of the Kingdoms of *Scotland*, *England* and *Ireland*, Printed at *Edinburgh*, 1650.

HIS Majesty taking in Consideration, that Merciful Dispensation of Divine Providence, by which he hath been recovered out of the Snare of Evil Councel; and having attained so full Persuasion and Confidence of the Loyalty of his People in Scotland, with whom he hath too long stood at a distance, and of the Righteousness of their Cause, as to join in one Covenant with them, and to cast himself and his Interests wholly upon God, and in all Matters Civil to follow the Advice of his Parliament, and such as shall be intrusted by them; and in all Matters Ecclesiastick, the Advice of the General Assembly and their Commissioners; and being sensible of his Duty to God, and desirous to approve himself to the Consciences of all his good Subjects, and to stop the Mouths of his and their Enemies, and Traducers, doth, in Reference to his former Deportments, and as to his Resolutions for the future, Declare as follows.

Though His Majesty, as a Dutiful Son, be obliged to Honour the Memory of his Royal Father, and have in Estimation the Person of his Mother. Yet doth he de-

ſire to be deeply humbled and afflicted in Spirit, before God, becauſe of his Father's hearkning to, and following Evil Counſels; and his oppoſition to the Work of Reformation; and to the Solemn League and Covenant, by which ſo much of the Blood of the Lord's People hath been ſhed in theſe Kingdoms; and for the Idolatry of his Mother; the Toleration whereof in the King's Houſe, as it was Matter of great ſtumbling to all the Proteſtant Churches; ſo could it not but be an high Provocation againſt him who is a Jealous God, viſiting the Sins of the Fathers upon the Children; albeit his Majeſty might Extenuate his former Carriages and Actions, in following of the Advice, and walking in the Way of thoſe who are Oppoſite to the Covenant and to the Work of God, and might excuſe his delaying, to give Satisfaction to the juſt and neceſſary Deſires of the Kirk and Kingdom of Scotland, from his Education, and Age, and Evil Council, and Company; and from the ſtrange and inſolent Proceedings of Sectaries againſt his Royal Father; and in reference to Religion and the Antient Government of the Kingdom of England, to which he hath the undoubted Right of Succeſſion. Yet knowing that he hath to do with God, he doth ingenuouſly acknowledge all his own Sins, and all the Sins of his Father's Houſe; craving Pardon, and hoping for Mercy and Reconciliation through the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt. And as he doth value the Conſtant Addreſſes that were made by his People to the Throne of Grace on his behalf, when he ſtood in oppoſition to the Work of God, as a ſingular Teſtimony of long Suffering, Patience and Mercy upon the Lord's part, and Loyalty upon theirs; ſo doth he hope, and ſhall take it as one of the greateſt Tokens of their Love and Affection to him, and to his Government. That they will continue in Prayer and Supplication to God for him; That the Lord who ſpared and preſerved him to this Day, notwithſtanding of all his own Guiltineſs, may be at Peace with him, and give him to fear the Lord his God, and to ſerve him with a perfect Heart, and with a willing Mind all the Days of his Life.

And

And his Majeſty having upon full Perſuaſion of the Juſtice and Equity of all the Heads and Articles thereof, now Swoꝛn and Subſcribed the National Covenant of the Kingdom of Scotland, and the Solemn League and Covenant of the Thꝛee Kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, Doth Declare, That he hath not Swoꝛn and Subſcribed theſe Covenants, and entred into the Oath of God with his People, upon any Siniſter Intention oꝛ Cꝛooked Deſign foꝛ Attaining his own Ends, but ſo faꝛ as Humane Weakneſs will permit, in the Truth and Sincerity of his Heart, and that he is firmly reſolv'd in the Loꝛd's Strength to adhere thereto, and to Pꝛoſecute to the utmoſt of his Power, all the Ends thereof, in his Station and Calling, Really, Conſtantly and Sincerely all the Days of his Life: In oꝛder to which he doth in the firſt place Pꝛofeſs and Declare, That he will have no Enemies but the Enemies of the Covenant, and that he will have no Friends but the Friends of the Covenant. And thereforꝛe as he does now Deteſt and Abhoꝛ all Popery, Superſtition and Idolatry; together with Pꝛelacy and all Errors, Hereſie, Schiſm and Pꝛophaneneſs; and reſolves not to Tolerate, much leſs Allow, any of theſe, in any Part of his Majeſty's Dominions; but to oppoſe himſelf thereto, and to endeavour the Extermination thereof to the utmoſt of his Power; ſo doth he as a Chꝛiſtian Exhoꝛt, and as a King Require, That all ſuch of his Subjects who have ſtood in Oppoſition to the Solemn League and Covenant, and Woꝛk of Reformation, upon a pꝛetence of Kingly Intereſt, oꝛ any other Pꝛetext whatſomever, to lay down their Enmity againſt the Cauſe and People of God, and to ceaſe to pꝛefer the Intereſts of Man to the Intereſt of God; which hath been one of theſe things which hath occaſioned many Troubles and Calamities in theſe Kingdoms, and being inſiſted into, will be ſo faꝛ from Eſtabliſhing the King's Thꝛone, that it will pꝛove an Idol of Jealouſie to pꝛovoke into Wꝛath him who is King of Kings, and Loꝛd of Loꝛds. The King ſhall always Eſteem them beſt Servants, and moſt Loyal Subjects, who ſerve him, and ſeek his Gꝛeatneſs in a Line of

Subordination unto God; Giving unto God the things that are Gods, and unto Cesar the things that are Cesars; and resolveth not to Love or Countenance any who have so little Conscience and Piety as to follow his Interests with a Prejudice to the Gospel and the Kingdom of Jesus Christ; which he looks not upon as a Duty, but as flattering and driving of Self-Designs, under a pretence of Maintaining the Kopal Authority and Greatness. Secondly, His Majesty being convinced in Conscience of exceeding great Sinfulness and Unlawfulness of that Treaty and Peace made with the Bloody Irish Rebels, who treacherously shed the Blood of so many of his Faithful and Loyal Subjects in Ireland, and of allowing unto them the Liberty of Popish Religion; for the which he doth from his Heart desire to be deeply humbled before the Lord, and likewise considering how many Breaches have been upon their Part, doth Declare the same to be Void, and that his Majesty is absolv'd therefrom, being truly sorry that he should have sought unto so unlawful Help for Restoring of him to the Throne, and resolving for the time to come, rather to chuse Affliction than Sin. Thirdly, As his Majesty did in the late Treaty with his People in this Kingdom, agree to Recal and Annul all Commissions against any of his Subjects, who did adhere to the Covenant and Monarchical Government in any of his Kingdoms: So doth he now Declare by Commissionating of some Persons by Sea against the People of England; he did not intend Damage or Injury to his Oppress and Harmless Subjects in that Kingdom, who follow their Trade of Merchandize in their Lawful Callings; but only the Opposing and Suppressing of those who had Usurp'd the Government, and not only barr him from his just Right, but also Exercise an Arbitrary Power over his People, in those things which concern their Persons, Consciences and Estates: And as since his coming into Scotland he hath given no Commission against any of his Subjects in England or Ireland; so he doth hereby Assure and Declare that he will give none to their Prejudice or Damage; and whatever shall be the Wrongs of these Usurpers, that he will be so far from Avenging these upon

upon any who are free thereof by interrupting or ſtopping the Liberty of Trade and Merchandiſe, or otherways, That he will ſeek their good, and to the utmoſt Employ his Royal Power, that they may be protected and defended againſt the unjuſt Violence of all Men whatſoever. And albeit his Majeſty deſires to Conſtruct well of the Intentions of theſe (in reference to his Majeſty) who have been active in Councel or Arms againſt the Covenant, yet being convinced that it doth Conduce for the Honour of God, the good of his Cauſe, and his own Honour and Happineſs, and for the Peace and Safety of theſe Kingdoms, That ſuch be not Employed in Places of Power and Truſt. He doth Declare, That he will not Employ nor give Commiſſion to any ſuch, until they have not only taken or renewed the Covenant, but alſo have given ſufficient Evidences of their Integrity, Carriage or Affection to the work of Reformation, and ſhall be declared capable of Truſt, by the Parliament of either Kingdom Reſpective: And his Majeſty upon the ſame Grounds doth hereby recal all Commiſſions given to any ſuch Perſons; conceiving all ſuch Perſons will ſo much tender a good Underſtanding betwixt him and his Subjects, and the Settling and Preſerving a firm Peace in theſe Kingdoms, That they will not Grudge nor Repine at his Majeſty's Reſolutions and Proceedings therein, much leſs upon Diſcontent, Act any thing in a divided way unto the raiſing of new Troubles; eſpecially, ſince upon their Pious and good Depoſtment, there is a Regreſs left unto them in manner above expreſt.

And as his Majeſty hath given ſatisfaction to the juſt and neceſſary deſires of the Kirk and Kingdom of Scotland, ſo doth he hereby aſſure and declare, that he is no leſs willing and deſirous to give ſatisfaction to the juſt and neceſſary deſires of his good Subjects in England and Ireland; and in Token thereof, if the Houſes of Parliament in England, ſitting in Freedom, ſhall think fit to preſent to him the propoſitions of Peace agreed upon by both Kingdoms, he will not only Accord to the ſame, and ſuch Alterations thereon meant as the Houſes of Parliament, in regard of the Conſtitution of Affairs, and the Good of

his

his Majeſties and his Kingdoms ſhall judge neceſſary but do what is further neceſſary for Proſecuting the Ends of the Solemn League and Covenant; eſpecially in thoſe things which concern the Reformation of the Church of England, in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government. That not only the Directory of Worſhip, Confeſſion of Faith, and Catechiſm; but alſo the Propoſitions and Directory for Church Government, Recorded upon by the Synod of Divines at Weſtminſter may be ſettled; and that the Church of England may enjoy the full Liberty and Freedom of all Aſſemblies, and Power of Kirk Cenſures, and of all the Ordinances of Jeſus Chriſt, according to the Rule of his own Word, and that whatſoever is commanded by the God of Heaven may be diligently done for the Houſe of the God of Heaven; and whatever heretofore hath been the Suggeſtions of ſome to him, to render his Majeſty jealous of his Parliament, and of the Servants of God; yet as he hath Declared, That in Scotland he will hearken to their Councel, and follow their Advice in thoſe things that concern that Kingdom and Kirk; So doth he alſo Declare his firm Reſolution to Manage the Government of the Kingdom of England by the Advice of his Parliament, conſiſting of an Houſe of Lords, and an Houſe of Commons there, and in thoſe things that concern Religion to prefer the Councels of the Miniſters of the Goſpel to all other Councels whatſoever. And that all the World may ſee how much he tenders the Safety of his People, and how precious their Blood is in his Sight, and how deſirous he is to recover his Crown and Government in England by Peaceable Means; as he doth Eſteem the Service of thoſe who firſt Engaged in the Covenant, and have ſince that time faithfully followed the Ends thereof, to be Duty to God and Loyalty to him; ſo is he willing in regard of others, who have been involved in theſe late Commotions in England againſt Religion and Government, to paſs an Act of Oblivion, excepting only ſome few in that Nation, who have been Chief Obſtructors of the Work of Reformation, and Chief Authors of the Change of Government, and of the Murther of his Royal Father. Provided, that theſe who

who are to have the Benefit of this Act, lay down Arms, and return into the Obedience of their Lawful Sovereign.

The Committee of the States of the Kingdom, and General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, having Declared so fully in what Concerns the Sectaries and the present Designs, Resolutions and Actings of their Army against the Kingdom of Scotland; And the said Committee and Assembly having sufficiently laid open publick Danger and Duty, both upon the Right Hand and upon the Left: It is not needful for his Majesty to add any thing thereunto; except that in those things he doth Commend and Approve them; And that he Resolves to Live and Die with them and his Loyal Subjects, in Prosecution of the Ends of the Covenant.

And whereas that prevailing Party in England, after all their strange Usurpations, and Insolent Actings in that Land, do not only keep his Majesty from the Government of that Kingdom by Force of Arms: But also have now invaded the Kingdom of Scotland, who have deserved better things at their Hands, and against whom they have no just Quarrel; his Majesty doth therefore desire and expect that all his good Subjects in England, who are, and resolve to be faithful to God and to their King, according to the Covenant, will lay hold upon such an Opportunity, and use their utmost endeavours to promote the Covenant, all the Ends thereof, and to Recover and Re-establish the Antient Government of the Kingdom of England, (under which in many Generations it did flourish in Peace and Plenty at Home, and in Reputation Abroad) and Privileges of the Parliament, and Native and just Liberty of the People: His Majesty desires to Assure himself, that there doth remain in these so much Confidence of their Duty to Religion, their King and Country; and so many sparkles of the antient English Valour, which shined so Eminently in their Noble Ancestors, as will put them on to bestir themselves for the breaking the Yoke of these Mens Oppressions from off their Necks: Shall Men of Conscience and Honour set Religion, Liberties and Government at so low a Rate, as not rather to undergo any

Hazard

Hazard before they be thus Deprived of them? Will not all Generous Men count any Death more Tolerable than to Live in Servitude all their Days? And will not Posterity blame those who dare Attempt nothing for themselves, and for their Children, in so good a Cause, in such an Exigent? Whereas if they gather themselves and take Courage, putting on a Resolution answerable to so noble and just an Enterprize; they shall Honour God, and gain themselves the Reputation of Pious Men, Worthy Patriots, and Loyal Subjects, and be called the Repairers of the Breach, by the present and succeeding Generations; And they may certainly Promise to themselves a Blessing from God upon so Just and Honourable Undertaking for the Lord, and for his Cause, for their own Liberties, their Native King and Country, and the unvaluable Good and Happiness of Posterity. Whatever hath formerly been his Majesty's Guiltiness before God, and the Bad Success that these have had, who own'd his Affairs whilst he stood in opposition to the Work of God; yet the State of the Question being now Altered, and his Majesty having obtained Mercy to be on God's Side, and to prefer God's Interest before his own, he hopes that the Lord will be Gracious, and Countenance his own Cause in the Hands of Weak and Sinful Instruments, against all Enemies whatsoever.

This is all that can be said by his Majesty at present, to those in England and Ireland, at such a Distance, and as they shall acquit themselves at this time, in the Active Discharge of their Necessary Duties; so shall they be Accepted before God, Endear'd to his Majesty; and their Names had in Remembrance throughout the World.

Given at Our Court at *Dumfermling*, the Sixteenth Day of *August*, 1650. And in the Second Year of Our Reign

THE

THE

DECLARATION

OF THE

Commissioners

OF THE

General Assembly of *Scotland*.

As follows:

THE Commission of the General Assembly, considering that there may be just Ground of Stumbling from the King's Majesties refusing to subscribe and emit the Declaration offer'd unto him by the Committee of Estates, and Commissioners of the General Assembly concerning his former Carriage and Resolutions for the future, in reference to the Cause of God, and the Enemies and Friends thereof. Doth therefore Declare, That this Kirk and Kingdom do not own or espouse

any Malignant Party, or Quarrel, or Intereſt; but that they Fight meerly upon their former Grounds and Principles, and in Defence of the Cauſe of God, and of the Kingdom, as they have done theſe Twelve Years paſt; and therefore as they do Diſclaim all the Sin and Guilt of the King and of his Houſe; ſo they will not own him nor his Intereſt, otherwiſe than with a Subordination to God, and ſo far as he owns and proſecutes the Cauſe of God, and diſclaims his and his Father's oppoſition to the Work of God and to the Covenant, and likewiſe all the Enemies thereof; and that they will with Convenient ſpeed take in Conſideration the Papers lately ſent unto them from *Oliver Cromwell*, and Vindicate themſelves from all the Falſhoods contained therein, eſpecially in thoſe things wherein the Quarrel betwixt us and that Party is miſſtated, as if we own'd the late King's Proceedings, and were reſolv'd to Proſecute and Maintain his preſent Majeſty's Intereſt, before and without Acknowledgment of the Sins of his Houſe and former ways, and Satisfaction to God's People in both Kingdoms.

A. Ker.

Weſtkirk, 13 *Auguſt*, 1650.

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13 *August*, 1650.

THE Committee of Estates having seen and considered a Declaration of the Commission of the General Assembly, anent the Stating of the Quarrel whereon the Army is to Fight, Do approve the same, and heartily concur therein.

Tho. Henderson.

A

LETTER

FROM

Lieutenant General *David Lesley*,

TO THE

Lord General Cromwell.

MY LORD,

I Am Commanded by the Committee of Estates of this Kingdom, and desir'd by the Commissioners of the General Assembly, to send unto your Excellency the enclosed

Declaration, as that which contained the State of the Quarrel, wherein we are resolved, by the Lord's Assistance, to Fight your Army, when the Lord shall please to call us thereunto. And as you have profess'd you will not Conceal any of our Papers, I do desire that this Declaration may be made known to all the Officers of your Army, and so I rest

Your Excellency's most Humble Servant,

Bruchton. 13 *August,* 1650.

David Lesley.

For His Excellence the Lord General **Cromwell.**

Some Obſervations UPON This DECLARATION.

1. AS to the *King*. I ſuppoſe the Reaſon why it has not been Publiſh'd in our *Hiſtories* ſince the *Reſtoration*, was out of *Reſpect* to his *Majeſty*, as caſting a foul *Blot* upon him, in *Conſenting* to ſuch a *Declaration*. And therefore, tho' they cou'd not Avoid mentioning of it, yet they did it as *Tenderly* as might be, and have not given us the *Whole*.

But Conſidering that it was *Printed* by the *Presbyterians* in the Year 1650; and no doubt is ſtill in their Hands, to be *Re-publiſh'd*, when they ſee Opportunity, more to his *Majeſty*'s Diſadvantage; and that it is no *Secret*, his *Majeſty* was then *Compell'd* to take the *Covenant*: I think it more for his Honour, and the *Truth* of Hiſtory, to let it be ſeen, with all the due *Circumſtances* of it, and the *Steps* by which he was *Betray'd* and *Forc'd* into it, by the moſt *extreme Neceſſity*; which, conſidering his *Age*, then but 20 *Years* old, and the *Deſperateneſs* of his *Condition*, having no other *Hole* to *Creep* in at into any of his *Dominions*; or other viſible *Remedy* then left to *Save* even his *Life*, tho' but for a few Days; the *Enemy* being juſt at hand, within a few *Miles* of him, the ſame *Oliver*, who had *Cut-off* his *Father's Head*; and was then *Hunting* of him; and the *Presbyterians*, who Pretended to *Adhere* to him, having Actually *Renounc'd* him, upon his *Refuſing* to *Sign* that *Declaration*, as appears fully by their *Act* at the *Weſt-Kirk* here ſet down; Theſe things are as Great *Alleviations* on the *Kings* part, as the *Temptation* was Great, and his *Age* tender, not to Reſolve upon *Martyrdom*, as his *Father* had done.

done. And it is more for his *Honour* to have it thus told with the true *Circumſtances* of it; than to leave it to *Blacken* his *Memory* much more, when his *Enemies* ſhall *Publiſh* it, with falſe *Aggravations*, and the *Truth* be Forgotten.

It is told before, *Sect.* xv. How the *General Aſſembly* objected againſt the *King*, the Great *Unwillingneſs* and *Reluctancy* with which he *Sign'd* this *Declaration*; and that he ſhou'd ſay afterwards, *He did not think his Father Guilty of Blood; and that notwithſtanding he had ſo Declar'd, he had his own Meaning thereof.* This was then made uſe of as a Great *Aggravation* againſt the *King*. But now do's fully *Juſtify* him, ſo far, as that he did not *Willingly* caſt ſuch a *Reflection* upon his Royal *Father*, or *Himſelf*.

And tho' I do by no Means allow of any *Mental* and *Equivocal Reſervations* in any *Oath* or *Declaration*; which ought to be Taken in the known *Senſe* of the *Impoſer*. And this was *Impos'd* on the *King*; tho' not ſo *Pretended*, and ſo left him, at greater *Liberty*; yet even in that Caſe, it ought not to have been done; But if any ſuch Practice cou'd be *Juſtified*, there was a *Reſervation* in this Caſe, which perhaps the *King* Meant, and there was too much *Truth* in it, *viz.* That the *Blood* of that *Rebellion*, was, in a Great Meaſure occaſion'd by the *King* his *Father*, not *Intentionally*, ſo as to lay the *Guilt* upon him, God forbid; but by the Effects of his much miſtaken *Clemency*, in giving Way, at the Beginning, to thoſe *Seditious Spirits*, who ſought to *Wreſt* the *Government* out of his Hands; And for *ſparing* his *Juſtice* to a *Few*, in Time, Involv'd himſelf, his *Family*, and all his *Kingdoms*, in *Ruin*, not *Repair'd* to this Day! And hardly *Repairable*, by the Curſed *Principles* of *Rebellion* theſe *Incendiaries* have left behind. Who having *Proſper'd* once, *Attempted* the like often in the *Reigns* of his *Sons*; and wou'd *embroil* us again. But to go on with the *Declaration*.

2. There was not only no *Toleration* for *Epiſcopacy*, but the utter *Extirpation* of it Decreed; not only in *Scotland*, but in *England*, and all other his *Majeſty*'s Dominions.

3. The *Rebels* were Declar'd to have been *Faithful* and *Loyal* Subjects, and to have carry'd on the *Cauſe* of *God*, in all that they had Acted againſt K. *Char.* 1. And the whole *Blood* of

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the *Rebellion* laid upon his Head. And that his *Defending* himself againſt them, was oppoſing the *Work* of *God*.

4. All thoſe that had *Serv'd* the *King* againſt them, (whom they call'd *Malignants*) were to be *Diſcarded*. And the *King* engag'd, not only not to *employ* them in any *Offices* whatſoever, no not in his *Family*, not to *Cheriſh* or *Countenance* them, but not ſo much as to *Love* them.

And they beſtow a Bantering *Exhortation* upon them, not to *Grudge* or *Repine*! But to bear it *Patiently*; for *Peace* ſake, and out of their *Love* to the King, to let him be at *Quiet*! &c.

This came [*Decently*!] from thoſe, who, when the King had made a *Dead* of *Gift* to them of the Kingdom of *Scotland* [as before quoted] Settl'd their *Presbytery*, and every thing that they cou'd *Aſk*; were ſo far from being *Quiet* themſelves, that contrary to their *Oaths* and *Promiſes*, they *March'd* againſt him with an *Army* into *England*, to have their *Presbytery* Settl'd there too. And nothing leſs will *Content* them now. As their *Sanquair-Declaration* ſpeaks *Expreſly*, and the *New Aſſociations* of both their *Provincial Synods* not *Obſcurely*!

And they *Inſult* at the old Rate. Bid the *Epiſcopal Church* there not *Grudge* or *Repine* that they will allow them no *Toleration* and *Perſecute* them from *City* to *City*; Why ſhou'd they not bear it, for *Peace* ſake! And rather than make any *Diſturbance*! While, at the ſame time, they are not *Content* themſelves with a Full and Free *Toleration* in *England*, but will ſet the whole *Nation* in a *Flame*, if they are not Admitted into all *Places* of *Power* and *Truſt*! And *Claim* it as their *Birth-Right*! But the *Prelatiſts* and *Malignants* have no *Birth-Rights*! What ſhou'd *they* do with *Birth-Rights*! But to go on.

5. They *Commanded* the King, not only to Recal the *Commiſſions* he had given, and to *Disband* thoſe who were not *Presbyterians*, that were in *Arms* for him: But to *Acknowledge*, that it was *Unlawful* to have made uſe of them, particularly of thoſe his *Subjects* in *Ireland*, who had *Return'd* to their *Duty*, and the King had made *Peace* and a *Treaty* with them, which theſe *Covenanters* here *Declare* to be *void*, and the King *Abſolved* from the *Faith* he had given; and that he ought not to *have ſought unto ſo unlawful Help for Reſtoring of Him to his Throne*.

And

And that for the *time to come he ſhou'd rather Chooſe Affliction than Sin.* That is, to be *Depos'd* and *Murder'd* by the *Covenanted Rebels*, Rather than take the *Aſſiſtance* of others of his *Natural Subjects*, perſuant to their Bounden *Duty* and *Allegiance*! But *Papiſts* muſt not have leave to *Repent*, or to be *Loyal*! And yet are Charg'd with *Diſloyalty*! Several of them were ſent from *Ireland* to the Great *Marqueſs* of *Montroſe*, and did Signal *Service* againſt the *Rebels* of the *Covenant*. Therefore they cou'd not *endure* them! But they made no *Scruple* themſelves of Employing *Papiſhes*, all whom they cou'd *Debauch*, on their Side againſt the King; who in one of his *Declarations* tells the *Parliament*, that they had more *Papiſts* in their *Army*, than he had in his. But they might *Lawfully* break their *Allegiance*, and *Fight* againſt their King: But it was *Unlawful* for him to make uſe of them for his own *Preſervation*, or ſuffer them to Pay their *Allegiance* to him!

6. It is Plain by this *Declaration*, that all they *fought* for, and all the Uſe they had of the King, was to ſet up *Themſelves* the *Presbyterians*, their *Solemn League and Covenant*, their *Directory*, *Confeſſion of Faith*, &c. in *England* as well as *Scotland*, againſt the *Sectaries* as they call'd the *Independants*, and other their *fellow Sectaries*; who had then got the *Upper hand* of them, tho' *Born* and *Nurs'd* by them *Ungrateful* as they were!

Numb. II. Edinburgh *Feb.* 1. 170$\frac{1}{4}$.

Maſter Maſſie, *a* Scottiſh *Gentleman, living within nine Miles of* Edinburgh *ſent for Mr.* Burges, *an Epiſcopal Miniſter to* Baptize *his* Child: *The Presbyterian* Preacher *of the* Paroch, *Commanded his* Pariſhioners *to* Riſe (*under Pain of* Excommunication) *and to thurſt out that* Intruder (*as he call'd him.*) *Whereupon a great many People came to Mr.* Maſſie's *Houſe, where they not only Abuſed his* Wife *very ill, tho' lying in* Child-bed, *but alſo tore all the* Miniſter's *Cloaths*, Beating *him moſt unmercifully, and with much ado were perſwaded to let him have an* Old-Coat, *and ſo be gone. He was twice* Beſet *on the* Road, *with a Deſign to* Kill *him with* Stones, *but it pleaſed God to Preſerve his Life.*

P. S.

P. S. Obſerve that Mr. *Burges* hath Comply'd with the *Government*. And Served as *Chaplain* in K. *W*'s *Regements*.

OBSERVATIONS *on Numb.* II.

This *Letter* is but a Single *Inſtance* of what is *frequent* through that *Kingdom*. Of which more is told in the *New Aſſociation*. But no *Notice* taken, or *Anſwer* given in; this *Occaſional Letter*. (See likewiſe *Num.* III. of *Appendix* to the *Wolf Stript.*) For it is Matter of *Fact*, and cannot be *Deny'd*. Therefore that *Author* did wiſely *Slip* it.

But there is *Another* ſince, for whom nothing is too Hard, who has *Printed* a *Book* call'd, *An Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of* Scotland, *which Met at* Edinburgh, *May* 6. 1703. In Anſwer to another *Relation* of it, which is Intitul'd, *The Proceedings of the Parliament of* Scotland, *&c.* which is quoted in the fore-going Sheets. And he undertakes to Prove the very *Good Uſage* which the *Epiſcopal Clergy* and thoſe of their *Communion* meet with in *Scotland*. For which Reaſon I have Publiſh'd this *Letter* come now to hand. And ſeveral others, to the like Purpoſe, I have ſeen.

However, nothing can be a clearer *Proof*, than the *Anſwers* which this *Author* of the *Account* gives. He comes in his *Preface*, p. 3. to what was ſaid in the *Proceedings* of the *Male-Treatment* of the *Epiſcopal Clergy* at *Edinburgh*. And he puts it off thus, That the *Inſtances* were *too General*. And ſays he, *I am at too great a Diſtance for a ſpeedy Enquiry*. It ſeems then, he was in too great *Haſt* with his *Book*. That he cou'd not ſtay for *Information*, before he pretended to give an *Anſwer*! But there is a great deal of *Slander* and *Malice* in his *Book*; and the *Party* cou'd not want it ſo long!

But how cou'd a Perſon of that *Kingdom*, who gives us *News* every day from thence; and is acquainted with ſo many of the *Scots Men* now in *London*, eſpecially of the *Whig-ſide*, who were then at *Edinburgh*, and ſat in the *Parliament* there; and from whom he Receiv'd the *Particulars* of his long *Account* of their *Proceedings*; How cou'd this Man want *Information* of what was Publick at that time in *Edinburgh*? At leaſt, he might, in the Return of a *Poſt*, have had full *Information* from thence; where his *Correſpondents* lie, who furniſh him *Weekly* with *News*.

But there is a more Shameleſs *Come off* even than this, in his *Book*, p. 11, 12. where he wou'd Solve the *Rabbling* of an *Epiſcopal Meeting* at *Glaſcow*, who had the *Protection* of the *Privy Council*, purſuant to her *Majeſty*'s Gracious *Letters* on their Behalf, which is told in the *New Aſſoc.* Part. 2. *Supplement*, p. 1, 2. 14.

1. He calls it a *Jacobite Conventicle.* Tho' care was taken by the *Privy-Council*, that the *Clergy Man* whom they ſent to *Officiate* there, was one who had *Qualify'd* himſelf according to *Law*, and taken the *Oaths* Requir'd by the *Government.* But he was *Epiſcopal*, that was the whole Cauſe. And there was nothing of *Jacobitiſm*, not one Tittle, appear'd in the whole Caſe; But purely the Point of *Conſcience* as to *Epiſcopacy* and *Presbytery*, for which I Refer you to their *Petition* to the *Queen*, which is Inſerted in *Wolf Stript*, Append. *Num.* III. Therefore this *Author* calling them *Jacobites* was only an *Ill Word* to *Scold* with, as they call the *Church* of *England* PAPISHES! And our *Common Prayer* the MASS in *Engliſh*! But this *Clergy-Man* who *Officiated* at *Glaſgow*: gave greater *Proof* of his Affection to the *Government*, than ſeveral *Presbyterian Miniſters* now in *Places*, who Refus'd the *Oaths*, and have not taken them to this day. Which being told in the *Proceedings* is own'd for Truth in the *Acount*, Pref. p. 2. And the *Quakers* Inſtanc'd in Juſtification, who have a *Scruple* about *Oaths.* Wou'd ſuch an *Excuſe* have Paſs'd from the *Epiſcopal Clergy*, if they had Pleaded *Quakeriſm* for not taking the *Oaths*! And why may not ſome of them have *Scruples*, as well as the *Presbyterians*!

2. But this *Advocate* of theirs has a Better *Reaſon* to *Clear* them from that *Rabbling* at *Glaſgow*, in his *Account*, p. 11. which is, that the *Epiſcopol Meeting* there did ſet the *Mobb* upon *Themſelves*! Tho' they were not *Arm'd*, nor made any *Reſiſtance*, ſeveral of them were *Hurt* and *Wounded*, and the *Clergy-Man* who *Officiated* hardly *eſcaped*, Sir *John Bell*'s Houſe where they met, was *Gutted*, and his very *Gardens* Deſtroy'd, and his Eldeſt Son *Wounded.* And in that *City*, which is the *Second* in the *Kingdom* for *Greatneſs*, and the moſt *Presbyterian* and *Whigg* of any other, the very *Neſt* of them, where the *Rabbling* of the *Epiſcopal Clergy* and *Churches*, then *Eſtabliſh'd* by *Law*, in the Beginning of this *Revolution*, was Carry'd on with the utmoſt *Barbarity*, which I have from *Eye Witneſſes*;

and

and ſeveral *Circumſtances* of their *Cruelty*, eſpecially of what they call their *White Regiment* of *Women*, kept on foot for this very Purpoſe, cannot be told for the Filthy *Obſcenity* of them, which coſt one of the Clergy then *Preaching* his *Life*, who was thus Treated by them in the *Church*, if not in the *Pulpit*; and the worthy Mr. *Toland*, ſince well known, then a *Student* in that *Univerſity*, was a Principal Man at Heading the Mob, and *Hallooing* them at the Clergy; and this *White Regiment* was up, at this laſt *Rabbling* of which we are now Speaking; and *Maggy Steen* their Collonel, was in Conſult with ſome of the *Presbyterian* Miniſters and Magiſtrates the Night before; Is it not very likely then, that in this Place, and under theſe *Circumſtances*, a *Few* of the Epiſcopal Perſwaſion, *Un-Arm'd*, and in no Poſture of *Defence*, ſhou'd Raiſe this Mob upon themſelves; which might have coſt them their *Lives*? And probably had, if my Lord *Kilmares* had not come in with ſome Forces he commanded there to their Reſcue. Whom this *Author* calls *Jacobite* Ruffians, who *drew their Swords and Qurrell'd with the Boys, and others they found in the Streets.* This was the *Innocent* and *Godly* MOB, then *Aſſaulting* Sir *John Bell*'s Houſe, where the Epiſcopal Meeting was kept! And this was the Manner in which he tells, that they Rais'd this *Tumult* upon *Themſelves*! And calls it a *Jacobite Outrage*! And ſays they were Reſolv'd on a *Tumult*, and *Fear'd the Moderation*! of the People. Why did they not let the MOB alone, and ſee the *Utmoſt* they wou'd have done? But they fear'd their *Moderation*! And it was the *Soldiers* Rais'd the *Tumult*; for it is the *Second Blow* that makes the *Quarrel*. There had been no *Diſturbance*, tho' they Murder'd every Man in that *Meeting*, if no Reſiſtance had been made, and the Souldiers had not come in and *Diſturb'd* that *Good Work*! There is no *Diſturbance* when a *Butcher* kills a *Sheep*.

But how came it, That the *Privy Council* who Examin'd this Matter, did not *Puniſh* theſe *Jacobites* who Rais'd this *Tumult*? But on the Contrary, Order'd the *Magiſtrates* to *Repair* the *Damages* done to Sir *John Bell's Houſe*; and, for the future to *Protect* that *Epiſcopal Meeting*, purſuant to Her *Majeſty's* Orders; or otherwiſe Threaten'd to ſend more *Forces* among them, to *Teach* them their *Duty*. Notwithſtanding theſe *Presbyterian Magiſtrates* had the *Grace* to refuſe to do either! Why then were not the *Forces* ſent? This *Author* tells, p. 11. That the *Presbyterian* Party were ſo Strong, in the *Privy-Coun-*

cil as to Hinder it. Then ſure they were ſo Strong as not to have Suffer'd the *Reflection* of that *Tumult* to be laid upon the honeſt *Presbyterians*, if there had been no *Cauſe* for it, but that the *Jacobites* had Rais'd it upon Themſelves! He confeſſes, p. 12. That the *Inhabitants* of *Glaſgow* did *drive them out of their Conventicles ſet up againſt Law.* Why? Tho' *Epiſcopacy* was *Aboliſh'd*, by *Act* of their own *Parliament*, from being the *Eſtabliſh'd* Religion; Was it made *Unlawful* for them to have any *Liberty* of *Conſcience*, and to Serve *God* in their *Houſes*, when they were Turn'd out of their *Churches*? Or, was not the *Queen's* Authority *Sufficient*; or their *Regard* for Her *Majeſty* ſo great, as to *Gratify* Her (if it had been no more) in ſo *Small* a Matter, as to ſuffer one *Epiſcopal Meeting*? And why wou'd they not let the *Privy-Council* be *Judges* of this, ſince they one that the *Major* Part of them were on their Side? Or, had they a Private *Watch-Word*?

But this *Author*, giving his Reaſons, why the *Presbyterians* Refuſe any *Toleration* to the Epiſcopal Party in *Scotland*, ſays, p. 57. That *for ſuch of the* Epiſcopal Clergy *as have taken the Oaths to Her Majeſty, there is no need of it, they may Preach and Pray whenever they can Procure an Auditory; for there is no Law againſt it.* Now this was the Caſe of that Epiſcopal Meeting at *Glaſgow*, for the Clergy-Man who did *Officiate* there, had taken the *Oaths*; and as ſuch, was ſent by the now *Privy-Council*, purſuant to Her Majeſty's Gracious *Letters*. Which, it ſeems, were not contrary to *Law*. Yet were *Oppos'd!* And this *Author's* Juſtification of it, is, That they *drove out a Conventicle ſet up againſt* LAW! And they will ſuffer none *other* there to this Day. Tho' the Epiſcopal Party there have humbly *Petition'd* her Majeſty for it. But cannot *Obtain* it, for *Fear* of the *Presbyterians!* Why did the *Magiſtrates* of *Glaſgow* Anſwer the *Privy-Council*, that they cou'd not undertake to *Protect* any Epiſcopal Meeting there, as they were *Commanded*? Eſpecially Conſidering that *there was no Law againſt it.* Cou'd not they *Protect* the *Laws* againſt a few *Jacobites?* (as this Author calls them) or hinder them from *Rabbling* of *Themſelves*! Why did they Oppoſe *Forces* going down againſt them? Why do's this *Author* ſay, p. 12. That *had not the ſending of Forces thither been wiſely Prevented*—— Scotland *had unavoidably been thrown into greater Convulſions and Diſorders, than any that*

that have happen'd ſince the Reſtoration of K. Char. *the Second ?* This is fair *Warning* ! And theſe are Grateful Men !

Had they *Forgot*, that when Epiſcopacy was Eſtabliſh'd, in the Year 1669, *and afterwards* (as it is Expreſs'd in the *Glaſgow Petition* before mention'd) K. *Char.* II. *did grant even to the Presbyterians and their Preachers, as much, if not more, than we now humbly* Addreſs *for, altho' they were equal Enemies to Himſelf, as to the Monarchy.*

And has their *Addreſs* to King *James* 7th. quite Slipt out of their Minds (which therefore to *Refreſh* their *Memories*, is *Re-printed* in the *Appendix* to *Wolf-Strip'd*, *Num.* 1. p. 3, 4,) wherein they give many *Thanks* for the *Indulgence* he Granted them, and Promis'd perpetual *Loyalty*, upon their *Word* and *Conſcience* ? Which they *Religiouſly* perform'd ! As to his *Father* ! So hitherto to his *Daughter* ! Whoſe leaſt *Commands* [or *Deſires*] they Diſpute *Inch* by *Inch* !

And the Return of *Gratitude* which they had made to theſe *Princes* for their Great *Clemency* to them (Plentifully by them *Acknowledg'd*, at the Time) was to Raiſe *Rebellions* againſt them, while they *Liv'd* ; and after their *Death*, to *Blaken* their *Memory* as the moſt *Cruel* of *Tyrants* !

Thus this *Account* gives a long *Detail* of the Sharp *Acts* made againſt the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*, during theſe *Reigns*. But ſays not a Word of the *Cauſe* of it, and even *Neceſſity* which *forc'd* the *Parliament* (they forgot that) as well as the *King* to make theſe *Laws*, to Preſerve the *Nation* from the daily *Murders*, *Aſſaſſinations*, and *Rebellions* of theſe *People*, the like I believe not Heard in any *Chriſtian* Country ! They not only ſet-up *Declarations* downright *Diſowning* the *King*, and *Preaching* it as every Man's Duty to *Kill* him, but all who *Obey'd* him, or *Serv'd* him. And they have *Murder'd* the *Soldiers* whom they found *Single* Travelling the *Road*, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe they ſaw the *King's Livery* upon their *Backs* ! And when *Taken*, and brought to *Execution*, had their *Lives* offer'd them, upon no Harder Condition than only to ſay theſe Words, *God ſave the King*, No ! They wou'd not Buy their *Lives* ſo Dear ! And wou'd ſuffer Death rather than do it ! But when their *right Hands* were cut off [which is part of the *Sentence* for *Treaſon* there] Sprinkled their *Blood* upon the *People*, calling it [*Blaſphemouſly* !] *The Blood of the Covenant*

nant. This is the ſame Trayterous *Covenant* they have now *Renew'd*, ſince her *Majeſty's* Acceſſion to the *Throne*; and which they think the very *Covenant* of *God*! And they *Baptize* their *Children* into it! It is frequently given in *Charge* at their *Baptiſms*, with their *Confeſſion* of *Faith*, &c. This is in *Lieu* of the *Sign* of the *Croſs*! And this Allows of no *King* or *Queen* who will not take it. This has made them Renounce Queen *Ann*, and for the ſame Reaſon they gave againſt her *Uncle* K. *Char.* II. becauſe ſhe is *Epiſcopal*. For they will have none but a *Presbyterian* to Reign over *Them*!

When the *Duke* of *York* was *Commiſſioner* in *Scotland*, he cou'd not believe it *Poſſible*, what was told him; That Men cou'd be *Poſſeſs'd* with ſuch a *Frenetical Spirit* of *Furious* and *Unchriſtian Zeal*, as to Scruple ſaying, *God ſave the King*, which is a *Scripture Expreſſion*, and often us'd to thoſe who were not very *good Kings*; and *ſignifies* no more than *Let the King Live*, as the *Hebrew* reads it; which *Daniel* us'd to an *Heathen* King, who had caſt him into the *Den* of *Lions*. Dan. vi. 21.

But his *Royal Highneſs* had Occaſions, while he was there, to be Convinc'd of this; for he himſelf offer'd *Pardon* to ſome of theſe *Rebel-Zealots*, who were *Condemn'd* during his *Adminiſtration*, upon the Sole Condition of ſaying *God ſave the King*; but all his *Rhetorick* cou'd not perſwade them!

They have *Shot* at and *Wounded* BISHOPS in their *Coaches* in the *Streets* of *Edinburgh*. They *Aſſaſſinated* the Lord Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, as before is mention'd; And preſently after flew out in open *Rebellion*, and *Fought* it in the *Field* at *Botbwell-Bridge*, where theſe *Aſſaſſinators* were their Chief *Commanders*. Some of whom that Eſcap'd, Fled into *Holland*, and were follow'd by Sir *William Sharp*, Son to the Arch-Biſhop, who Apply'd himſelf to his *Highneſs* for Leave to *Apprehend* them, but cou'd not obtain it. And had the *Mortification* to ſee them come over in his *Train*, and Employ'd in our *Deliverance*! But without *Confeſſion* or *Satisfaction* made for the *Murther* of a *Biſhop*. No. They thought it no *Murther*, but an *Heroical* Imitation of the *Zeal* of *Phinehas*!

Theſe were not Content to uſe their *Slovenly* way of *Worſhip* in their own *Houſes*, or in Reaſonable *Companies*, which was not deny'd them; but they wou'd meet in the *Hills*, 5. 6, 7, or 8000 of them together, in Arms, where they Committed ſeveral *Murders*. And

And when the King did *Indulge* about an *Hundred* of their *Preachers*, and gave them full *Liberty* to *Hear* them, in a *Peaceable way*; they *Spurn'd* at it, and wou'd have none of it. And thoſe of their own *Preachers* who Accepted of this *Liberty* from the King, they *Forſook* and *Diſdain'd* them, as the *King*'s, or the *Councils Curates*, which they, in *Contempt* call'd them; and wou'd not meet otherwiſe than in *Oppoſition* to the *Government*, and in what *Numbers* they pleas'd, and to do what they pleas'd! This occaſion'd the *Laws* made againſt thoſe *Field-Conventicles* of Rebellion. Which theſe *good-Men* call *Perſecution.*

And yet how many of them did the King Spare! He ſhew'd great *Mercy* to them, for which they now call him *Tyrant*! And have Rebell'd ſince, over and over again,

The Renown'd Sir *George Mackenzie*, Lord *Advocate* in *Scotland*, Wrote a *Vindication* of the *Reign* of K. *Char.* II. in *Confutation* of theſe Falſe *Repreſentations* of the *Whiggs*, Printed here in *London* ſince the *Revolution.* And it Remains *Un-Anſwer'd* by them to this Day. For they cannot. It is Matter of Fact, of which he had Perfect Knowledge, being then upon the Place, and more Particularly *Oblig'd* by his *Office* to take Cognizance of it. Yet the Old *Objections* are here again *Repreſented*, in *Ample* form, by this *Author* of the *Account*; without the Leaſt *Notice*, that they have been All already *Confuted*! And he knows it full well.

Can this Author find in all that *Reign* any who were *Glen-Coed* under *Truſt*, after they had lain down their *Arms*, and ſubmitted to the *Government*?

Can he find ſuch an Inſtance of the *Breach* of *Publick Faith*, as we are told of in *The Flying Poſt*, Mar. 30. 1704, That the *Privy Council* of *Scotland* (the Major part of which he Confeſſes to be *Presbyterians*) having given Sir *Alexander Mac-Donald* of *Glengary* (a Relation of *Mac-Donald* of *Glen Coe*, and who Quited his *Houſe* for fear of the like Treatment, under the ſame *Presbyterian* Adminiſtration) their *Safe Conduct* to come to *Edinburgh* by ſuch a Day, and for 15 Days after that he might be ſecure of his ſafe Return, did, when he Came accordingly, Commit him *Cloſe Priſoner*. And when he Pleaded the *Safe Conduct* they had Given him, they *Deſpiſed* it, and Committed him *Notwithſtanding*!

This

This is *John Hus* and the *Council* of *Conſtance*. The *Presbyterian* out-doing the *Jeſuit*. For the *Council* broke only the *Emperor's Safe Conduct*, but theſe break *their own*. Tho' Acting in her *Majeſty*'s Name, they are Lyable to her Juſt Reſentment, that her *Honour* ſuffer not in the Caſe. This is giving no *Quarter*, and making Men *Deſperate*. It *Proſtitutes* the *Dignity* of *Government*, and, *Diſſolves* all *Faith* and *Truſt* not only betwixt *Prince* and *People*, but among all *Mankind*; And Transforms us all into ſo many *Beaſts* of *Prey*; Independent on *Society* or *Laws*, ſhewing no Man any *Security* but in the *Strength* of his own *Arm*. It turns us from *Chriſtians* far below the *Heathen*!

If the *Flying Poſt* has *Miſ-Repreſented*. Let him look to that.

Otherwiſe theſe *Reflections* are *Juſt*. And theſe *Presbyterians* the *Abhorring* of all *Fleſh*!

Many have *Broke* their *Faith*. But none except, They do it *above board*, and ſtand in it! This is not the firſt Time. Their *Hiſtory* affords Plentiful *Examples*. And muſt they be *Truſted* ſtill!

There are Particular *Perſons* among them, ſome of which I know, Men of *Honour* and *Good Nature*, whom I cou'd *Truſt* with any thing of *Private* Concern. But take them as a *Body*, they are, and ever have been, the moſt *Falſe* and *Perfidious* that can be ſhew'd of *Human* Race! And the Queſtion is not, Where they have *Broke* their *Faith*? But where they ever *Kept* it, in any thing wherein their *Cauſe* was Concern'd? Or Ever gave a True *Repreſentation* of *Themſelves*, or of their *Adverſaries*? Or wou'd *Diſown* a *Lye* they once *Told*, tho' never ſo Plainly *Confuted*? Or *Ceas'd* to *Repeat* it over again, tho' they cou'd not *Anſwer* what was ſaid againſt it?

For it is not the *Method* of that *Party* to *Anſwer*. But to *Repeat* and *Repeat* their *Lyes* ſtill on, without a *Bluſh*! And to *Hammer* them into *People* by Meer *Dint* of *Diligents*! And how *Strangely* have they *Prevail'd*!

Thus that Notorious *Lye* in their *Claim of Right*, of their *having Reform'd from Popery by Presbyters*, as well as that *Prelacy* was *an Unſupportable Grievance and Trouble to that Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People, ever ſince the Reformation* having been *Effectually* and *Demonſtratively* Diſprov'd

Diſprov'd, from their own *Hiſtories*, in the *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery*, Printed at *London* for *Char. Brome* in the Year 1695. Yet this *Author* takes no *Notice* of it, but *Inſiſts* ſtill upon what he knows to be a *Lye*!

But what need he give *Himſelf* the *Lye*! And in the ſame *Breath*; that no body can *Miſs* it! He pretends (to ſhew the Great *Moderation* of the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland*) that the *Prelatiſts* there Enjoy not only *Toleration* but a *Comprehenſion* too. And yet he tells, p. 42. That any ſort of *Toleration* was not only *Refus'd* to them, as being the *Eſtabliſhing of Iniquity of a Law*; but p. 46. That an *Act* Paſs'd making it *High-Treaſon*, by Word, Deed, or Writing, to Defend *Epiſcopacy*, or Impugn *Presbytery*; And upon this, ſays he (*Inſultingly*!) *The Toleration Act was Drop'd, and no more Heard of it.* It was Time, indeed, when it was made *High-Treaſon* to Propoſe it! X X

And for the *Comprehenſion* (tho' it is fooliſh to Talk of that where a *Toleration* is Deny'd) there is an *Act* ſet down, p. 120. Made *June*, 12. 1693. Wherein the Condition of the *Comprehenſion* is, That *they take the Oath of Allegiance and Aſſurance, ſubſcribe the Confeſſion of Faith, and Declare the ſame to be the Confeſſion of their own Faith, and own the Doctrines therein containd to be True, and that they will conſtantly Adhere to the ſame; and likewiſe that they Own and Acknowledge* PRESBYTERIAN *Church-Government to be the only Government of this Church; and will Submit thereto, and concur therewith; and never Endeavour, Directly or Indirectly, the Prejudice or Subverſion thereof; And that they likewiſe Subſcribe to obſerve the preſent Uniformity of Worſhip*, &c. And ſays, p. 122. *This was the firſt Act of* COMPREHENSION *Obtain'd for the Epiſcopal Clergy.* Is that Man *beſides himſelf*, to call this a *Comprehenſion*, which *Excludes* all but Rank *Presbyterians!* It is as Severe a *Teſt* as cou'd be Worded againſt the *Epiſcopal Clergy.* 3 + X X

Well then, he gives us Another in the Year 1695. which he puts foremoſt, for the better *Grace*, becauſe it bears more *Shew* of *Favour*, it begins at p. 79. And requires only the *Oath* of *Allegiance and Aſſurance.* But who were *Included* in this? They only, *that were, at the Time of his Majeſtys happy Acceſſion to the Crown, and have ſince continu'd actual Miniſters in particular Pariſhes; And no Sentence, either of Depoſition or Deprivation paſt againſt them.*

First hereby are *Excluded* all the *Epiſcopal Clergy*, who, at the Beginning of the *Revolution* were *Rabbl'd*, in *Savage* Manner, and Thruſt out of their *Pariſhes*, (and ſome of them out of their *Lives*) by the Godly *Mobb*, ſet on Work by the *Ring-Leaders* of the *Faction*, not only without *Law*, but againſt all the *Laws* then in being; before the *Prince* of *Orange* had *Acceſſion* to the *Crown* of *Scotland*; but after his Coming over, in order to it! And their *Convention* did Adjudge all the *Clergy* thus Turn'd out, by the *Mobb*, to have been Lawfully *Ouſted*, and that none of them ſhou'd be *Reſtor'd*. All theſe are *Excluded* out of this *Gracious Act*.

Secondly, All that had been turn'd out by the *Presbyterian* Adminiſtration, from the Beginning of the *Revolution*, to *July* 16. 1695. the Date of that *Act*. In which time, they, having the *Full* and Abſolute *Power*, had made what *Purgations* they pleas'd and cou'd Effect, all over the *Nation*; ſo that we may ſuppoſe there were few Epiſcopal Clergy left in *Poſſeſſion*, except in the *North*, and ſome other Places, where the *People* kept them in, by Strong hand, and Defended them from the *Presbyterian Inquiſition*, following their own *Inclinations*, as they ſaid, ſince that was the *Rule*, and the Reaſon given in the *Claim of Right* for Aboliſhing of *Epiſcopacy*! And theſe ſtood out upon Account of the *Oaths*, as well as of *Epiſcopacy*. So that this Act was no *Favour* to theſe. Except to *Tempt* them by *Fair Means*, whom they cou'd not otherwiſe bring to *Compliance*. And we muſt think that very *Few*, if *any* of thoſe in their *Power*, were left in *Poſſeſſion* in 1695, ſeeing this *Author* tells us, p. 82. that *about* 315 *were turn'd out in* 1689, and 1690.

And it ſeems they did not expect *many* to come in, when no longer time was given by this *Act*, than from *July* 16, the Day it was made, to *Sept.* 1. next following. In which time many of the Kingdom might not Hear of it. And if any did come in, they were Expreſly Barr'd from being *Members* of their *General Aſſemblies*, *Synods*, or *Presbyteries*, from *Licenſing*, *Ordaining*, *or any Part of Government* in the *Church*, unleſs they were *Aſſumed* by their *Kirk-Judicatories*; who were left Free to *Aſſume* them, or not, as they Pleas'd notwithſtanding their having taken the *Oaths*.

But

But there is a Latitude given, even after the ſaid 1ſt of *September*, that if any be *Aſſumed* by the *Kirk-Judicatories*, upon their *Certificate*, ſuch *ſhall be Admitted and Allow'd to Qualifie himſelf by taking the Oath of Allegiance, and Subſcribing the ſame with the Aſſurance.* That is, in *Engliſh*, if the *Kirk* be Satisfy'd of their being thorough *Presbyterians*, and for their Turn, they are then, and not till then, rightly *Qualify'd* to take the *Oaths* to K. *William*! But where is the *Comprehenſion* here? For all is ſtill left in the Hands of the *Kirk*. And they are not Requir'd to *Aſſume* any but whom they think fit. The *Security* here Propos'd is the *Proverb*, of *giving the Wolf the Lamb to keep.* The *Biſhops* in *Scotland* had Power to *Aſſume* ſuch of the *Presbyterians* as they thought fit. Were the *Presbyterians* thankful for this *Grace*? Did they think it a *Comprehenſion*?

But in this *Act* there is a *Clauſe*, *That ſuch of the ſaid Miniſters as ſhall not come in betwixt and the ſaid Day, are hereby, and by Force of this preſent Act*, ipſo facto, *Deprived of their reſpective Kirks and Stipends, and the ſame declar'd vacant, without any further Sentence.* This opens the *Myſtery* of this Gracious *Act*! Which was to *Ouſt* thoſe *Epiſcopal Clergy* in the *North*, by Force of an Act of *Parliament*, whom all the *Kirk Authority* cou'd not *Diſpoſſeſs*, they being Supported by the *Inclinations* of the *People*. And this is the Reaſon that the *Time* allow'd them was ſo *ſhort*, wherein probably *Few* or *None* of them cou'd take the Benefit of the Act, if they had a mind to it. For the *Kirk* was Reſolv'd to get Rid of them, at any rate, they were *Thorns* in their *Sides*, and their *Stout Oppoſition* did much *abate* the *Authority* of the *Kirk* all over the *Kingdom*.

But hereby they are Fallen into a worſe *Snare*! For by this, *Lay-deprivation* is allow'd, and the *Civil Government* intermedling to the Full, not only *circa Sacra*, but *in Sacris* as this *Author* do's Diſtinguiſh. p. 74. And gives it as the Great *Reaſon* of the *Non-Conformity* of the *Presbyterians* to the *Epiſcopal* Government, becauſe of the *Eraſtianiſm* they ſaid of the *Biſhops* in Submitting to the *Encroachments* of the *Civil* Power upon the *Inherent Rights* of the *Church*, ſuch as this *Author* there mentions, *to be Judges of the Qualifications and Doctrine of Miniſters, or Terms of Church Communion.* Which he ſays, the

Presbyterians (not in *Holland*, but) in *Scotland*, have *always oppos'd*. Yet now they Fly to it, when it will ſerve their *Turn*!

If they ſay, the *Kirk* cou'd not help it, it was the *Parliament* that did it

Anſw. It was a *Parliament* they *Commend* and bring this as a *Proof* of the Great *Moderation* of the *Kirk*, How elſe do's it ſhew the *Moderation* of the Kirk, if the Kirk did not *Conſent* to it ?

And, 2dly, Might they not ſuppoſe this to be the Caſe with the *Church* too; and that She ought not to be loaded with all the Acts of *Parliament* made in ſuch Caſes?

But he brings a very Subſtantial *Argmuent* againſt *Admitting* any, whom they knew to be *Well-affected* towards *Epiſcopacy*, whatever *Teſts* they took, or however they *Qualify'd* themſelves, which is, p. 102. That they cou'd not *give any manner of Aſſurance, that they wou'd not Endeavour to Subvert the Conſtitution of the Church, if they were admitted into the Share of her Government*. This I own to be *Unanſwerable*, it is ſtrong *Senſe* and *Reaſon*; and ſuppoſing that they thought themſelves in the Right, they ought not to have *Admitted* any ſuch. But then their *Hipocriſy* lies in this, 1. To *Pretend* otherwiſe, and *Produce* Sham *Acts* of *Parliament* which mean no ſuch thing, but the direct *Contrary*. And 2*dly*. That they will not allow others to make uſe of the ſame *Prudence* and *Caution*, but Plead *Birth Rights*, and ſuch like *Senſeleſs* things againſt them; and call that *Perſecution* in *others*, which they *juſtify* in *themſelves*.

The *Addreſs* of the *General Aſſembly* in *Scotland* to Her *Majeſty*.

This *Author* has Preſented us, in his *Paper* of *Mar*. 25. 1704. with the Addreſs of the *General Aſſembly* of the Kirk in *Scotland* to Her *Majeſty*, ſent the ſame *Month*.

1. It begins with that fully Diſprov'd *Lye*, of the *Reformation* in *Scotland* being by *Presbyters*, and that the *Presbyterian Government*, *was at that time Settled*. Of this before.

2. As *falſe* is it what they next ſay of *God having always Signally bleſs'd the Presbyterian Government of that Church, and the Diſcipline thereof, for the Suppreſſing of Prophanity and Curbing of Error*.

This is well ſaid, if it did not want the *Circumſtance* of *Truth*. For they ſtand Chargeable not only with their *Schiſm*, in breaking off from the *Church Government* of the whole Earth,

Earth, from the Days of the *Apoſtles* to *John Calvin*: but like-like their Doctrine is Charg'd as *Corrupt* and *Unſound* in the *Faith*, and tending, by a Natural Conſequence, to *Profanity* and *Error*.

Such are their *Anti-Nomian* Doctrines [the Presbyterians in *Scotland* are generally *Anti-Nomians*] That *God* ſees no *Sin* in his *Elect*. That the *Good* Actions of the *Reprobate* are *Hateful* to *God*; and the *Sins* of the *Elect* not *Diſpleaſing* to Him. They explain *Election* and *Reprobation* at ſuch a Rate, as to Render thoſe whom they call the Elect *Secure* in their *Sins*, tho' never ſo *Heinous*, and continu'd in to their laſt *Breath*. They *ſave* them by *Hidden* and *Ir-reverſible* Decrees, without any Conſideration of their *Good* or *Bad* Lives. They make *God* the Author of *Sin*, by denying *Free Will* in *Man*, and ſaying that all our Actions are *Pre-determined*, and we cannot *mend* them.

This is not only *Mentioned*, but *Inſiſted* upon in the 2*d*. *Part* of *New Aſſoſiation*, p. 18, *&c*. But no *Anſwer* given to it in the *Occaſional Letter* before Conſider'd.

From ſuch *Principles* as theſe it is not ſtrange to find ſuch an Abounding of *Immorality and Prophaneſs* as this Kirk-Addreſs do's Acknowledge to be now among them. It makes the *Gentry* DEISTS, and the *CommonPeople* ENTHUSIASTS.

They may ſay as an *Anti-Nomian Preacher*, in *London* did, dot long ſince, to a Friend who Ask'd him the *Succeſs* of his *Miniſtry*; He anſwer'd with great *Commotion*, and ſeem'd to *Wonder, That he had Preach'd a Congregation of Chriſtians, into a Congregation of Devils.*

That *Prophaneſs and Immoralities* [ſome of a *Sort* not known before] have *abounded* in *Scotland*, much more ſince the late *Eſtabliſhment of Presbytery* there, is *Notorious* to all in that *Country*; and *Bewail'd* by the *Good Men* of the *General Aſſembly*, who cannot find a *Reaſon* for it!

To what is beforeſaid, let me add the *Prophaneſs* of their *Holy things*. Their *Slovenly* way of *Worſhip*, fitting upon their *Tails*, and their *Hats* on their *Heads*, or *Hanging* upon one *Ear*. And having Baniſh'd as well *Decency* as *Learning* with the *Epiſcopal Clergy*, their *Lean-Flaſhy Tedious-Sermons* and telling *God* all the *News* of the *Town* in their *Prayers*, their *Scots-Presbyterian Eloquence*, and *Naſty-Kitchin Metaphors* apply'd to the *Almighty*,

Almighty, are indeed *Blaſphemous*, (which they call *Familiarity* with *God*) and cannot go down with any Man of *Senſe*, or who has a due Notion of the *Infinite Majeſty*. This *Deformity* of *Holineſs* has Render'd their *Religion* Nauſeous, eſpecially among the young *Nobility* and *Gentry*; and Inclin'd them to *Atheiſm* or *Popery*. Of the *Increaſe* of which the *General Aſſembly* do's likewiſe Complain. And when the Compariſon lies betwixt the *Pompous Superſtition* of the one, and the *Mechanick Dullneſs* and *Irreverence* of the other, it is not to be wonder'd that *Popery* as well as *Prophaneſs* and *Immorality* has had ſo many *Proſelites* among the *Presbyterians*.

But the *Presbyterians* give another Reaſon for it, *viz.* That the *Devil* is always moſt Buſie among the *Saints*. Whence ariſe thoſe Swarms of *Witches* [all *Diſſenters*] which Riſe and Fall with *Presbytery*, and its *Off-ſpring*. Hardly heard of under *Epiſcopal Adminiſtration*.

Beſides the *Debauchees* of the *Covenant* are Excus'd upon an other *Account*; as one of their *Miniſters* ſince the *Revolution*, ſaid of a certain *Patron* of theirs, who was *Wicked* out of the *Common Road*, and *Notoriouſly* ſo; we muſt not take Notice of him; for *Scandal* to the *Cauſe*; and *he is as good to God another way*. He was *Sound* at *Heart*. For he had Built them a *Synagogue*!

I wiſh the *General Aſſembly* had nam'd ſome of thoſe *Bleſſings* which they obſerve have always *Signally* attended *Presbyterian Government* in *Scotland*. I have hear'd, that as *Rebellion* introduc'd it, ſo the *Sword*, *Famine*, *Sickneſs*, and *Poverty* have always attended its *Eſtabliſhment*. All which have *Signally* follow'd it now. They have not been Eſtabliſh'd before ſince *Forty One*, thoſe *Bleſſed* Times! Is this the *Bleſſing* of which they now mind Her *Majeſty*? The *Rebellion* they then Rais'd againſt her Royal *Grand-father*; which *ſucceeded* (tho' he had *Eſtabliſh'd* them too) till it brought on his *Deſtruction*, and of the *Church* with him, not only in *Scotland*, but in *England* and *Ireland*! And all this, by his *Playing* with them, his *Courting* and *Careſſing* them, till they Grew to *Strong* for him. And they made as *Fine Loyal Addreſſes* as they do now. Nay more, they once Declar'd themſelves fully ſatisfy'd, and that they had no more to *Aſk*, after his having *Eſtabliſh'd* their *Presbytery*, and Aboliſh'd

Aboliſh'd *Epiſcopacy* for them. It was then a *Contended People* and a *Contented King*.

3. But it ſeems this *General Aſſembly* will not be content with all this. They will not have any of the *Epiſcopal Clergy* left among them. They will not ſuffer them to *Preach*, tho' in *vacant Churches*, as the *Addreſs* ſpeaks; nor to *Baptize* their own *Children*, or thoſe of their *Communion* in private *Houſes*, when the *Church-Doors* are ſhut againſt them, which this *Addreſs* calls *Irregular Baptiſms*. For this they Outrag'd Mr. *Maſſie*, &c. as before is told. They count it likewiſe *Irregular* to *Baptize* the *Children* of any who are under *Scandal* with them (and we know what they count *Scandal*) thus Puniſhing the Innocent *Child* for the *Parent*'s Offence. But they think the want of *Baptiſm* to be little *Harm*. They make it but a *Formality*! And down it go's in their next *Heat* againſt *Sett-Forms*! They had almoſt worn it quite out, and the *Lord's Supper* too; in their laſt *Eſtabliſhment*. As has been often told See *Wolf Stript*, chap. iv. N. 3. p. 20.

If no *Private Baptiſms* muſt be allow'd in *Scotland*; and of no *Children* of thoſe who are under *Scandal* by the *Kirk*, then none of the *Church* there can have their *Children* Baptiz'd; unleſs at the Peril of the *Mobb*, where the *Presbyterians* Prevail, as in the Caſe of Mr. *Maſſie*, &c. or of the *Royal* Authority, which as in the laſt *Reign*, they bring into their Aid, where the *Inclinations* of the *People* are Epiſcopal, which is far the Greater Part of the *Kingdom*. Therefore this *Addreſs* of the *General Aſſembly* do's direct her *Majeſty* to Iſſue her *Proclamation* againſt theſe Epiſcopal Clergy, who *Preach* or *Baptize* and will not own the *Sentences* of *Depoſition* by the *Kirk-Judicatories*, or of *Deprivation* by the *Privy Council*. Theſe are the Men who Cry out upon *Eraſtianiſm*! Of which before, But now we have it as the proper *Act* of the whole *General Aſſembly*.

And they being now ſtrengthned by a *Letter* Counterſign'd by D. of *Q.* to the *Privy Council* there, in purſuance to their Addreſs, to let the *Laws* looſe againſt the Diſſenting *Clergy* (ſo the *Church* of *Scotland* is now nam'd) we may expect to hear more of their *Sufferings*, till they are Extirpated, if a more than Ordinary *Providence* do's not Interpoſe.

It is told in *New Aſſoc.* Par. 2. Supl. p. 14, 15. How Mr. *Rob.*

Rob. Calder an Episcopal Clergy-Man was Treated at *Aberdeen* for *Administring* the *Holy Sacrament* there *Easter* was Twelve Months, 1703.

And this Year, some of the Episcopal Clergy there, having given Notice for the *Sacrament* to be Administred in their own *Meeting Houses* last *Easter-Day*, 1704; The *Presbyterians* there, being much fewer in Number than the *Church*, durst not venture upon their Common Refuge the *Mobb*; but took hold of the Advantage of the *Letter* beforemention'd, in Her *Majesty*'s Name, and obtain'd a Peremptory *Summons* from the Presbyterian *Privy-Council* there, for these *Clergy Men* to Appear at *Edinburgh*, to Answer these *Irregular* Proceedings. So that now they are Depriv'd both of *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*. And can have them no otherwise than in an *Heathen Country*, and as the Primitive *Church*, in times of *Persecution*, under Peril of the Lawless *Mobb*, or of *Authority*.

In this Great Distress, they of the *Church* in *Aberdeen*, much Superior in *Number* and *Substance* to the Kirk *Party*, have humbly *Addressed* to Her *Majesty*, Representing the Deplorableness of their Condition, and Imploring Her *Majesty*'s Protection, at least, for their *Consciences* —— But they must bear their *Chains*—— And yet they rest fully Assur'd of Her Majesty's good *Inclinations* towards them, and doubt not in the least of the *Sincerity* of Her *Majesty*'s Professions when She came to the *Throne*, of Her being truly *Episcopal*, as She had been Educated. But they Pity the *Necessity* She is brought under by the *Mis-Representations* have been made to Her of the State and Strength of the *Faction*, in that Kingdom, as well as in *England*. And they *Pray* it may not Prove to her *Detriment*, as it did to her Royal *Grand Father*, who was thus Perswaded, by the *Artifice* of *Designing Men*, to his own *Destruction*, and of the *Church* and *Nation* with him.

They *Pray* for Her *Majesty*. And commit their *Cause* to *God*.

Alas! Poor *Church* of *Scotland!* Alas for *Episcopacy* in these Kingdoms! Which is no more of *Divine Right* in ENGLAND than in SCOTLAND. There is but one *Episcopat* in the Whole Earth, of which each *Church* is a *Part*. And they us'd to be Concern'd for each other, as *Members* of the same *Body*. But by *our* Unconcernedness now for the *Church* of *Scotland*; by the Experience of the last *Age*, and the Current

rent of this, we may *Compute*, That if Episcopacy be not *Restor'd* in *Scotland*, it will be *Abolished* in *England*—— As before. The *Faction* in *Scotland* have *Declar'd* it. And in *England* they will not *Deny* it. And who is there to *Hinder* it?

I wou'd Ask any Moderate Good-Natur'd *Dissenter* in *England* [for such I know there are] Whether they wou'd not think it *Persecution* and a Design of utter *Extirpation*, if they were Prohibited from having their Children *Baptiz'd* in their own *Communion*? And after being *Rabbl'd* for this, instead of *Redress* or *Protection*, shou'd be Answer'd, let the *Laws* loose upon them. And if the *Bishops*, if the *Convocation* shou'd be the *Promoters* of this, and *Address* for it, whether they wou'd not be call'd *High-Flyers*, of a *Persecuting Spirit*, &c?

And even this wou'd not be so severe upon the *Dissenters* here, as the Hindring of *Episcopal Baptism* is upon the *Church* in *Scotland*: Because the *Presbyterians* here do Acknowledge, as likewise in *Scotland*, the *Validity* of *Episcopal Ordination* (from which their first Reforming *Presbyters* did Derive their *Mission* and *Authority*) and consequently of their *Baptisms*. Whereas the *Presbyterian Ordinations* are Deny'd by us, and consequently their *Baptisms* to be *Valid*, more than if Administred by a meer *Lay-Man*, or *Woman*, in Case of *Necessity*. Nay it is worse, for here meer *Lay-Men* (for such are their *Presbyters*, if their *Ordination* is not *Valid*) take upon them, not only in one single Case of *Necessity* (as *Uzzah* thought) but *Ordinarily* and of *Right* to *Invade* the *Sacred Office*, in all its Parts, and that in direct *Opposition* to the *Priesthood* Ordain'd by *God*, like *Korah*, and so make it a Stated *Schism*. Therefore, tho' they may with a good *Conscience*, and pursuant to their own *Principles*, come to our *Baptisms*; yet we cannot go to *theirs*. And therefore, if all *Presbyterian Baptisms* were Forbid in *England*, it cou'd not be such an Oppression in *Conscience* upon them, as the Forbidding of *Episcopal Baptisms* in *Scotland* is to the *Church* there.

And Suppose we shou'd Turn upon them the Argument made use of in the *Representation* of the *Commission of the General Assembly* to the *Parliament* in *Scotland* (Inserted in *Wolf Script.* Appen. *Num.* 1. p. 2.) against any *Toleration* to the *Church* there, which they call *Establishing Iniquity by a Law*,

and give this Reaſon, *that there can be no juſt Ground to deſire or Grant ſuch a Toleration Seeing there was never in any Nation a Toleration allowed, where there was no Pretence of Conſcience againſt Joynt-Communion.* As to the *Impudence* of their Aſſertion, it is like *Themſelves*! To *out-face* the *Sun* at *Noon-day*! Are not our *Objections* againſt their *Ordinations*, and the *Corruption* of their *Doctrins*, in many Particulars beſides thoſe before mention'd, ſo much as a *Pretence* of *Conſcience* againſt their *Communion*!

But what *Pretence* of *Conſcience* had they againſt our *Communion* ſince the *Reſtoration*, 1660, in *Scotland*? Where all the preſent *Pretences* of the *Engliſh Diſſenters* were taken out of the way, to *Try* to *Pleaſe* them! There was no *Liturgy*, nor any of our *Ceremonies*. And they cou'd not object againſt our *Doctrine*. Let them ſhew any *Pretence* but that of *Epiſcopacy*. And it was *Moderate* enough God knows! It was little more than their own *Moderatorſhips*, except the *Epiſcopal Ordinations*, to keep up the *Frame* of the *Church*; and which they themſelves Dare not ſay are *Invalid*, becauſe it wou'd Deſtroy their own *Reformation*, as they call it. And therefore they might have *Comply'd* even with that *Epiſcopacy* too, upon Point of *Conſcience*. And ſo they had no *Pretence* whatſoever againſt *Joint-Communion*. Which Argument they now as *Falſly* as *Fooliſhly* wou'd Turn upon the *Church*.

But it quite *Deſtroys* all the *Pretences* of their *Brethren* in *England*, even to a *Toleration* here! Yet they are *Brethren* ſtill, for they are againſt *Epiſcopacy*. And ſo are the *Presbyterians* in *Holland*, for the ſame Reaſon, tho' their Grand Enemy *Eraſtianiſm* Reigns there, more than in any Part of the World. Yet they Dare object it againſt the *Church* of *England*! And Practiſe it Themſelves (as before is ſhew'd) when it will ſerve their Cauſe. They can joyn with *Eraſtus*, or the very *French Papiſts* (whom they Invited over in *Forty One*) againſt the Common Foe *Epiſcopacy*. With which they are now making *Root and Branch Work*, when they will not ſuffer them to *Baptize* their *Children*. It is like the *Egyptian* Tyranny, commanding Us to throw out our *Children* [not excepting the *Females*] that they may not *Live*. The one reſpected only *Bodily* Life, but this Concerns their *Souls*.

And

And tho' we know that the *Presbyterians* lay very little Stress upon *Baptism*, and will let their own *Children* Die without it, rather than *Baptize* them *Privately*, or not upon one of their *Preaching-Days*, as is common in *Scotland*; Yet is it not a Terrible *Imposition* upon their *Conscience*, who think otherwise. That the *Presbyterians* will neither *Baptize* their *Children* themselves, if sent for to their Houses, upon never so Apparent Danger of *Death*; nor suffer any *others* to do it?

Yet Mr. *Ridpath* wou'd make us believe, that the *Episcopal Clergy* in *Scotland* enjoy not only a *Toleration*, but a *Comprehension* too! And that there is no *Oppressing* of *Tender Consciences* there! Wou'd the *Dissenters* be Content with such a *Comprehension* in *England*?

The *Acts of Uniformity*, 1. *Eliz.* 14. and, *Char.* 2. yet *un-repealed*, Inflict Severe *Penalties* upon any who by *Word* or *Writing*, shall *Declare or Speak any thing to the Derogation, Depraving, or Despising of the Book of Common-Prayer*. Yet it is, Pelted every day, from *Press* and *Pulpit*, in *Coffee Houses*, and both *Publick* and *Private Conversation*. Wou'd the *Dissenters* take it well, if the *Convocation* shou'd Address Her *Majesty* to Issue her *Royal Proclamation*, and Command her *Judges* and all *Officers*, to see those *Laws* put in due *Execution*; and shou'd give this as an *Answer* to Mr. *Calamy*, and the rest of their *Writers*? As the *General Assembly* has done in *Scotland*, in *Answer* to the *Cyprianick Age*, and other *Confutations* of their *Schism*, wrote by the *Episcopal Clergy* there. But have now stopt their Mouths, by an *Act* making it *High Treason* to *Speak* or *Write* in Defence of *Episcopacy*, or against their *Presbytery*. And other *Answer* give they none, And the *Dissenters* here Cry up their *Moderation*!

Lord how long wilt Thou look upon this?

NUMB. III.

The Lord Chancellor Puckering *his* SPEECH, *deliver'd in the* House *of* Lords, *in the Year* 1588. *Taken out of the* State Worthies. 2d *Edit.* 1679. p. 607, 608.

"YOU are especially Commanded by her Majesty to "take heed, that no Ear be given, nor Time afforded to "the wearisome Sollicitations of those that commonly be "Call'd *Puritans*, wherewithal the late *Parliaments* have been "exceedingly Importun'd; which sort of Men, whil'st that "(in the Giddiness of their Spirits) they Labour and Strive "to Advance a *New-Eldership*, they do nothing else but Disturb "the good Repose of the Church and Commonwealth; which "is as well Grounded for the Body of *Religion* it self, and as "well Guided for the *Discipline*, as any Realm that Confesseth "the Truth. And the same is already made good to the "World by many of the Writings of Godly and Learned Men, "neither answer'd, nor Answerable by any of these New-"fangled Refiners. And, as the case standeth, it may be "doubted, whether they or the *Jesuits*, do offer more Danger, "or be more speedily to be repress'd. For albeit the *Jesuits* "do Empoyson the Hearts of her *Majesty*'s Subjects, under a "Pretex of Conscience, to withdraw them from their obedi-"ence due to her Majesty, yet they do the same but closely, "and in Privy Corners: But these Men do both Teach and "Publish in their Printed Books, and teach in all their *Con-*"*venticles*, sundry Opinions, not only Dangerous to a well-"settled Estate, and the policy of the Realm, by putting a "Pique between the *Clergy* and the *Laity*, but also much De-"rogatory to her Sacred *Majesty*, and her *Crown*, as well by "the Diminution of her Antient and Lawful *Revenues*, and "by Denying her Highness Prerogative and Supremacy, as "by offering *Peril* to her *Majesty*'s safety in her own King-"dom. In all which things, (however in other Points they "Pretend to be at War with the Popish *Jesuits*) yet by the Se-"paration of themselves from the Unity of their Fellow Sub-"jects, and by Abasing the Sacred *Authority* and *Majesty* of "their *Prince*, they do both Joyn and Concur with the *Je-*"*suits* in opening the Door, and Preparing the way to the "*Spanish Invasion* that is Threatned against the Realm, *&c.*

Obs-

Obſervations upon this SPEECH.

1. It is not ſo ſtrange, that the *Puritans* in 1588, ſhou'd be Inſtrumental in the *Spaniſh Invaſion* againſt a *Queen*, who kept a *Severe* but *Juſt* hand over them; as that the *Presbyterians* in 1641, ſhou'd invite the *French* over hither againſt a *King*, who had ſo Wonderfully Exceeded in his Favours to them: And their *Treaſon* was Detected, and their *Letters* taken which they wrote to the *French King*; who being then in his *Minority*, and his *Affairs* Embroil'd, by a *Rebellion* againſt him in his own Country, cou'd not Aſſiſt them with an *Armada*; but his Chief *Miniſters*, firſt *Card. Richelieu*, and after *Mazareen* did help them to Form and carry on their *Rebellion*, from Firſt to Laſt. And pretended to Vindicate themſelves herein by way of Retaliation, for K. *Char.* I. having ſent an Army to aſſiſt thoſe who were in *Rebellion* againſt the *French-King* at *Rochelle*.

Let me here Obſerve how Differently *Oliver* did Act the *King*, in the Beginning of his *Reign*, who *Rejected* the firſt *Foreign Addreſs* that was made to him by the *City* of *Bourdeaux*, then in *Rebellion* againſt the *French King*, and ſaid, *That ſuch Examples were no way to be Encourag'd by him.* So far he had a true Notion of *Royalty*, that if *Kings* wou'd not Aſſiſt each others *Rebels*, but rather joyn together againſt them, it wou'd keep all *Kings* more *Secure*, and make *Rebellion* any! where *Impracticable*. And tho' they may ſerve a preſent Turn by it, in time of *War* or other *Exigence*, it never fails to come Home to them, at one time or other.

Heath's Chron. ad *Ann.* 1653 p. 343.

Cardinal *Richlieu* was more than Reveng'd for *Rochelle*, by the Aſſiſtance and Direction he gave to the *Scots-Presbyterians*; and ſent them a more Powerful and Wicked *Engine* than the *Spaniſh Armada*, their Curſed *Solemn League and Covenant*, which, *Mutatis Mutandis*, is word for word the very ſame with that call'd *The Holy League*, which under the Name of Preſerving *Religion*, had rais'd that Terrible *Rebellion* in *France*; which almoſt Ruin'd the whole *Nation*. And as that *Holy League*, which was worded to be *for the Preſervation of the Kings Majeſty's Perſon and Authority, in the Preſervation and Defence of the Romnn Catholick Religion*, did *Murther* their K. *Hen.* 3. who

Liv'd

Liv'd and Died a *Zealous Roman Catholick*: So our *Solemn League* which was worded in the same manner, in Defence of the King and the *Protestant Religion*, did *Murther* K. *Char.* 1. who liv'd and died a most Zealous *Protestant*.

And as the first *Puritans* in the Reign of Q. *Eliz.* were the Spawn of the *Jesuits* and *Popish Emissaries*, such as *Heath*, *Cummin*, &c. Who Broach'd among us the *Enthusiastical* Notions of being sent forth to *Preach* by the *Impulses* of our own *Spirits*, without any outward *Ordination* by *Man*; And run down *Liturgies*, as a *Dead* Form; and set up, in Opposition to them, the *Extempore Bubble* (as it was in most of them) for the more *Spiritual* way; and this on purpose to Divide and Distract the *Church* of *England*, as was evidently prov'd before the *Queen* and *Council* by their *Letters* of *Mission* taken with them, and even their own *Confession*, when Palpably *Detected* and brought to *Justice*: So have they run on in the same way, from that day to this, and have been Acted by *Popish Councils* and *Measures*, [tho' All of them knew it not] as to bring in the *Spanish Invasion*, in that *Reign*; so afterwards the *French* Designs, to the Ruin of our *Church*, and of our *Monarchy*.

2. We may observe from this *Speech*, how Troublesome they have always been to *Parliaments*; Importuning and Soliciting them without End. And that it was the Opinion of this Wise *Queen*, that no *Ear* was to be given, nor *Time* afforded them; for she saw the Fatal *Consequences*, we have since *experienced*!

3. That tho' their *Pretences* were fully *Answer'd* by the then Learned *Divines*, and so *Confuted* that they cou'd make no *Reply*; yet that they still *Clamour'd* as much as ever, *Re-Printed* their *Objections* in New *Books*, with which they fill'd the *Nation*; and carry'd it on in their *Conventicles*, with Undaunted *Assurance*!

4. That one of their Main *Engines* was, to Blaken the *Clergy* to the *Laity*, and as it is worded in the *Speech*, to make a *Pique* between them.

5. That as their *Doctrine* was *Anti-Monarchical*, so Danger was Apprehended to the *Queens* Person from them.

I pray

I pray *God* our preſent *Queen* may not ſtand in *Hiſtory*, one *Inſtance* more of *Presbyterian Gratitude*, after Her Royal *Father* and *Grand-Father*. Let her rather *Triumph* over them, as Q. *Elizabeth* did, and K. *Char.* 2. after the *Oxford Parliament*. When She takes the ſame *Method* with them, She will have the like *Succeſs*.

She has ſeen *Both* Methods *Try'd* before her; and the *Iſſue* of *Both*, more than *Once*, even as often as *either* of them has been *Try'd*.

O! Let me not in this too Prove a Caſſandra.

NUMB. IV. *Geneva Apr.* 15. 1704. N. S.

I Remember I told in ſome of my Former, of one Mr. *Oſterwald a Miniſter* of *Neufchattel*, who has Eſtabliſhed in the *Churches* belonging to that *Principality*, A *Set Form of Prayer*, in Imitation of the *Engliſh Lyturgie*; he has engag'd them to obſerve the Chief *Feſtivals* of the *Chriſtian* Religion, and endeavours all he can to bring them to a near Conformity with the *Church* of *England*, being Convinc'd that it is the moſt Conformable in all Reſpects to the *Ancient Primitive Church*. I believe in Proceſs of time the Holy City of *Geneva* will be in ſome neater degree of Proximity to us than it has been hitherto, and that by the means of three or four of their *Miniſters*, who are Men of Piety and Learning, and free from Prejudice. They propoſed not long ago to Reform ſome of the Weekly *Sermons*, and inſtead of them to Eſtabliſh a *Sett From of Prayer*, intermixed with *Pſalms*, and Reading of the *Scriptures*. This Propoſal met with Oppoſition from a great many of the Old and moſt Biggoted *Miniſters*, who Repreſented that ſuch Innovations were Dangerous, and that this was a laid Deſign to introduce the *Engliſh Lyturgie* among them. The *Magiſtrates* hearing of this Diviſion among the *Miniſters*, gave Orders that three *Miniſters* might be Deputed from each *Party*, to Inform them fully of the State of the *Debate*; and accordingly the *Miniſters* pleaded their Cauſe Solemnly before the *Council*. Above two *Thirds* of the *Magiſtrates* were for the *Alteration*, to have many of the *Sermons* aboliſh'd, and

a *Set*

a *Sett Form of Prayer* Established in their place; but they were unwilling to make this Change without the Unanimous Consent of all *Parties*, and they deputed Six of their Number to have a Conference with those who opposed the Change, and to Convince them of the Reasonableness of it, and that they had no Design to bring in any Innovation, but what might tend to the Advancement of Religion. They have at last agreed the Matter, to Retrench some *Sermons*, but not so many as was intended, and to Establish a short *Form of Prayer*, which the *Ministers* are now Prepearing,

For *Application* of this *Letter*, I refer to *Wolf Stript*, p. 49, 50.

NUMB. V. *Edinb. Apr.* 5. 1704.

THE 15*th.* Day of *March* last, being *Wednesday* the Weekly *Mercate* at *Edinburgh*, there was a *Procession* brought from the *Low Council-House* by the way of the *Tulbuith*, and in View of the Mercate People, and along the *Lanken-Booths* to the *Cross*, by Orders of her Majesty's *Privy-Council*, which was our Blessed *Saviour's Picture* in *Tallie-Bonce* upon the *Cross*; this was cry'd upon the Point of a *Halbert* by a *Towns-Officer*. The *Hangman* and his *Men* follow'd after, both Array'd in *Priests-Vestments*, with *Crucifixes* upon their Foreheads, and every one of the *Officers* carry'd something: In this Manner they came to the *Cross*, where there was a *Fire* prepared. Into which they put our *Blessed Saviour's Picture*, the *Priests Vestments*, the *Crucifixes*, together with some *Consecrated Wafers*, the *Vulgar Latin Bible*, and some other Books, and *Burnt* them all. They beat the Sides of the *Chalice* together, and having thrown it into the *Fire*, they took it out again, pretending they wou'd sell it and give it to the *Poor*.

I have Inquir'd further into this Account from *Edinburgh*, it not being Easy to be Believ'd, in a *Christian* Country; and I have it from Undoubted Hands, and can now give it to the Reader for a Certain *Truth*. And there were several other Aggravating *Circumstances*, which are not here set down. I design to make the following *Observations* upon this.

1. The

1. The *Vulgar Latin Tranſlation* of the Holy *Bible*, tho' not ſo Good as our *Engliſh Tranſlation*, in the *Main*, is Better in ſeveral *Particulars*. However it is as much the *Bible* as *Ours*. We all here, *Diſſenters* as well as others, Appeal every day from our *Engliſh* to the *Original*, in Diſputed *Texts*. Muſt therefore our *Engliſh Bible*, if any *Error* or *Miſtake* is found in it, be *Burnt*! Wou'd not this be call'd *Burning* the *Holy Scriptures* of *God*! As much as the other. There are various *Lections* of the *Originals*, as well as *Tranſlations*. Muſt all be *Burnt*! Then there may not be a *Bible* left in the World!

2. Our Diſpute with the *Church* of *Rome* concerning *Tranſubſtantiation*, relates to the *Manner* of CHRIST's *Preſence* in the *Holy Sacrament*.

But all *Chriſtian Churches* do Retain the Words of our *Bleſſed Saviour* and own, that it is His *Body and Blood*, tho' they cannot, nor ought to Preſume to Define the *Manner*, becauſe it is not *Revealed*.

Now to take that which we own to be the *Body* of *Chriſt*, in an *Ineffable* Manner, and to *Burn* it by the Hands of a *Hangman*——! *Horreſco referens*——

3. Tho' I think all *Pictures of God* the *Father* to be utterly Unlawful, as being moſt Expreſly Forbidden in the *Holy Scriptures*, as well as againſt *Senſe* and *Reaſon*. And tho' the *Picture* of our *Bleſſed Saviour* as a *Man*, comes not under that *Prohibition*, becauſe he was Really a *Man*; yet I think ſuch *Pictures* of Him, do rather *Depreſs* and *Leſſen* our Notion, even of his *Humanity*, which is not *Adorable* but upon the Account of his *Hypoſtatical* Union with the *Divinity*, which cannot be *Expreſs'd* in a *Picture*; and therefore I cou'd wiſh, that there were not one ſuch *Picture* in the World: Yet ſtill, to *Crucify* the *Picture* of our *Saviour*, to Thruſt a *Spear* into its *Side* (where the Top of the *Halbert* went in, in this *Proceſſion*) and to *Burn* it by a *Hangman*, is moſt *Abhorrent*, it is *Executing* of Him in *Effigie*, and as Great *Contempt* of Him as any *Heathen* or *Jew* cou'd ſhew. It wou'd not be Born among the *Mahometans*. They have a Greater *Veneration* for *Chriſt*. And ſuch a *Proceſſion* in *Conſtantinople*, wou'd have been Puniſh'd with *Death*.

4. A *Croſs* is no *Picture* or *Reſemblance* of any *Perſon*. But a *Proper* and *Lively* calling to Mind the *Paſſion* of our *Bleſſed Saviour*. And, as ſuch, was us'd in the *Primitive Church*. And *Croſſes* ſtand ſtill upon the *Churches* in *Geneva*. But the *Scots-Presbyterians* are the *Abhorring of all Fleſh*.

The *Teſt* in *Japan* for a *Chriſtian*, is the Trampling upon the *Croſs*. This is thought a Sufficient Indication, that he who do's it is no *Chriſtian*. By this the *Dutch* Secure that *Trade* to Themſelves. Yet I fancy wou'd *Startle* at *Burning* the *Bible*, or the *Holy Sacrament*, by which they Commonly *Swear*. For none upon Earth come up to the *Scots-Presbyterians*.

5. The *Prophaning* of a *Chalice*, or any thing *Dedicated* to *Holy Uſes*, is their Proper *Food*. They have *Liv'd* upon it, ever ſince their *Reformation*. They know no ſuch *Sin* as *Sacrilege*, except in taking a *Ragg* from their *Covenant*!

6. Their Rage againſt the *Veſtments* of a *Popiſh Prieſt*, was equally meant againſt thoſe of the *Church* of *England*. They call our *Surplice* a *Ragg* of the *Whore*, &c. and will Burn them, and Us too, by the Hands of the *Hangman*, whenever it is in their Power. Are the *Veſtments* our Quarrel with the *Church* of *Rome*? The *Veſtments* of the *Clergy* are *Seperated* for *Holy* Uſe. But the *Perſons* who are *Dedicated* to *God* are more *Sacred* than *Things*. The *Perſon* of *Aaron* was more *Sacred* than the *Temple*, as being a nearer *Type* of *Chriſt*. And to have Rob'd *Aaron* of his *Veſtments*, or to have *Prophan'd* them, wou'd have been Greater *Sacrilege*, than to have *Prophan'd* the *Utenſils* of the *Temple*. And to Dreſs an *Hangman* in the *Robes* of a *Prieſt* of *God*, is ſuch a *Contempt* of *God* as wou'd not have been born among the *Heathens*. They have a Greater Regard for *Religion*, than a true *Presbyterian*!

7. It is moſt Aſtoniſhing, that all this ſhou'd be done by the Face of *Authority*, by Order of the *Privy Council*, tho' *Presbyterians*. That they ſhou'd not have Conſulted their *Honour*, at leaſt, to Act ſuch a Publick *Deſpite* to *Religion*, Deliberately, and in Cool Blood, as muſt make the *Ears* of all that *Hear* it to *Tingle*, and Render them moſt *Odious* and *Deteſted* to the whole *Chriſtian* World!

8. I know nothing in *Hiſtory* Equal to this, but what Proceeded from the ſame *Spirit*, which Poſſeſs'd the Reforming *Lords* and *Commons* in *England*, in the Year 1644. When Forming their *Directory*, which they ſet up in Room of the *Common-Prayer*, it was under Deliberation, whether they ſhou'd Retain in it the *Creed* and the *Ten Commandments*? Which being put to the *Queſtion*, it was Carry'd in the *Negative*. And they were *Rejected*; and are not in the *Directory*. This you will ſee in the Lord *Clarendon*'s *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*. *Vol.* 2. Book viii. p. 452, 453. Thus

Thus we find, that it is not *England* or *Scotland*, which of them is the Worſt? But the *Faction* the *Party* the *Devil* in either, who is now let Looſe again, in the ſame *Shapes* in which he Appear'd formerly. And will go as far in the one *Kingdom* as in the other, where he is not *Reſiſted*.

The *Lord* Rebuke him. And his Curſed *Agents*, And *Deliver* Us from them.

AMEN.

June 10.
1704.

POSTSCRIPT.

June 22. 1704.

THIS day I ſaw a Letter from *Edinburg*, with this Note of Mr. * *Webſter*'s Prayer, *laſt Sunday* (ſays the Letter) *from an Hearer*. His Words were theſe, *We Thank thee, O Lord, for Supporting the Cauſe of thy own People in our Neighbour Nation, by putting it in the Hearts of the Godly Lords there, ſo Stoutly to Oppoſe the very Wicked Houſe of Commons.*

* A Great *Ring-leader* in *Edinburgh.*

I thought the Reader wou'd forgive me to tell him this Piece of News in a *Poſt-ſcript*, the foregoing Sheets being almoſt wrought off, that I cou'd not Inſert it in its proper Place. And I thought it worth the while, for theſe Reaſons.

To ſhew how the *Whiggs* and *Diſſenters* Reckon themſeves all One *Body* in *England* and in *Scotland*. And Concern themſelves mutually for Each other.

And ſhou'd it not be ſo with the *Church*!

To Cure, if poſſible, that *Fatal* and *Sleepy Notion* in too many here, that we are not Concern'd at what they do in *Scotland*. That the *Diſſenters* Here and There, are two Sorts of *People*. And that they in *Scotland* have no deſign upon *England*. And that it is only their *Impertinence* to Meddle with our Affairs *Here*. No, it is their *Buſineſs*. And they are truly in the Right of it. For the *Cauſe* of the *Diſſenters* can never *Stand* in *Scotland*, unleſs it *Prevail* in *England*. And their *Party*, as their *Principles*, are one and the ſame in Both *Kingdoms*. The Chief *Council* of whom, and the Principal *Managers* are *Engliſh Whiggs*, whoſe CABAL in

London, give out the *Neceſſary Orders*, through the whole *Body*, as well in *Scotland* as in *England*. As before in *Forty One*; in the *Rye-Houſe Conſpiracy*; in *Monmouth*'s Rebellion, *&c.*

They begin in *Scotland* what they Intend to bring into *England*. This is a ſure *Index*, as it was in the Times of *Forty One*. Thence came the *Covenant*. And there began the firſt *Up-Roars* and *Tumults* againſt *Epiſcopacy*, the *Lyturgy*, *Ceremonies*, &c. which ſoon after *Flow'd* with a Strong *Tide* into *England*.

And now ſee what they have Begun in *Scotland*, in far Greater *Tumults* than thoſe (of *Women* only at firſt) which they Rais'd in the Reign of King *Char.* 1 Even of 700 *Men* in *Arms*, expreſly Renouncing Queen *Ann*, and *Declaring* that they will have none but a *Presbyterian* to *Reign* over them: And that their *Covenant* for the *Extirpation* of *Epiſcopacy* muſt be brought again into *England*. Yet no Notice taken of this, by the Dexterity of their *Managers* Here. At the ſame time that the Nation is fill'd with the Noiſe of a *Scotch-Plot*, on the other Side; the Bottom of which is not yet found out. I hope it will in the *Scots-Parliament*. But here is *Treaſon* and *Rebellion* Acted in the Face of the *Sun* by the *Presbyterians*, and no Inquiſition made after it, tho' it cannot be Deny'd, and their *Declarations* Publiſh'd in *Print*. Yet none are *Alarm'd*! No *Jealouſies* or *Fears* on that Side! Which makes good the *Character* given of Us. *That the* Engliſh *believe every thing they* HEAR, *but nothing that they* SEE.

Our *Houſe* of *Commons* is *Inſulted* by their *High-flyers* (they are all *High-flyers* there) Openly in their *Pulpits*, and call'd *very Wicked*, becauſe they are True to the *Church*, and wou'd not put the *Power* of *Deſtroying* Her into the Hands of the *Diſſenters*, tho' they Allow them a Full and Free *Toleration*: At the ſame time, that they not only Refuſe any *Toleration* to the *Church* there, but have made it *High Treaſon* to *Speak* or *Write* in Her Defence; And deny Her the *Liberty* to Adminiſter either *Baptiſm* or the *Lord's Supper* to thoſe of her own *Communion*. And viſibly Deſign, and Conceal not their Intention, totally to *Extirpate* Her, that She may Riſe no more. Which they have, now in this *Reign* again *Vowed*, with the Engagement of *Lives* and *Fortune*, in the *Declarations* of both their *Provincial Synods*, at *Edinburgh* and *Glaſgow*, which are *Printed* in the *New Aſſociation*.

And

And the more *Fiercely* they go on, the greater *Moderation* we put on, and *Paſſive-Obedience*! If any Speak in Behalf of *Epiſcopacy* now in *Scotland*, he is *Hang'd* by *Law*. And here, where the *Law* ſtands yet for the *Church*, ſuch an one is *Stigmatiz'd* and *Branded* as an *High-Church-Man* and a *Papiſt*. None muſt ſpeak of the *Diſſenters*, but with Profound *Reſpect!* Nor mention what they have formerly done, or are now a Doing! The *Houſe* of *Commons*, and thoſe *Lords* who are for Preſerving our Preſent *Laws*, the *Corporation* and *Teſt Acts* (to keep the *Diſſenters* out of *Power*) are *Legion'd*, and *Million'd*, and *Obſervator'd!* And made the *Jeſt* even of *Scots-Whiggs*! Such a *Scene* was never ſeen before, nor will believ'd in after *Ages*!

But they have a Time coming in View, and they Hope near at hand, when the *Church* of *England*, and *Old-England* ſhall be no more!

AVERTAT DEUS.

The following Letter, tho' of an old date, I have Inſerted to ſhew what ſort of *Things* their *Preachers* and *Kirk-Judicatories* are, to which All muſt now Submit.

SIR, 30 *March.* 1704.

"YEſterday *Baillie* dree'd his Repentance according to the "Order of *Council*. But had a great deal of Reſpect "ſhew'd to him by the many Salutations he receiv'd, and even "Concern for him, by the Tears of many Gentlewomen; As "ſoon as he came off the *Pillory*, the great Crowd of By-ſtanders, waving their Hats in the Air, gave him Three ſeveral "*Huzzah's*, and Accompanying him to the *Nether-bow*, where "he was deliver'd to three Companies of the Foot Guards, "gave him a Fourth; being with much difficulty kept up from "throwing of Stones at his new Guard, who at the *Mutreſy-hill* deliver'd him to two Troops of *Dragoons*, who had Orders to carry him to the Caſtle of *Blackneſs*. They ſay,

"When he was on the *Pillory*, a Country Woman who had "come into the Mercate, ask'd her next Neighbour, Why "ſuch an Honeſt-like Man (for he was in good Dreſs) ſtood "in that Scandalous Place? Was Inform'd of the Cauſe; and "then ſaid, in the hearing of ſeveral, That ſhe minded "to have ſeen a very Honeſt Woman Scourged, and put upon "that Place, and thereafter ſent to the Plantations, for Aver-

"ring

" ring ſhe had ſeen Major * *Weir* lying with another Man's
" Wife. Who that ſame Day 12 Month at a Stake confeſs'd
" that and much worſe. She made no Application, but the
" Story being in every body's Mouth, I have written it to
" prevent a Vacancy.

" I waited on the Brethren this Morning; Prayers ſaid,
" Rolls call'd, Minutes of the laſt Sederunt read, Mr. *Stirling*
" preſented a Letter from Mr. *Brown*, Miniſter of *Glaſgow*, to
" this purpoſe, as near as I can remember;

" *Upon* Sunday *laſt, Mr.* John Hepburn *Preached and*
" *Baptized within four Miles of this Place. There was a*
" *great Confluence of People from the Neighbouring Pari-*
" *ſhes, and he has appointed a meeting next Sabbath, with-*
" *in a Mile of this Town, his Deſign being to raiſe a* Schiſm
" *in this* Kirk, *and I fear is ſet upon this way by the*
" *Enemies of Chriſt's Kingdom; tho it's like he is ſo blind as*
" *not to ſee it. But I wiſh the Reverend* Aſſembly *wou'd*
" *take a ſpeedy way to extinguiſh this Flame, leſt as a Fire*
" *kindled in one Corner of a City conſumes the whole; it*
" *may Burn this poor Church to Aſhes.*

" This being Read, and Hear'd with a great deal of At-
" tention, and by ſome call'd a great Letter; There was an
" Overture brought in for putting the Church Diſcipline in
" Execution againſt *Hepburn*, and one *Mac Millan*, formerly
" Depos'd by the Synod of *Galloway*.

" After this, they nominated and inſtructed their Commiſſi-
" on, and it being propos'd that Seven Ruling Elders, and
" Fourteen Miniſters ſhou'd be a *Quorum*, it was Objected by
" Mr. *Foyers*, Miniſter at *Stanhouſe*, Fourteen was a very im-
" proper Number, there having once been in this Land ſo many
" *Biſhops*. Upon which Grave and weighty Conſideration,
" the Number was augmented and made Fifteen. This done,
" and ſome Petitions Read, we adjourn'd till four of the Clock,
" to my great Contentment. At which time we met; and,
" after a good Sturdy Prayer we fell to our *Synod-Books*, and
" upon them had ſome very Learned, and one very Odd Re-
" mark.

" 1.

* The chief *Saint* of the *Covenant*. See his Extraordinary *Hiſtory*, Intitul'd *Ravillac Redivivus*. Printed for *Walter Kittleby* at the *Biſhops Head* in St. *Pauls Church-yard*.

" 1. The Synod of *Argyle* Ordered one of their *Presbyteries* " to Separate a Man from his Wife, becauſe he was Married " by a Husbandman in *Lochabber*, albeit they had Co-habited " as Man and Wife ſeveral Years.

" 2. The *Synod* of *Murray* had Order'd a Married Woman, " who judicially Confeſs'd *Adultery*, to be proceeded againſt " as a Slanderer of her helf, the pretended Adulterer having " by Oath clear'd himſelf. Theſe two Caſes were earneſtly " preſs'd by ſome to be very well worth the Conſideration of " the Aſſembly. But that was Shifted.

" I will trouble you only with another.

" It was *Remark'd* by the *Viſitors* of the *Synod-Books* of *Aberdeen*, That that *Synod* without any legal Proofs of his " being Guilty of the Crimes laid to his Charge, had Order'd " the *Presbytery* of *Garioch* and *Turref* to Excommunicate ſummarly *Roſs* of *Rot-maes*.

" Mr. *Huy* Miniſter of *Birs*, ſaid that the reaſon why the " *Synod* had proceeded againſt that Perſon after that Method, " was, becauſe he was a very Debauch'd and Profligate Man, " it being moſt certain that he had lain with Five ſeveral Women at one and the ſame time, and that all the Five prov'd " with Child; and to the foreſaid *Presbyteries* Confeſs'd their " Great Sin with that Abominable Man.

FINIS.

CON-

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CURTIUS His Advice.

THAT the Sovereign Power be ſtrongly fix'd to one Royal-Family, which ought to claim by an Hereditary Right. For the People, being ſo accuſtomed, will not only Reverence his Perſon, but will have the very Name of their King in great Eſteem; and therefore no Man ought to uſurp that Dignity, but he that was born unto it.

An Extract out of Doctor *Nalſon's* True Copy of the Journal of the High-Court of Juſtice, for the Tryal of King *Charles* I. *Pag.* 35. Printed *Anno* 1684.

King. *REmember I am your King, your Lawful King, and what Sins you bring upon your Heads, and the Judgment of God upon this Land. Think well upon it, I ſay, think well upon it, before you go further from one Sin to a greater. Therefore let me know, by what lawful Authority I am ſeated here, and I ſhall not be unwilling to anſwer. In the mean time, I ſhall not betray my Truſt; I have a Truſt committed*

to me by God, by old and lawful Deſcent; I will not betray it, to anſwer to a new unlawful Authority: Therefore reſolve me that, and you ſhall hear more of me.

Bradſhaw. If you had been pleaſed to have obſerved what was hinted to you by the Court at your firſt coming hither, you would have known by what Authority; which Authority requires you *in the Name of the People of* England, *of which you are Elected* King, to anſwer.

King. *No, Sir, I deny that.*

Bradſhaw. If you acknowledge not the Authority of the Court, they muſt proceed.

King. *I do tell them ſo:* England *was never an Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom, for near theſe thouſand Years; therefore, let me know by what Authority I am called hither.*



R

SIR,

SIR,

YOURS is come ſafe to my hands, wherein you are pleaſed to let me know, that you have lately met, at your next Market-Town, with your Old Acquaintance, *Alfenus Varus* by Name, one of the moſt noted Separatiſts in all thoſe Parts, and a Member too, of the Anti-monarchical Club at the Calves-Head-Feaſt; being one hugely infected with Infamous *Bradſhaw*'s Principle of dethroning Kings upon Imputation of Male-Adminiſtration; you further tell me, that to make this pernicious Principle of Cenſuring and Dethroning Sovereign Princes, the more plauſible and prevalent among the Vulgar Sectaries; this ſame *Alfenus*, and other chief Ring-leaders, his Brethren, do every where, where they come, teach, That theſe and all other Kingdoms are meerly Elective, and that no Man hath Right to ſucceed another in a Kingdom, but muſt be by the Body of the Kingdom thereunto choſen. Hereby they diſavow (ſay you) the Hereditary Succeſſion of our former Rightful Kings, and in particular of King *Charles* I. to the Crown of *England*; that they may have a better Colour for calling our future Monarchs to an Account for their Actions. Now theſe things of your Letters, being premiſed, you deſire to know of me, whether this Doctrine of theſe Sectaries, be grounded upon Truth, or not? or if I think it to be Falſe, that I would give you ſome Authentical Proofs, why I do ſo: In compliance therefore with your Deſire (which, where there is Friendſhip, hath the weight of a Command in it) and for the diſcharge of that Duty that lies upon me, to vindicate Truth, and the Hereditary Monarchy

narchy of Old *England*, my Native Country; I have turned over the Books of Law, Divinity and Hiſtory; as alſo I have made an Inſpection into our Records of Parliament, and Printed Statutes; and what I have, upon a ſtrict Search, found in them, are contain'd in theſe Sheets, and ſent you, by our truſty Friend *Primitius Priſcus*; which, I hope, will prove appoſite towards the Conviction of your Friend *Alſenus*, and his Brethren, and to the Satisfaction of your ſelf; in either of which, if I have failed, yet ſure I have ſatisfied your Deſire, requiring it at my Hand, which I have fulfilled.

And here I ſhall plainly ſet down the Poſitions, I undertake to make good; which are three in Number:

1. *That the Sovereign Power, wherewith the Kings and Queens of* England *are inveſted, is not deriv'd from the People, by way of Pact, or Contract.*

2. *That the Government of this Realm is not an Elective, but an Hereditary Monarchy.*

3. *That King* Charles I. *the Royal Martyr, when ſeated in the High-Court of Juſtice, was lawful King of* England, *by Birth, Deſcent, or Heredirary Succeſſion.* Of theſe in their Order:

The

POSITION I.

That the Supreme or Sovereign Power, wherewith the Kings and Queens of this Realm are inveſted, is not at all deriv'd from the Body of the People, by way of Pact, or Contract.

OUR Sectaries have borrowed their great Ordnance of Battery againſt Regal Sovereignty from the Jeſuits Magazine; for any, who is read in their Works, knows well enough, how they, to depreſs Kings, teach, *That all Power is originally, radically, and formally inherent in the People or Community, and from thence is deriv'd to Kings, by way of Pact, or Contract; yet ſo as the People habitually retain it to themſelves, and in ſome Caſes, may actually reſume it*; which Jeſuitical Principle or Doctrine, this one Argument, amongſt many, is enough to refute or evince; which is thus: *Navarre, Almain,* and *Bellarmine.*

" Where there is not *Jus vitæ & necis*, there can be " no Supreme Power; and no Man hath Power over " his own Life, and therefore no Man can give or " transfer it to another; or thus, A Power of Life and " Death, cannot be collated by any Community of " Men, to one or more, when neither *Diviſim* nor " *Conjunctim*, they have Power over their own or one " anothers Lives; and conſequently, there can no Sovereign Power be deriv'd from the Pacts of the People.

Which kind of Argumentation and Reaſoning, has been look'd upon by ſeveral Learned Men, Divines and Lawyers, as impregnable; againſt the Derivation of the Supreme Power, from the Wills and Pacts of the People: And here I will preſume to name you ſome of thoſe Learned Perſons, and that in their very own Words, whereby

whereby they have been pleas'd to expreſs themſelves upon this fore-going Argument.

I. *Doctor* Leſly, *Biſhop of* Down.

His Sermon on Deut. 33. 7. p. 24, 25. *Preach'd at St.* Mary's Oxford, 27. Mar. 1644.

The Power of Life and Death, belongs unto Sovereignty, by the Law of Nature, and by God's Inſtitution. *Gen.* 9. 6. *Whoſo ſheddeth Man's Blood, by Man ſhall his Blood be ſhed.* Now we know, no Man hath this Power over himſelf; therefore the Learned *Spalatto* ſaith well, *Nature inclines the People to be ruled, not to Rule:* the People were never inveſted with Sovereign Power, and therefore howſoever the King be ſometimes choſen by them, and always inaugured by them; yet his Power, his Commiſſion, is not from them, but from God: For it is a Maxim in Law, *Nemo plus Juris in alium tranſferre poteſt, quàm ipſe habet*; The People cannot transfer unto the King that Power, which they never had.

II. *Doctor* Saunderſon, *Biſhop of* Lincoln.

His Preface to the Reader, before Uſher's Power of Princes, Sect. 15.

As for thoſe (ſays the Biſhop) that would derive the Original of all Government from the People, by way of Pact, or Contract: It may ſuffice to ſay, that they take that for granted, which never yet was proved, nor will ever be proved while the World ſtands; either from Scripture, Reaſon, or Hiſtory. *Jus Gladii*, the Right and Power of the Sword (which is really the Sovereign Power) belongs, we know, to Kings; but it is by *the Ordinance of God*, and not by the Donation of the People: For he beareth the Sword (St. *Paul* telleth us) as God's Miniſter, from whom he received it; and not as the Peoples Miniſter, who had no right to give it.

Rom. 13. 2.

III. *Doctor*

III. *Doctor* Adam Littleton.

No Man in the World has Power over his own Life; and conſequently, cannot transfer that Power to another, which he hath not himſelf. Nor has the whole Community together that Power, ſince particular Perſons, that make up the Community, have no ſuch Power; and the Whole cannot have more in it, than the Parts had to contribute to it. The Judicatory Power then is not derived from the People, but from God himſelf; transſmitted to the King as Supreme, and from him to the Judges, as Miniſters of Juſtice ſent by him; the King being the Fountain of Juſtice, and the Soul and Life of the Law.

His Sermon on 1 Sam. 7. 15, 16. *pag.* 14. *preached before the Judges at* Alesbury, 8. Martii, 1672.

IV. *The Earl of* Clarendon.

Without all doubt, (ſaith this Nobleman) no Man is *Dominus Vitæ ſuæ*, and therefore cannot give that to another, which he hath not in himſelf; God only hath reſerved that abſolute Dominion and Power of Life and Death to himſelf; and by his putting the Sword into the Hand of the Supreme Magiſtrate, hath qualified and enabled him to execute that Juſtice, which is neceſſary for the Peace and Preſervation of his People. --- And this Propoſition, *That Men cannot diſpoſe of their own Lives*, hath been always held, as a manifeſt and undeniable Argument, that *Sovereigns* never had, nor can have their Power from the People.

Survey of the Leviathan, *pag.* 41. *Edit.* 1676.

V. *Mr.* Roger Coke.

Is it not ſtrange (writes he) that our Saviour ſhould ſay, no Power can be but from above, *data deſuper*; and that Men ſhould be ſo impudent to affirm, That there

His Elements of Power and Subjection, l. 2. c. 2. nu. 2.

is no Power, unleſs *data deſubter*; and that againſt all Senſe and Reaſon, as well as Faith: For it is impoſſible, that any Power ſhould be ſuperior to the Cauſe of its being; or that any thing ſhould give that to another, which itſelf hath not. How then can an Imaginary Rout of Men give a Power of Life and Death, to another? Now (Sir) upon Conſideration of the invincible Strength of the prementioned Argument, taken from the Incapacity of diſpoſing of our own Lives; as alſo of the Uſe made thereof by ſuch Learned and Judicious Men; what Perſon in his right Wits can affirm, That the Sovereignty of Kings is derived from the Pacts, or Contracts of the Community?

But although what has been already ſaid, is enough to convince all but Fanaticks and Enthuſiaſts; yet for a farther Proof and Illuſtration of my Poſition, I will ſubjoin ſome other Authorities.

Co. Lit. *fol.* 1. B. 1. Our Common Lawyers ſay thus, *Prædium Domini Regis eſt directum dominium, cujus nullius Author eſt niſi Deus:* The Inheritance of our Lord the King is a direct Dominion, of which none is the Author, but God alone.

2. In the Inſtitutions of the Emperor *Juſtinian*, we meet with divers Paſſages to ſhew, That Sovereigns have their Authority only from God Almighty: As for Inſtance;

Nov. 6. init. *The greateſt Gifts, which God's Goodneſs from above hath conferred on Men, are the Prieſthood and Empire; both of which do proceed from one and the ſame Principle, and for the ordering and diſpoſing of the Affairs of Mankind.*

So in *Nov.* 133. *Nothing is exempted from the Cognizance of the Regal Power, which he hath received from God, the general Charge of all the Sorts of Men.*

And

And *Juſtinian*, of himſelf in particular, *The Empire is delivered unto us by the Heavenly Majeſty.* Cod. de Vet. Jur. Enucl. in Inſt.

By the Divine Appointment, we took upon us the Imperial Robes. L. Fin. c. de Quadrien. Præſcript. *And the Rights of Empire, by our Lord JESUS CHRIST.* L. 2. in princip. c. de Offic. Præf. Præt. Afr.

Since the time that God did ſet us over the Empire of the Romans, *we have been diligent to do always what might conduce to the Profit of the Subjects of this Commonwealth, wherewith God hath entruſted us.* Nov. 86. in init.

3. The Antient Chriſtians have taught, That Kings are ſolely dependant from God, and Chriſt; and independant from all others.

Irenæus, concerning Kings, doth expreſs himſelf thus; *By whoſe Command they are Men born, by his Command likewiſe they are ordained Kings.* Lib. 5. c. 24.

So *Tertullian*, after him; *Thence is the Emperor, from whence he was Man, before he became Emperor.* Apol. 30.

Theophilus Biſhop of *Antioch* concurs with him in the ſame Doctrine; *I will* (ſays he) *honour the King, not adoring him, but praying for him: Him that is God indeed, even the true God, I adore; knowing, that by him the King is ordained.* Theoph. ad Autolycum, lib. 1.

4. It is the Judgment of two of our Learned Divines, namely *Saunderſon* and *Barlow*, (both of them Biſhops of *Lincoln*) That the Sovereignty in Elective Kings is by immediate Donation and Collation from God, and not from the People.

The former ſpeaks thus: *Where the Election of a Prince is received from the People, either by Laws or Cuſtoms, there the People indeed do deſign and nominate the Perſon of him who governeth; but God alone doth confer upon him the Authority of Governing.* Saunderſ. de oblig. conſc. Lect. 7. §. 20. in fin.

His Genuine Remains, pag. 239. printed 1693.

The latter tells us, *That Royal Power is* à Deo, & Jure Divino, non à Populo; *no, not in Elective Kingdoms, as in* Poland; *for in the Elective Kingdoms*, Deſignatio Perſonæ *may be in the People, yet* Collatio Authoritatis Regiæ eſt à ſolo Deo.

If God be the immediate Author of Sovereignty in Elective Kings, according to theſe two Learned Men's Sentiments; much more ſurely in Hereditary Monarchs.

Co. Litt. 7. a, b.

Dr. *Chamberlain*'s Angliæ Notitia, *First Part*, c. 4.

5. The Kings and Queens of this Realm have always ſtiled themſelves in their Writs, Grants, and other Inſtruments, *Dei Gratia*; and the Royal Shield carries this Motto, *Dieu & mon Droit*; which ſhews, they held that the Original of Regal Power is not derived from the People, but from God Almighty. Jeſuits and Sectaries, we know, would teach them to lay aſide the Stile of *Dei Gratia*, and to write, *Favore Populi.*

Bodin. de Repub. lib. 1. c. 10.

Note, *Lewis* XI. of *France* would not endure, that *Francis*, then Duke of *Bretaign*, ſhould uſe the Stile of *Dei Gratia.*

Declaration, printed 1585.

6. Our moſt Renowned Queen *Elizabeth*, in her Declaration for the Aſſiſting the *Netherlanders*, ſpeaks as it became ſuch a Sovereign Princeſs, in this manner: " Although Kings and Sovereign Princes, owing their " Homage and Service only unto Almighty God, the " King of all Kings; and in that reſpect not bound to " yield Account, or render a Reaſon of their Actions " to any other but God their Sovereign: *And though* " *among the Ancient and Chriſtian Monarchs, the ſame* " *Lord God hath committed unto us the Sovereignty of* " *this Kingdom of* England, *and other Dominions which* " *we hold immediately of the ſame Almighty God; and* " *thereby* —— Here is a Queen of *England*, that abſolutely denies, that ſhe derived her Sovereign Power

Power from the Pacts and Wills of the People.

Sir, Upon all that has been ſaid in Proof of my Firſt Poſition, you may juſtly conclude, That Kings are from God; they receive their Power from him only, and are no way dependant from the People; and as they receive their Authority only from the King of Kings; ſo for the good or evil Adminiſtration thereof, they are accountable only to him, as unto their Superior, and not unto any mortal Creature. God only maketh them Kings, and God only can unmake them, and deject them from their Thrones. But before I come to handle my Second Poſition, I muſt tell you, that there be ſome in the World, who ſtrongly phancy Kings and the Royal Power to be derived *à Lege*, (and not *à Deo:*) It is the Law that made them Kings; which Thought will ſeem preſently to you abſurd, yea very ridiculous; only by putting you this ſhort Argument: "Humane Laws being the Accidents or Effects of Regal Power, they cannot be ſuperior to give or create a Being to the Cauſe. Regal Power therefore cannot be made or created by Humane Laws. Or, (if you pleaſe) thus: Royal Power being the Ordinance of God, and from the Law of Nature, is paramount to all Humane Laws, and the prime and efficient Cauſe of them: They cannot therefore declare the Cauſe, ſo as to create any Obligation of what they are but the Effects, and from whence derived. Which kind of Argument has been approved by ſeveral Learned Men, as Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in his Hiſtory of the World, *Part* I. *c.* 4. *ſect.* 6. Biſhop *Barlow* in his Genuine Remains, *pag.* 239. Doctor *Nalſon*, in his Tract entituled, The Common Intereſt of King and People, *cap.* 1. *pag.* 13, 14. and *c.* 8. *pag.* 214. and Doctor *Sherlock*, in the Caſe of Reſiſtance of Supreme Powers, *pag.* 196.

Mr. Roger Coke's *Argument touching Royal Government.*

POSI-

POSITION II.

That the Government of England *is not an Elective, but an Hereditary Monarchy.*

THAT the Right and Title, by which the Sovereign Prince lays Claim to the Crown of this Realm, is by Birth, Deſcent, or Hereditary Succeſſion; ſhall be clearly evidenced by Authorities borrowed from Lawyers, Divines, Hiſtorians, Records of Parliament, and printed Statutes.

I. *From* Lawyers.

The Profeſſors of our Common Law do affirm, That the Right to the Imperial Crown of *England* is meerly Succeſſive and Hereditary, without any admittance of an *Inter-regnum*.

Preface to his Fourth Rep. *in principio.*

1. Sir *Edward Coke* tells us, *That the Kingdom of* England *is a Monarchy Succeſſive by inherent Birth-right, of all others the moſt abſolute and perfect Form of Government, excluding* Inter-regnums, *and with it, infinite Inconveniences.* And in his Third *Inſtitutes: If the Crown deſcend to the Rightful Heir, he is* Rex *before Coronation; for by the Law of* England *there is no* Inter-regnum; *and Coronation is but an Ornament, or Solemnity of Honour.* So the ſame *Coke* in his Twelfth *Report* ſays, *That King*

Co. 3. Inſtit. fol. 7.

John's

John's *Reſignation of the Crown to the* Pope, *was utterly void:* And why? *Becauſe the Royal Dignity is an Inherent inſeparable to the Blood-Royal of the Kings, and cannot be transferred to another.* Co. *Lib.* 12. *fol.* 18.

2. Judge *Jenkins*, in ſeveral places of his Tract entituled *Lex Terræ*, affirms, That the King of *England* is King by inherent Birth-Right, from God, Nature, and the Law; and is not a Derivative from the People. Jenkins *his* Lex Terræ.

3. The Deſcent appears by that part of the Oath of Allegiance, which is uſed in every Leet: *You ſhall Swear, That from this day forward, you ſhall be true and faithful to our Sovereign Lord King* James, *and his Heirs.* Co. *Lib.* 7. Calvin's *Caſe.*

4. The Judges (who were as Learned and Upright, as ever any before or ſince) did in *Calvin*'s Caſe declare, That the King holds the Kingdom of *England* by Birth, inherent by Deſcent from the Blood-Royal, whereupon Succeſſion doth attend: And therefore it is uſually ſaid, To the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors; as attendant upon his Heirs. —— That King *James*'s Title was by Deſcent; by Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death, the Crown and Dignity deſcended to his Majeſty; and he was fully and abſolutely thereby King, without any Eſſential Ceremony, or Act to be done *ex poſt facto:* for Coronation is but a Royal Ornament and Solemnization of the Royal Deſcent, but no part of the Title. This is plainly illuſtrated by *Hen.* VI. who was not Crowned, till the VIII. Year of his Reign; yet divers were attainted of Treaſon before that time; which could not have been, had he not been King. Co. *Lib.* 7, 10. b. 11. a. Calvin's *Caſe.*

So King *Edward* the Firſt was King almoſt three Years before he was Crowned, yet all Acts of Sove-

Daniel *his Hiſtory*, pag. 204.

Sovereign Power and Royalty were done in his own Name. So a Parliament was holden in his Name at *Northampton*, before he was Crowned.

His Angliæ Notitia, *Par.* I. *pag.* 98. *cap.* 5. 15 *Edit.* 1684.

5. *Edward Chamberlain*, a Doctor of the Civil Law, and well verſed in the Municipal Laws of *England*, writes thus, *The Crown of* England *deſcends from Father to Son, and his Heirs; for want of Sons, to the eldeſt Daughter and her Heirs; for want of Daughters, to the Brother and his Heirs; and for want of a Brother, to the Siſter and her Heirs.*

His Reading on the Stat. of 25 E. 3. *c.* 2. de Proditionibus, *Lecture* 1. *pag.* 18, 19. *printed* 1683.

6. Sir *Robert Holbourn*, in his Reading on the Statute of Treaſons, ſpeaks thus: *A King, before his Coronation is within the Statute of* 25 Edw. 3. c. 2. *as it is in the Caſe of the Duke of* Northumberland; *for he is preſently King, as ſoon as the other King deceaſeth, and there is no* Inter-regnum; *for the King,* quatenus *a King, never dieth, but he is ſaid to demiſe when he departeth this Life; and the King is Crowned, becauſe he is King; and not a King, becauſe he is Crowned.*

His Lordſhip's Survey of the Leviathan, *pag.* 61, 62. *printed* 1676. Oxon.

7. " It is a known Maxim, (ſaith the Earl of *Clarendon*) in all the Hereditary Monarchies, that the " King never dies; becauſe in the Minute of the Expi- " ration of the preſent, his Heir ſucceeds him, and is " in the Inſtant inveſted in all the Dignities and Pre- " heminencies of which the other had been poſ- " ſeſſed.

II. *From Divines.*

The Right and Title of the Kings of *England* to the Crown thereof, is acknowledged by our own Divines, to be by Lineal Hereditary Succeſſion, excluding *Inter-regnums.*

1. Doctor

1. Doctor *Bramhall* Biſhop of *Derry* declareth, *That our Kings, by the Fundamental Conſtitutions of the Kingdom, are Hereditary Kings, and never die; ſo there is an uninterrupted Succeſſion, without any Vacancy.* And ſo in another place the Biſhop ſays, *That by the Law of* England, Rex non moritur, *the King never dies; and doth all Acts of Sovereignty before his Coronation, as well as after.*

His Juſt Vindication of the Church of England, *c.7. pag. 162, 163. and c. 6. pag. 144, 145. printed 1654.*

2. Doctor *Nalſon* telleth us, *That the* Engliſh *Monarchy is Hereditary, and not Elective: But the Son, or Daughter, or in defect of them, the neareſt of the Royal Line does, upon the Expiration of the former King, ſo immediately ſucceed, that our Law does not allow the* Interregnum *of one Moments ſpace; and therefore holds it as an eſtabliſhed Maxim,* Rex non moritur, *the King of* England *is immortal:* And the Young Phœnix ſtays not to riſe from the Spicy Aſhes of the Old one, but the Soul of Royalty, by a kind of Metampſychoſis, paſſes immediately out of one Body into another.

His Tract intituled, The Common Intereſt of King and People, *cap. 5. pag. 117, 118.*

3. Doctor *Leſley*, Biſhop of *Down*, hath expreſſed himſelf in this manner:

I know, (ſaith this Learned Prelate) *it is very juſt, that there ſhould be a Solemnity at the King's Coronation; but it is only a Ceremony, and ſuch a Ceremony, as doth not any thing, but only declareth what is done: The King was King before it, as much as he is after it; only by it he is declared to be what he was before, and what he ſhould have been ſtill, though he had not been ſo declared.* For you muſt think, that the People at the Coronation have no power to reject or refuſe him who is the lawful Heir of the Crown: He claims no Title from his Coronation but from his Birth-Right. When *Watſon* and *Clerk* conſpired

His Sermon on Deut. 33. 7. *p. 20, 21. Preach'd at St.* Mary's Oxford, March 27. 1644.

againſt King *James*, in the beginning of his Reign here, at their Arraignment, they pleaded it was no Treaſon, becauſe the King was not Crowned; but the Learned Judges told them, That in *England* there is no *Interregnum*, for the King never dieth; and that the Coronation is but a Ceremony, to ſhew the King unto the People.

His Sermon on Ezek. 21. 27. *pag.* 23. *preacht on* 29. Maii, 1661.

4. Doctor *King*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, in a Sermon of his, Preach'd at *Whitehall*, ſpeaks in this wiſe; *It is the Goodneſs of God, that we enjoy a ſucceſſive King; and it is the King's Glory, that he comes to us, derived to his Crown through a Succeſſion of numerous Monarchs. To what Votes ſoever Elective Rulers owe their Scepters, Succeſſion is the Vote of God, who declares the Right, and then confirms it, as his Donation.* I ſhall conclude the Sentiments of theſe Learned *Theologiſts*, with the Words of Biſhop *Brownrig*, againſt the Vacancy of the Throne.

" *This Hereditary Succeſſion* (ſaith he) *prevents thoſe* " *Miſchiefs, which a* Vacuum *would bring upon a State* " *and Kingdom.* Vacuum, *we know, will have ſtrange* " *Operations; it will make a Clot of Earth, or Lump of* " *Lead mount upwards, to fill a void place. Every body* " *will be ſtepping into an empty Throne. When Kingdoms* " *have become* Hæreditates Caducæ, *as the Lawyers term* " *them, the Pope hath been ready to eſcheat them to him-* " *ſelf: The uſurping King of Nations hath laid claim to* " *them.* His Sermon on *Haggai* 2. 23. Part I. of Sermons, *pag.* 38.

III. *From*

III. *From* Hiſtorians.

If we look into the Writings of our own *Hiſtorians*, we ſhall clearly find, That the Imperial Crown of this Realm has ever been of right Hereditary, and that our Lawful Kings never depended upon the Votes and Suffrages of the People.

1. Mr. *Camden*, Clarenceux, King of Arms, relates thus concerning the Royal Succeſſion. *His* Britannia, *fol.* 145, 146. *Edit.* 1610.

When *Edward* the Confeſſor was now without Iſſue departed this Life, the *Nobles* and People of this Land were in doubtful Care diſtracted, about the ſetting up a new King in his place. Edgar, *ſurnamed* Atheling, *Grandchild to King* Edmund Ironſide, *only of all the Iſſue Male of all the* Saxon's *Line remained alive, unto whom by Inheritance the Kingdom was due.* But ——

2. Mr. *Prynn* of *Lincolns-Inn*, (one well read in Antiquity) citing divers Hiſtorians in the Margin of his Tract, in Proof of what he was to relate, informs us, That *Anno* 1128, by the Command of *Hen.* I. the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, *David* King of *Scots*, with all the Earls, Barons of *England*, Swore Homage and Fealty to *Maud* his Daughter and Heir; *Ut Filiæ ſuæ Imperatrici Fide ſervata, Regnum* Angliæ *Hæreditario Jure poſt dies ſuos, ſibi, & Hæredibus ſuis legitimis procreatis ſervarent, niſi Sobolem Virilis Sexûs ipſe Rex in poſterum procrearet.* The violation of which Oath (ſaith he) by them, after King *Hen.* I's Death, in Crowning *Stephen*, brought Exemplary Judgments on the People, and a bloody, long-laſting Civil War within the Bowels of the Realm, between *Maud*, her Son *Henry*, and the *His Tract intituled*, Concordia Diſcors, &c. *pag.* 33, 34. *printed* Anno 1659.

Uſurper *Stephen*; all the Good they hoped for by diſinheriting *Maud*, and crowning *Stephen*, on their own Terms, againſt his Oath and their Oaths, becoming fruitleſs; their Troubles never ceaſing, till *Henry the right Heir* was reſtored to the Crown, by a friendly Agreement.

Dan. in vitâ H. 1. *pag.* 61.

This Story is a Proof for the Hereditary Deſcent.

3. *Daniel*, in his Hiſtory of *Hen.* I. reporteth, That this King, to make himſelf the more popular and beloved, Matches in the Royal Blood of *England*; taking to Wife *Maud*, Daughter of *Margaret* late Queen of *Scots*, and Niece of *Edward Atheling*, *deſcended from Edmund Ironſide*.

Matth. Pariſ. in Hiſt. major. in vita Joh. f. 197. Daniel *and* Baker *in the Reign of King* John, *in princip:*

4. *Matthew Paris* and other Hiſtorians relate, That tho' the Right of Succeſſion was in *Arthur*, King *John*'s Elder Brother's Son; yet *John*, by the Subtilty of the Archbiſhop *Hubert* and others, was elected, and advanced to the *Regal Throne*; contrary to the *Juſt Title* and *Hereditary Succeſſion* of *Arthur* his Nephew: And the Archbiſhop afterward, upon this Point being queſtioned, replied; *That as* John *by Election got the Crown, ſo by Ejection upon Demerit, he might loſe the ſame*; which afterward he endeavoured to his utmoſt, and at laſt effected, by depriving *John* of Life and Kingdom.

Daniel *in* vitâ Will. I. p. 34, *Edit.* 1634.

5. Our Hiſtorian *Daniel*, ſpeaking of King *William* the Firſt his pretended Title to the Crown of this Realm, by the Will of *Edward* the Confeſſor, doth affirm; "That the Act of the ſame *Edward*, if any "ſuch were, was not of any power to prejudice the "State, or alter the Courſe of right Succeſſion: *For* "*the Crown of* England *being not Patrimonial, but in* "*Succeſſion by Remotion*, (which is a Succeeding to an-

"other's

" other's Place) *it was not in the power of King* Edward *to* " *collate the ſame, by any Diſpoſitive and Teſtamentary* " *Will, the Right deſcending to the next of Blood, only* " *by the Cuſtom and Law of the Kingdom:* For the Suc- " ceſſor is not ſaid to be Heir of the King, but of the " Kingdom, which makes him ſo; and cannot be put " from it by any Act of his Predeceſſor.

6. Upon the Treaty of Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou*, in Anſwer to the Sixth Article delivered by the *French* Ambaſſador, it was declared by Queen *Elizabeth*, That the Succeſſion in her Kingdom *was, and ought to be Hereditary*, acccording to nearneſs in Blood. The Words are, *Liberi ex hoc Matrimonio prægnati in Materna Hæreditate ſuccedent in Regnis, ſecundum Jura & Conſuetudines Regnorum; viz. Primogenitus Filius in Coronam quam Regina Mater habet, & ſi nulli extabunt Filii Maſculi, Filiæ ſi extabunt, viz. prima & ſola maxima natu, &c. Atque idem ut fiat in Hæreditate Paterna æquum eſt, & quomodo Conſuetudines locorum id ferent, intelligi par eſt.* Vide *Camd. Eliz.* Ann. 1581.

7. *Camden* giveth us the Thoughts of Queen *Elizabeth* touching a Succeſſor: *My Throne* (ſays ſhe to the then Lord Admiral) *hath been the Throne of Kings, neither ought any other, than my next Heir, to ſucceed me.* Camb. Eliz. Anno 1603. *pag.* 884. Engl. *Edit. an.* 1635.

8. *Truſſel* tells us, *That the Crown of* England, *upon the Deceaſe or Depoſition of* Richard *the Second without Iſſue, was* Jure Hæreditario *to deſcend to* Edmund Mortimer *the younger, the Son of* Philippa *Daughter and Heir of* Lionel *Duke of* Clarence, *the third Son of* Edward *the Third.* Yet his Couſin *Henry* of *Bullingbrook*, Duke of *Hereford*, and Son and Heir of *John* of *Gaunt*, the Truſſel in vitâ R. 3. *pag.* 255.

the younger Brother of *Lionel* of *Clarence* was, *contrary to the Course of Right Hereditary Succession*, created and Crowned King.

Elenchus motuum nuperorum in Anglia, *p.* 1 & 2. *Edit.* 1649.

9. Dr. *Bates* (a Physician) in his Narrative of the late Troubles in *England*, assures us, That this Kingdom is an Hereditary Monarchy, his Words are; *Jus Regis apud Anglos penes unum Monarcham, annos ultra mille, eumque Hæreditarium & nunquam intermorientem.*

I have one more Example to give you out of History, for a further Proof of the Hereditary Succession to the Crown of *England*; and that is, by way of Pedigree.

10. Sir *Richard Baker* gives us a true and noble Account of the Royal Genealogy, or Pedigree of our King *James* I. even up to King *Edmund*, Sir-nam'd *Ironside*; and it is thus:

Baker *of the Life of* Edmund Ironside, *p.* 16. *Edit.* 1660.

" King *Edmund* had by his Wife *Algyth* two Sons, " the eldest named *Edward*, commonly stiled the *Out-*" *law*, because he lived out of *England*, and in *Hunga-*" *ry*, as a banish'd Man, for fear of King *Canutus*; but " when his Uncle, King *Edward* the Confessor obtain'd " the Crown, he was recalled, and honourably enter-" tain'd, till he died. He married *Agatha*, Sister to " Queen *Sophia*, Wife to *Salomon* King of *Hungary*, " and Daughter to the Emperour *Henry* II. by whom " he had *Edgar*, Sir-nam'd *Atheling*, the right Heir of " the *English* Crown, though he never enjoy'd it. " The second Son of *Ironside*, was called after his Fa-" ther's Name, *Edmund*. King *Edmund* had also two " Daughters, *Margaret*, and *Christian*, of whom the " younger became a veil'd Nun at *Ramsey* in *Hampt-*" *shire*; the elder *Margaret*, after sole Heir in the *Saxon* " Monarchy, married *Malcome* the third King of *Scotland*, " from which Princely Bed, in a lineal Descent, our

" High

" High and Mighty *Monarch*, King *James* I. doth in his " moſt Royal Perſon, unite the *Britains*, *Saxons*, *Nor-* " *mans*, and *Scotiſh* Imperial Crowns in one.

By which Genealogy of *Baker's*, it is evident, that our King *James* I. did deſcend from *Margaret* (Daughter of King *Edmund Ironſide*) the ſole Heir of the *Saxon* Monarchy.

From the Authenticks foregoing, produced out of the Writings of Lawyers, Divines and Hiſtorians, it is as clear, as the Sun at Noon day, *That the Government of this Realm is an Hereditary Succeſſive Monarchy, or Royalty*; let us now ſee, what our Records of Parliament and Printed Statutes will afford us, towards the further Illuſtration of this Truth.

IV. *From Records of Parliament.*

If we make an Inſpection into our Records of Parliament, we ſhall find, *That the Crown of* England, *was ever of Right, Hereditary, and not Elective*: And this will be made good, by two notable Records, which here immediately appear.

The firſt is that of 39 *Hen.* VI. wherein the Couragious, daring *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *York*, by his Council exhibited to the Lords, in full Parliament, a Writing which did contain his Right, Title and Claim to the Crown of *England*. Againſt which Title and Claim, it was objected on the Part of King *Hen.* VI. That the ſame Crown had been entail'd by Act of Parliament, upon the King's Grand-father, *Hen.* IV. and the Heirs of his Body, from whence the ſame King *Hen.* VI. did lineally deſcend, *The which Act* (ſays the King's Friends) *is of Authority to defeat any manner of Title made to any Perſon.* To which Objection the ſaid Duke of *York* anſwereth, *That if King* Hen.

Rot. Parl. 39. Hen. VI. *Num.* 10, 13, 15, 27. *and* Camb. Brit. *fol.* 725. Engl. *Edit.* 1610.

Hen. IV. *might have obtained, and enjoy'd the ſaid Crown of* England, *by Title of Inheritance, Deſcent, or Succeſſion, he neither needed, nor would have deſired, or made it to be granted to him, in ſuch-wiſe, as it is by the Act of Parliament. The which taketh no Place, neither is of any Force or Effect againſt him that is right Inheritor of the ſaid Crown, as it accordeth with God's Laws, and all natural Laws.* And this Anſwer of the Duke of *York* to King *Hen.* VI's Title, and his Claim, is afterwards, by an expreſs Act of the ſame Parliament, declar'd, and Recogniz'd, to be *good, true, juſt, lawful* and *ſufficient.* And at the ſame time for preventing Effuſion of Blood, an Accord, by the free Conſent of the ſaid Duke, is likewiſe eſtabliſh'd, *That King* Hen. VI. *ſhall, during his Life, enjoy the Crown of* England; *and that from thenceforth the Duke of* York *ſhould be reputed Heir apparent to the ſame Crown.*

Rot. Parl. 1 Edw. IV. N. 8. &c. *and* 9 Edw. IV. 10. a Bagot's *Caſe.*

The ſecond Record is, that of 1. *Edw.* IV. wherein, after that the Parliament hath in a long Genealogy or Pedigree, diſcloſed the Title of the ſame King *Edward* to the Crown, as being in a right Line, deſcended from *Lionel,* Duke of *Clarence,* third Son to King *Edward* III. and upon the Death of his Father, the abovemention'd *Richard Plantagenet,* next Heir of the Blood-Royal, they immediately utter, or ſpeak theſe very Words; *Knowing alſo certainly, without Doubt and Ambiguity, that by God's Law, and the Law of Nature, He,* (that is, King *Edward* IV.) *and none other, is, and ought to be True, Right, Wiſe and Natural, Liege and Sovereign Lord: And that he was in Right from the Death of the ſaid Noble, and Famous Prince, his Father, very juſt King of the ſame Realm of* England. By which two Parliamentary Records, it is manifeſtly and undeniably proved, that *Edw.* IV. was King of this Realm, by Birth-Right and Lineal Deſcent, from the Blood-Royal.

And

And as theſe Records have have driven the Nail to the Head, in Vindication of the Hereditary Succeſſion, has *Hen.* IV. himſelf clench'd it, by his Demeanour, or Carriage, in claiming the Crown by Right and Title of Inheritance; for, upon the vacancy of the Throne, by Depoſition of *Rich.* II. the Duke of *Lancaſter* riſing from his Seat, and ſtanding up, Claimed and Challenged the Throne of *England*, thus void, under this very Form of words;

In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoſt, I Henry *of* Lancaſter *Challenge this Realm of* England, *and the Crown, with all the Members and Appurtenances, as I that am Deſcended by Right Line of the Blood coming from the good Lord King* Henry *the Third, and through that Right, that God of his Grace hath ſent me, with help of Kin, and of my Friends to Recover it; and which Realm was in point to be Undone for a fault of Governance, and undoing of good Laws.* Rot. Parl. 1. *Hen.* IV. Memb. 20.

By this Speech of the Duke of *Lancaſter*, we may learn. 1. That he himſelf thought the Kingdom of *England* of Right, was Inheritable. 2. That he eſteemed a Title to the Crown, by the common Law, and inherent Birth-right, before a Title by Statute and Suffrage of the People; and therefore made his Claim to the Crown in Parliament, by Deſcent from King *Henry* the Third; he meant from *Edmund*, ſecond Son of *Hen.* III. from whom the ſame King *Hen.* IV. by the Mothers ſide, Lineally Deſcended; and ſo would needs have fac'd down the World, that the ſaid *Edmund* was Elder Brother to King *Edward* the Firſt, contrary not only to his own knowledge, but alſo to that of all Mankind in that Age, and expreſs Teſtimony of *Matthew Paris* (who was indeed Chronologer Royal to the ſaid *Hen.* III. at the time of the Birth of the ſaid *Edmund.* Matth. Par. *in vita* Hen. III. *Fol.* 488, & 654.

The Prementioned Records of 39. *Hen.* VI. & 1. *Edw* IV. having ſpoken of the inheritable Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, to be conſentaneous to the Laws of God and Nature; I ſhall preſume (*Sir*) to give you ſome Remarks, that I have met with in my peruſal of ſome Authors.

Mr. Roger Coke *in his Tract of Power and Subjection.*

1. That he is a Natural Prince of Right, or by the Law of Nature, who truly preſcribes from ſuch Anceſtors, that no Mortal Creatures can make juſt Exception, or Superiour Claim.

Idem.

2. Where Diverſity of Titles are alleg'd, that which is truly and indubitably moſt Ancient, is the beſt; for it is a true Rule in all Deſcents whatſoever, that, *Dormit aliquando, nunquam moritur Jus*; but this muſt be *Jus apparens*; for *de non apparentibus, & de non exiſtentibus, eadem eſt Ratio.*

Idem.

3. That *Hen.* IV. *Hen.* V. and *Hen.* VI. were Natural Kings of *England*, and did inherit the Crown thereof, *de facto*, but not *de jure*; for if it be true, as it is, that no Being can be Superior, or better than the Cauſe of its Being; then it will neceſſarily follow, that all Kings, who inherit from Uſurpers, cannot have a better Title, than that which the Uſurpers had, ſo long as a Superiour, or better Claim may be made by another.

Idem.

4. That although nothing which is naught in the beginning, can be better'd by the continuance of time; yet may Uſurpation, although naught in the beginning be better'd in time, *viz*, If the Uſurpation be of that continuance, that it out-lives all Claim that can be juſtly made by another; for Poſſeſſion is Title ſufficient againſt all Men, who have no *Jus ad Rem.*

5. That

5. That this Right to the Imperial Crown of *England*, is inſeparable from the next Heir in Blood, may be ſeen in our *Henry* the Fourth, who though he was of the Blood Royal, and had the Crown Reſigned unto him by *Rich.* II. and confirmed by Act of Parliament, yet upon his Death-Bed (as *Speed* relates) he acknowledged he had no Right thereunto. Lib. 9. c. 14.

6. And laſt Remark is, That none but God can make an Heir to a Crown; *Solus Deus hæredem facere poteſt non homo*, Doct. *Litt.* And this Heir which *Coke* here ſpeaketh of, is but Heir in Fee to Lands or Tenements, according to Common Law, or Cuſtom; If then only God can make ſuch an Heir, then ſure, none but God can make an Heir which maketh Human Laws, and permits Cuſtoms. *Mr.* Roger Coke's *Tract of Power and Subjection.*

V, *And Laſtly, From our Statutes.*

Our Acts of Parliament (which are no other than Records in Print) have Declared, That the Right and Title of our Monarchs, Kings and Queens of *England*, is grounded upon the Law of Nature, *viz.* By Inherent, Birth-Right, and Deſcent from the Blood Royal of this Realm.

1. In the Statute of 25 *Hen.* VIII. it is thus worded: *We, moſt Rightful and Dreadful Sovereign Lord, reckon our ſelves much more bounden to beſeech you Highneſs to provide for the perfect Surety of both you, and of your moſt lawful Succeſſion and Heirs, upon which dependeth all our Joy and Wealth: In whom alſo is United and Knit the meer true Inheritance and Title of this Realm, without any Contradiction; And that according to the right Lega-* 25 Hen 8. c. 2.

lity of the Succeſſion and Poſterity of lawful Kings and Emperors of this Realm.

9 Mar. *Parl.* 2. *c.* 1. 2. By the Statute of the Firſt of Queen *Mary*, it is acknowledgd, *That the Imperial Crown of this Realm, with all Dignities, Honours, Prerogatives,* &c. *thereunto annex'd by the Divine Providence of Almighty God, is moſt Lawfully, Juſtly, and Rightfully Deſcended, and come unto the Queens Highneſs, that now is, being very True and Undoubted Heir, and Inheritrix thereof, and Inveſted in Her moſt Royal Perſon, according to the Laws of the Realm.*

1 Eliz. *c.* 3. 3. In the Statute of the Firſt Year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, it was Recognized by the Three Eſtates, *viz.* The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament, *That her Majeſty, their Sovereign Lady, is, and in very deed, and of moſt meer Right, ought to be by the Laws of God, and the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, therein moſt Rightful and Lawful Sovereign, Liege, Lady and Queen, and that her Highneſs is Rightfully, and Lineally, and Lawfully Deſcended, and come of the Blood Royal of this Realm.*

1 Jac. *c.* 1. 4. The Statute of Recognition made in the Firſt Year of King *James*, by the whole Parliament, in which, among other things, they do Recognize, and Declare, *That the Crown of* England *did Deſcend upon King* James *by inherent Birth-Right, as being Lineally, Juſtly and Lawfully next and ſole Heir of the Blood Royal; and to this Recognition, they do ſubmit Themſelves and Poſterities for ever, until the laſt drop of their Blood be ſpilt: And further do beſeech his Majeſty to accept of the ſame Recognition, as the firſt Fruits of their Loyalty and Faith to his Majeſty, and to his Royal Progeny and Poſterity for ever.*

From

From this ſame Statute (Recognizing the Crown of *England*, to be Lawfully Deſcended unto King *James*, his Progeny and Poſterity) I offer you this conſiderable Remark, in Proof of the Inheritable Succeſſion of the Crown, namely : " That this Act of Recogniti-
" on doth not take notice at all of the Title raiſed by
" Act of Parliament to *Hen.* VII. and the Heirs of
" his Body. But Declares that King *James* was Lineal-
" ly, Rightfully, and Lawfully Deſcended of the *Body*
" of the moſt Excellent Lady *Margaret*, Eldeſt Daughter
" of the moſt Renowned King *Hen.* VII. and the High
" and Noble Princeſs Queen *Elizabeth*, his Wife, El-
" deſt Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth. The ſaid
" Lady *Margaret* being Eldeſt Siſter of King *Hen.* VIII.
" Father of Queen *Elizabeth*, late Queen of *England*,
" from whom the Crown of *England* Deſcended upon
" this our King *James*, of moſt Happy and Glorious
" Memory.

What then (Sir) can be clearer than that the Crown of *England* was always *de Jure* Hereditary, Succeſſive, by the Opinion of all Sober Men, by Law and Cuſtom, by this laſt Statute, and the other Acts of Parliament before cited?

But before I come to my third and laſt Poſition, I will take leave to preſent to *Alfenus* and his Brethren, an Argument by way of Dilemma.

When the Royal Martyr King *Charles* I. demanded, by what Authority he was Seated in the High Court of Juſtice? *Bradſhaw* moſt impudently anſwered ; That the King was required to Anſwer in the name of the People, of which he was Elected King.

Bradſhaw, in anſwering thus, as to the Point of Election ; either ſaid what was true, or what was falſe.

If

If *Alfenus* and his Brethren do ſay, That it is true, then they contradict the Judgment of the three Eſtates, *viz.* The Lords Spiritual, the Lords Temporal, and Commons in Parliament; who in the firſt Year of King *James* his Reign, did recognize and declare, *That he held the Kingdom of* England *by Birth-right inherent, by Deſcent from the Blood Royal:* And conſequently they give, in plain downright *Engliſh*, the three Eſtates *The Lye:* Of which, ſo diſhonourable a thing, our *Lawyers* will by no means admit them to be guilty; for they have often declared, *That it cannot be thought a Statute made by the Authority of the King, and of the whole Realm; as well of the King, and of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, as of all the Commons, will recite a thing againſt Truth.*

Doctor and Student cap. 55. Plowd. *com.* 398. *b. co. lit.* 19. *b*, & 110. *a. co. Lib.* 11. Priddle *and* Napper's *Caſe.*

But if they ſay, That *Bradſhaw*'s Allegation is falſe, then we have their own Confeſſion, That the Royal Martyr was not an Elective King, by the Votes and Suffrages of the People.

POSI-

POSITION III.

That King Charles *the First, when ſeated in* Cromwell's *new erected Slaughter-houſe, was Lawful Monarch of* England, *by Birth-right, Deſcent, or Hereditary Succeſſion.*

IT will manifeſtly appear by Authentick Vouchers, from our Learned Divines ſince the Reſtoration, from Statutes of King *Charles* the Second, and from the Pedigree given of the Regal Proto-martyr Himſelf, That he was King of *England*, by Hereditary Deſcent and Succeſſion, and no way depending upon upon the Election of his People. And

I. *From our* Divines, *ſince the Reſtoration.*

Nathaniel Hardy, D. D. and Vicar of St. *Martins* in the Fields, ſpeaking of the Royal Martyr, doth expreſs himſelf in theſe Words:

He whoſe Death we bemoan was no leſs than a King; one of the greateſt Monarchs in Europe, *was our King, by the indubitable Right of Succeſſion to the Crown.* *Serm. on* Zech. 12. 11. *preached before the Houſe of* Commons *on the* 30. Jan. 1661.

Doctor *Stradling*, Dean of *Chicheſter*, ſpeaks thus of King *Charles* the Firſt:

He was as Lawful a King as God and Nature, Law and the Subjects Oaths could render Him. He was a King born, whom neither Addreſſes nor Election had made ſuch. A King by Succeſſion (the beſt Title now that any *Serm. on* John 19. 15. *preach'd before the King* 30. Jan. 1674.

can

can have to a Crown) no Muſhroom, one ſprung up in the Night, but the Son of Nobles, the Blood of ſo many Royal Veins running in his; One owned for ſuch, even by thoſe that Crucified him, in their Inſcription, Regum Ultimus.

Doctor *Meggot* in his Sermon on the 30*th* of *January*, expreſſes himſelf after this manner:

Serm. on Pſal. 11. 3 *p.* 44. *preach'd before the Lord Mayor &c* 30. Jan. 1673.

When *Valentinian* was preſſed by the Army to a thing he thought inconvenient, he told them, It was in their power, whether they would have choſen him Emperor or no; But having done it, the Act was irrevocable: They had nothing to do now, but leave Affairs with him, and obey him.

In this Caſe may be ſaid more: *It was not in their power, whether they would have him* (Charles I.) *for their King, or no; His Crown was not Elective, but Hereditary; with what face could they affirm, it was theirs to depoſe, and condemn him?*

Ser. on Matth. 5. 10. *p.* 2. *preach'd before the Houſe of* Commons 30. Jan. 1677.

Dr. *Sprat* (now Lord Biſhop of *Rocheſter*) delivers himſelf in the praiſe of the Royal Martyr as follows: —— *Who not only by his Birth had a ſucceſſive Right to the Crown, which he could not forfeit; But alſo, by his perſonal Virtues, might have deſerved another Title, to it, if his Crown had been Elective, and as his Murderers impudently pretended, at the diſpoſal of his Subjects.* From our *Divines*, let us come to *Statutes*.

II. *From* Statutes *enacted in King* Charles *the Second's Reign.*

Theſe Statutes of King *Charles* the Second, are here by me cited to prove, that when he was reſtored unto his Kingdoms and People, and to his juſt Right of Government in the ſame, the Parliament of *England* did recognize and declare, That his Right and Title to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, was by Lawful and Lineal Deſcent, or Hereditary Succeſſion: As for Inſtance:

In

In the Statute of 12 *Car.* II. it is thus worded; 12 Car. II. c. 12.

"Although in this Confirmation of Judicial Proceed-
"ings, it was neceſſary to mention divers pretented Acts *The Government to be uſurp'd.*
"and Ordinances, by the Names and Stiles which thoſe
"Perſons then uſurped; who took upon them to paſs the
"ſame; namely ſome by the Stile and Name of the
"Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, &c. And others
"by the Name and Stile of Protectors, &c. Yet this pre-
"ſent Parliament doth declare, and it is enacted by Au-
"thority of the ſame, That the Names and Stiles afore-
"ſaid, and every of them, are moſt Rebellious, Wicked
"Traiterous, and Abominable Uſurpations, deteſted by
"the preſent Parliament, as oppoſite, in the higheſt
"degree, to *His Sacred Majeſty's juſt and undoubted Right*, *Recognition of His Majeſty's juſt Title.*
"*to whom and to his Heirs and lawful Succeſſors, the Impe-*
"*rial Crowns of England, Scotland and Ireland with their,*
"&c. *do of Right appertain.*

So in the Statute of 12 *Car.* II. *c.* 14. For a perpetual Anniverſary Thankſgiving, &c. the words thereof do run in this Form: —— "God Almighty hath demonſtra-
"ted in the view of all the World his tranſcendent
"Mercy, Love and Graciouſneſs towards his moſt Ex-
"cellent Majeſty *Charles* the Second, King of *England*,
"&c. And all his Majeſty's Subjects of this his Kingdom
"of *England*, &c. by his Majeſty's late moſt wonderful,
"glorious, peaceable and joyful *Reſtoration to the actual*
"*poſſeſſion, and exerciſe of his undoubted Hereditary Sove-*
"*reign, and Regal Authority over them*, after ſundry years
"forced Extermination ——. 12 Car. II. c. 14.

Now, Sir, you will be ready to demand of me, How do the forecited Acts of Parliament in proof of King *Charles* the Second's Hereditary Stcceſſive Right to the Crown of *England*, demonſtrate, that the Royal Martyr was (not an Elective but) an Hereditary Monarch, and Sovereign alſo of the ſame Realm, when he was ſeated in the New-erected Council of Blood, or High Court of Juſtice?

I anſwer: Thoſe Recognizing Laws of *Charles* the Second do undeniably prove, That the Crown of *England* did come to King *Charles* the Firſt by the very ſame Title, Birth-Right, and Deſcent; (as being lineally, juſtly and lawfully, next and immediate Heir of King *James* I. by which, King *Charles* II. as Son and Heir to the *Royal Martyr*, did rightfully claim and poſſeſs the Government of this Realm of *England*; ſo that if it be true, as it is, *That no Being can be better than the Cauſe of its Being*; then the Conſequence muſt be, that King *Charles* II. who inherited from King *Charles* I. cannot have a better Title to the Crown of *England*, than that which his Father, King *Charles* I. had, and left to him: But all the World knows, that the Son's Title to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, was by Birth-Right, lawful and undoubted Hereditary Succeſſion: And therefore the Father's Title to the ſame Crown, muſt be ſo alſo, as derived from King *James* I. that was deſcended from *Margaret*, Daughter of King *Edmund Ironſide*.

III. *From the Pedigree, given of our King* Charles I.

There was never any Prince who had a more clear, and undoubted Right and Title to the *Engliſh* Diadem, than King *James* I. (for beſides that, he was Heir to both Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, as is moſt truly acknowledged by both Houſes of Parliament, in the firſt Year of his Reign:) He was derived, by a very long Deſcent of Royal Anceſtors, from *Malcolm Conmor*, or *Commord*, King of *Scots*, and the Lady *Margaret*, (being the Name of her, from whom the United Title of both Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* deſcended upon him,) Siſter, and ſole Heir of *Edgar Atheling*, Son, and Heir of

Heylin's *Coſmography*, lib. 1. pag. 28. *Tit.* Britain. Spotſwood's *Hiſtory of* Scotland, p. 29, 30. Daniel's *Hiſtory* p. 19, 28, 38. Baker, f. 16. *in the Reign of* Edmond Ironſide. Lambard, fol. 150. *Edit.* 1644.

of *Edward* the eldeſt Son of *Edmund*, Sir-nam'd *Ironſide*; ſo that all Titles, as well of Right of Blood, as of Conqueſt, might ſo truly be ultimately reſolved into him, that in the whole World, no juſt Exception could be taken againſt them.

And if no juſt Exception could be brought againſt K. *James*'s Titles to the Crown of *England* and *Scotland*; then ſurely no Plea or Exception can be exhibited againſt the Titles of King *Charles* I. he being, upon the Diſſolution and Deceaſe of his Royal Father and Progenitor King *James*, the Lineal, Juſt, Lawful, and next and ſole Heir of the Blood-Royal of both Kingdoms.

To this Pedigree Royal aforeſaid, we will, for a further Illuſtration and Confirmation thereof, ſubjoin what *George Buck* Eſq; hath written, touching the Genealogy or Pedigree of King *Charles* I. in his Hiſtory of the Reign of *Rich.* III. Printed and Publiſh'd but in the Year before that, wherein thoſe Villainous and Bloody Miſcreants deſtroy'd the Royal Martyr.

Our King (ſays *Buck*) is the immediate, and ſole Lawful Heir of King *Egbert* (who firſt gave the Name of *England* to this Land, and was abſolute Lord of it) from him, by the Glorious Kings, *Edgar*, *Edmund*, *Athelſtan*, *Alfred*, and many others, as well *Saxons*, and *Angles*, as *Anglo-Saxons*, the Right and Title of this Kingdom is duly deſcended and devolved to *Edmund Ironſide*, King of *England*, who was Father to the moſt Noble *Clyto*, *Edward*, Sir-nam'd *Exul*, whoſe fair Daughter and Heir, the Princeſs *Margaret* of *England*, was married to *Malcome Canmoire*, King of *Scotland*, from which antient and happy Alliance, the King, our Sovereign Lord, is directly and certainly deſcended, and is the true and only Heir to the Rights and

Buck's *Hiſtory of* Rich. III. *p.* 144, 145. *Printed* Anno 1647.

Titles, which were without Flaw; So the moſt Ancient, and Famous Title, and Right of the Firſt Kings of *Britain* are in him, being the Next Heir of our laſt *Britiſh* King, *Henry Teudor*, whoſe Genealogy, *I have*, ſays my Hiſtorian, *ſeen derived from the Antient Kings of* Britain, *and from diverſe other* Britiſh *Princes. And this* Henry Tudor (or the Seventh) *to Confirm all the Titles of this Kingdom unto his Claim, by the ſtrongeſt and greateſt Authority, procured them Decreed to him, and to his Iſſue* (ſo Eſtabliſhed in himſelf, and his Poſterity for ever) *by Act of Parliament.* Which is alſo another Title to our King, Heir to *Henry* VII.

And this Act was renewed, and firmly Eſtabliſhed, for our Sovereign Lord, King *James*, *Anno Regni Primo.*

Yet King *Henry* VII. obtained of the Pope another Title. *Jure Belli.*

All which Titles, and Rights (which ever were appertaining to this Kingdom, and to the Empire of *Britain)* are Coaleſced, and met in our Sovereign King: For he hath not only the Claims of the Ancient Kings of *Britain*, of the *Saxons*, and *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, and of the *Norman* Race; but alſo the Titles, and Rights of the Royal Families of *York*, *Lancaſter*, and of *Wales*, *&c.*

Thus, good Sir, having ſufficiently (and, as I hope, to your own ſatisfaction) made good my Three Poſitions; by two whereof is Detected and Confuted, the Falſity of what *Bradſhaw* impudently uttered in the High Court of Injuſtice, concerning *Charles* I. his being Elected King by the Votes, and *Suffrages* of the People: I may now truly, and ſafely pronounce, upon the Judgment of the Fore-cited Lawyers, Divines, Hiſtorians, Parliaments, and Genealogiſts: *That the Government of* England, *that has been Exerciſed by our Rightful*

Rightful Kings, from King Edmund Ironſide, *down to King* Charles I. *was not an Elective, but Hereditary, Succeſſive, Monarchy. Quod erat demonſtrandum.*

It is high time to put a Period to this too too long Eſſay; and that I ſhall do, with the Preſentation of the Damnable, Tyrannical, and Exorbitant Logick of thoſe Bloody Miſcreants, that Arraigned, Condemned, and Executed their Sovereign Prince, and God's Vicegerent upon Earth, *viz.*

What we Will, we Vote: What we Vote, is Law; therefore what we Will, is Law.

A

POSTSCRIPT

Concerning the Duty of Subjects towards their Sovereign PRINCE.

THE Duty of Subjects (ſaith the French-Man, *Peter Charron*) conſiſteth in three Points, to yield due Honour to their Princes, as to thoſe that carry the Image of God, ordain'd and eſtabliſh'd by him; therefore they are moſt Wicked, who detract or ſlander; ſuch were the Seed of *Cham*, and *Chanaan*. 2. To be obedient, under which is contained many Duties, as to go to the Wars, to pay Tributes and Impoſts impoſed upon them, by their Authority. 3. To wiſh them all Proſperity and Happineſs, and to pray for them.

But the Queſtion is, whether a Man ought to yield theſe three Duties general to all Princes, if they be Wicked or Tyrants. This Controverſie cannot be decided in a word, and therefore we muſt diſtinguiſh.

The Prince is a Tyrant and Wicked, either in the Entrance, that is to ſay, That he treacherouſly invadeth, and by his own Force and Powerful Authority, gains the Sovereignty, without any Right, be he otherwiſe Good or Evil (for this Cauſe he ought to

to be accounted a Tyrant) without all doubt, we ought to reſiſt him, either by way of Juſtice, if there be Opportunity and Place, or by Surprize; and the *Grecians*, ſaith *Cicero*, ordain'd in former times, Rewards and Honours for thoſe that delivered the Common-wealth from Servitude and Oppreſſion. Neither can it be ſaid to be a Reſiſting of the Prince, either by Juſtice or Surprize, ſince he is neither receiv'd, nor acknowledg'd to be a Prince.

If in the Execution, that is to ſay, That his Entrance be rightful and juſt, but that he carrieth himſelf imperiouſly, cruelly, and wickedly; and according to the common Saying, *Tyrannically*; it is then alſo to be diſtinguiſhed, for it may be ſo three ways, and every one requireth a particular Conſideration.

The one is in violating the Laws of God and Nature, that is to ſay, againſt the Religion of the Country, the Commandment of God, enforcing and conſtraining their Conſciences. In this caſe he ought not to yield any Duty or Obedience, following thoſe Divine Maxims, *That we ought rather to obey God, than Man, and fear him more that commandeth the entire Man, than thoſe that have Power but over the leaſt part.* Yet ought he not to oppoſe himſelf againſt him by Violence or Siniſter Means, which is another Extremity; but to obſerve the middle way, which is either to fly or ſuffer, *fugere aut pati*; theſe two Remedies named by the Doctrine of Verity, in the like Extremities.

2. The other leſs Evil, which concerneth not the Conſciences, but only the Bodies, and the Goods, is an Abuſe to Subjects, denying them Juſtice, impriſoning their Perſons, and depriving them of their Goods. In the which Caſe, he ought with Patience and Acknowledgment of the Wrath of God, yield theſe Duties following, *Honour and Obedience*, *Vows and Prayers*;

and

and to be mindful of three things, That all Power and Authority is from God, and whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God: *Principi ſummum rerum judicium Dii dederunt, ſubditis obſequii gloria relicta eſt; bonos Principes voto expetere, qualeſcunque tolerare. God hath given the Sovereign Judgment of Affairs to the Prince; the Glory of Dutiful Service is left to the Subjects, to deſire by Prayer good Princes, and to tolerate them whatſoever they be; Tacitus.* And he ought not to obey a Superiour, becauſe he is worthy, and worthily Commandeth, but becauſe he is a Superiour; not for that he is good, but becauſe he is true and lawful; there is great difference between true and good, every one ought to obey the Law, not becauſe it is good and juſt, but ſimply, becauſe it is the Law. 2. That God cauſeth an Hypocrite to reign for the Sins of the People, though he reſerve him for a Day of his Fury; that the wicked Prince is the Inſtrument of his Juſtice, the which we ought to endure, as other Evils, which the Heavens do ſend us; *Quomodo Sterilitatem, aut nimios imbres, & cætera naturæ mala, ſic Luxum & Avaritiam dominantium tolerare: As when we ſuffer Sterility or unſeaſonable Weather, and other Evils of Nature, ſo we muſt endure the Riot and Covetouſneſs of our Rulers,* Tacitus. 3. The Examples of *Saul, Nabuchodonoſor,* of many Emperours before *Conſtantine,* and others ſince him, as Cruel Tyrants as might be: Towards whom nevertheleſs theſe Duties have been obſerved by good Men, and enjoin'd them by Prophets and Learned Men of thoſe days, according to the Oracle of the great Doctor of Truth, which inferreth an Obedience to them which ſit in the Seat of Government; notwithſtanding they oppreſs us with inſupportable Burthens, and their Government be Evil.

3. The

3. The third concerneth the whole State, when he would Change or Ruinate, ſeeking to make it *Elective*, *Hereditary*, or of an *Ariſtocracy*, or *Democracy*, a *Monarchy*, or otherwiſe, for he is not Maſter of the State, but only a Guardian, and a Surety. But theſe Affairs belong not at all, but to the Tutelars and Maintainers of the State, or thoſe that are intereſſed therein, as *Electors* of Elective States; or *Princes* apparent in *Hereditary* States, or States-General, that have Fundamental Laws. And this is the only Caſe wherein it is lawful to reſiſt a Tyrant. And all this is ſaid of Subjects, who are never permitted to attempt any thing againſt a *Sovereign Prince*, for what Cauſe ſoever; and the Laws ſay, that he deſerveth Death, who attempteth or giveth Counſel, and which intendeth, or only thinketh it; *Charron*, *lib.* 3. *cap.* 16. *pag.* 575. *Engl.* Tranſlation of *Samſon Lennard*. Now Reader, if this Doctrine of *Charron* (a Doctor of Law in *Paris*) be not enough to convince ſuch as are guilty of Antimonarchical or Regicidal Principles, let them peruſe the Solution which the Biſhop of *Carliſle* (Doctor *Mercks*) gave, upon the Dethroning of *Rich.* II. of that Queſtion, *Whether a King by Lineal Succeſſion, being Crowned, Anointed, and lawfully Inveſted, may, upon Imputation, either of Negligence or Tyranny, be depoſed by his Subjects*; which Solution the Author fancies, would poſe the ableſt Divine or Lawyer, that now is within the ſound of *Bow-Bell*, either to mend or to mar it.

Doctor Bayley *in his Royal Charter granted unto Kings*, Cap. 8.

Shall we take God's Word into our Mouths, and Preach Sedition, Rebellion, and Insurrection, contrary to that Word, which we pretend to Preach? To maintain Religion, by Insurrection, is to maintain it by Means condemned by the same Religion we would maintain.

6 AP 58

FINIS.

THE RIGHTS OF THE CHURCH of *England*, Asserted and Prov'd.


BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE
HONOURABLE
THE
HOUSE of COMMONS
In Parliament Assembled.

May it Please this Honourable House,

THE *hearty Zeal, and steady Resolution You have shewn, in Defending the* RIGHTS *of* HER MAJESTY, *and the* Church, *in Supporting the Undoubted* Prerogative *of the* One, *and the Excellent* Constitution *of the* Other, *induces Us to Hope, That an Address, wherein the* Vindication *of* Both, *is in some measure, endeavour'd, may neither be thought* Unseasonable, *nor prove* Unacceptable *to your* August Assembly; *at a Time, when the Eyes of the* whole *Kingdom are fix'd upon Their* Representatives, *in Expectation of seeing that Glorious Work, of* Transmitting the CHURCH OF ENGLAND Secure to Posterity, *Accomplish'd; which in pursuit of* HER MAJESTY's Gracious Desire, *You have so Generously and Cheerfully Undertaken.*

No-

DEDICATION.

Nothing, but the most Discerning Vigilance, *and Presaging* Wisdom, *could incite* HER *to* propose, *and* You *to* find out, *such Means to Preserve the* Establishment, *so visibly in Danger; and, for which the Nation will be for ever bound to pay their most unfeign'd Acknowledgments.*

It is therefore an **Honest Ambition,** *as well as a Part of Our* Duty, *for Us to Appear in That Cause, which this* Great Branch of the Legislative Power *has so Nobly Maintain'd; and which* One *of Your* Own Members *has so Learnedly and Clearly Vindicated to the World, as One wou'd have thought, should have Silenced the Pitiful Objections of that* Insolent Author, *whom We have here Examined, and the* Unreasonable Demands *of* That Party, *of which He is the* Profess'd Advocate.

In whose Name, He has presumed to Invalidate the Greatest, and most Sacred Function of the Crown, HER MAJESTY'S Supremacy in Church and State; *to Represent* HER *Venerable Title of* Defender of the Faith, *as an* Unjust Extent of Power, *and an* Usurpation in the Civil Magistrate; *to traduce the Authority of Parliament, as* Insufficient *to* make, *or* enforce *any* Law, *not* contain'd in Scripture, *and in short to strike at the* Whole Constitution; *and Palm such* Free-Thinking, *which will end in* Anarchy *and* Rebellion, *upon Us, for* Gospel *and* Christian Liberty.

To

To Men of these Schismatical Principles *it is owing, that Our* Best, *and most* Faithful Patriots, *are strangely Celebrated in* Black Lists; *Scurrilous* Legions *Publish'd to Terrify Our* Legislators; *that the Giddy and Unthinking* Multitude *are* Appeal'd *to, in Opposition to their* Lawful Representatives; *that the Constitution may be broke thorough, that* Some *of them may Domineer with Scandalous Licentiousness, and Uncontroul'd Impunity. These are the Men, who Plead* Rights of Toleration, *even above those of their* Sovereign; *who can call an Obligation to constant Communion with Our Church, in case of their Admittance to Offices of State,* Persecution, *and an* Infringement of their Liberty, *which this* Honourable House, *for the* Preservation *of the* Church of England, *has thought fit to Oblige even the* Successors of the Crown *to Observe.* 33

And tho' Matters seem to be driven to such a Fatal Crisis, *that* some Measures *are absolutely* Necessary, *to Restrain this* Potent Faction, *who Dare, in such* Pamphlets *as this* Author's, *to* Insult HER MAJESTY, Arraign Your Authority, *and* Menace the Government; *we shall not, like* them, *sawcily Presume to prescribe Our* Law-givers, *how to* redress Publick Grievances: *Especially when we have a* House of Commons, *to Execute with so much* Integrity, *what is Recommended from the* Throne *with so much* Piety.

That

DEDICATION.

That HER MAJESTY *may Live long, to render the Nation* Happy, *in Accompliſhing all* HER *Juſt* Deſigns, *for the* Perpetuating *the* Eſtabliſhment *of the* Church; *and that* SHE *may never want* SUCH *an* Houſe of Commons, *which will omit no Opportunity of Promoting Its* Intereſt; *and that all Your* Counſels *may meet with that Good* Succeſs *that the* Almighty *can give 'em, is, and ought always to be, the affectionate Wiſh, and earneſt Prayer of every* True Engliſh-man, *that has either a* Love, *for His* Country, *a* Concern *for His* Church, *or a* Zeal *for His* Religion.

PRE-

PREFACE.

THE *Sophistical Author, that is here Examin'd, having, in a* Tedious Pamphlet, *advanc'd several strange* Paradoxes, *without offering at any* Proof *of them, we have been oblig'd, not only to* Confute *his* Absurdities, *to but lay down several* Propositions, *with their* Proofs, *in Opposition to them; which has made this Discourse run out into a much greater Length than was intended; especially considering that the* Main Points, *in Debate betwixt the* Church *and the* Dissenters, *have been so fully stated, that there seem'd to be as little Room for a* New Answer, *as a* Fresh Objection. *But it must be confess'd, that the* Dissenters Improve *in their* Claims, *however they* Fall short *in their* Arguments. *It is an Amazing Thing to the* Church, *to hear them not only* Challenging *an* Absolute and Unlimited Toleration *from the Government, as their* Right *and* Property; *but setting themselves upon an* Equal Establishment *with her; Nay, presuming this to be* a Fundamental Maxim, and an Essential Part of the Constitution. *All which* Prodigious Assertions, *and many more of the like Nature, we have endeavour'd to Sift to the bottom, and Expose, both in their* Falshood, *and* Pernicious Consequences: *Tho' on the other Hand, there is not the least Argument brought in their Vindication, but that the* Dissenters THINK so, and can't forbear Thinking, and are fully Persuaded, and Hope, and are of Opinion, and have always Held, and call God to Witness, that they cannot but hold *such* Wicked *and* Treasonable *Tenets as shew them to be as* Bad Subjects *as* Christians; *and which Nothing, but the great* Founder *and* Father of all Lies, *could Dictate to the most* Querelous, Moody, *and* UN-

Pref. §.

THINKING

THINKING *Set of Men in the World: Men of such Fixed* Prejudice, *Obdurate* Hatred *to the Church, and Stedfast* Bigotry *to their own Opinions, that they will never Own themselves* Answer'd, *tho' never so undeniably* Confuted; *because they seldom* Read *any thing, but what is Written by their own* Illiterate Faction, *and may serve to* Confirm *and* Harden *them in their* Errors. *If any* Expressions *in this Discourse may seem a little too* Harsh, *or* Poignant *upon these Men, who always Load the* Church of England *with the most* Virulent Invectives, *and* Undeserv'd Calumnies, *we desire the* Reader *to consider, what* Provoking, Exasperating, Incorrigible Adversaries *we have to Deal with, and whether such* Resolute Sinners *should be Treated with* Moderation, *who have the Impudence to call the* Grand Rebellion *in* 41, *an* Old Story, *who Arrogate to themselves the sole Merit of the* Revolution, *and yet Charge the* Church *of* England's Compliance *with it, as* Treason, *and represent* Her Doctrines *of* Obedience *as Pernicious to Kings as theirs of* Deposing. *Doubtless these* Occasional Conformists, *these* Mercenary State-Hypocrites, *ought as much to be* Distinguish'd *from the* Conscientious Dissenter, *as a* Mistaken *and* Undesigning Offender, *from a* Deliberate *and* Presumptious Criminal. *However* those *Men may Recommend, or Intitle themselves to the* Compassion *and* Toleration *of the Government, yet certainly* a due Zeal *for the* Honour *of God, a* Hearty Concern *for our* Constitution, *as well as* Christian Charity *for the* Salvation *of* their Souls, *should induce our* Legislators *to Imitate our Blessed* Saviour, *who, tho' the greatest Example of* Meekness, *thought it but* Justice *to scourge* these Money-Changers *out of the* Temple.

76. of his Author.

RE-

REMARKS

Upon the AUTHOR's

Dedication to the QUEEN.

P. 1. SINCE Her Majesty, out of Her great Mercy and Condescension, has been pleas'd to promise the Continuance of a *Toleration* to the *Dissenters*, in their *Religion*; it could scarce be expected, that they shou'd presume to trouble Her, with a Barefaced *Justification of their Principles*, under the Pretence of *Doing Justice to Her Majesty*; or have the Confidence to claim that *Toleration*, as a *matter of Right*, which is a mere Act of *Favour* and *Indulgence*. Much less cou'd it have bin thought, that they wou'd complain of *Injuries* and *Oppressions*, whilst they enjoy'd all the Ease and Protection, which the Royal Defender of our Faith, and Church, cou'd grant, consistent with that glorious Character, and the great Zeal and Concern, She has so often profes's'd for the Security of Both. A sufficient Proof, that Nothing, but an entire Giving up the *Rights*, *Powers*, and *Revenues* of the Church, into their Hands, can ever satisfy their boundless *Avarice*, and *Ambition*: To obtain which they have us'd all Artifice and Sophistry in Representing themselves under several Shapes and Figures, as Occasion offer'd, to serve a Turn; Sometimes Threatning the Government, with the Formidable *Extent* and *Power* of their *Body*; at other times, shrinking themselves into the narrow Compass of an *inconsiderable Party*, alternately to work upon our Fear and Compassion. They have here the Boldness to assert, That *they have bin wrong'd by Mis-representations of Disaffection to Her Majesty's Government, of Ingratitude and Folly*: But whether their Principles and Practices have bin traduc'd; or, whether in both, they have not shewn an Irreconcileable Enmity to all *Monarchical* Government, and particularly to *Her Majesty's Title to the Throne*, we may safely call in the United Testimony of *History*, and *Experience* to determine. After which, nothing, but the most amazing Insolence, could make such Men impudently appeal to *their*

Loyalty, and dare challenge the *Church of England*, to disprove it, which has bin so often done, to their Indelible Shame, and utmost Confusion.

P. IV. And certainly there was sufficient Reason to lay the *Dissenters* out in *their Proper Colours*, upon the Accession of *Her Majesty* to the Throne, to give Her an early Caution to guard Her Self against a *Restless and Inveterate Faction*, who have all along labour'd, to contrive, and accomplish the Ruine of Her Royal Ancestors, and are by *Principle*, Implacable Foes to Her *Line* and *Government*. We need not Consider from what Spring this their inexorable Hatred arises, *to the Best Constituted Government in the World*, whether from their *Stupidity*, or *Baseness*, their *Wilful Ignorance*, or their *Natural Inclination* to Mischief and Villany; whether from their *Envy* to the Church, or their *Treachery* and *Ingratitude* for their not being only Protected, but Trusted; Whether it proceeds from any, or rather all of these Causes, it matters not, since the Effect is Undeniable, and is equally Malignant, let it proceed from what Cause it will. If *Her Majesty's Administration is unhappily fill'd up with too much Toil and Difficulty*, it is in no small Measure owing, to Her being forc'd to Struggle with such a *Waspish*, and *Perverse Generation of Men* at Home, whilst She is Engag'd in Wars Abroad; Who would imperiously Obtrude their groundless Pleas of *Innocence*, for an *absolute Right* to Dominion, and that, upon the Evidence of their own Bare Assertions; and who have always shew'd themselves as Impatient of *Contradiction*, as they are Incapable of being *Convinc'd*.

P. V. If *Her Majesty* must be *Inform'd of the true Characters of Parties, and the Principles of this Set of Men*, from their own Writings, and Representations, She must Frame a Judgment as *False*, as those Representations are *Contrary* to the Matters of Fact, set forth in my Ld. *Clarendon's Excellent History*, which this pert Author audaciously Reflects upon: An *History*, which by a peculiar Providence, has been laid before Her Majesty, as Her Best and most Faithful Counsellor, to admonish her to beware of the ensnaring *Amusements* of their *Pretended Loyalty*, and to avoid those specious Professions of Rebels, that brought all that Dismal Scene of Misery on Her Unfortunate Progenitors; which was both Founded in, and Carry'd on by the *Principles* of *Fanaticism*: Principles which will be for ever found of such contentious, fatal, and Deviliſh Influence, that it highly concerns *Her Majesty*, frequently to ponder upon the *Conclusion*, drawn from such Inconteſtable Matters of Fact, and to stand by it, as *Indispensably Necessary for Her Security*, never to place the least Trust in such shuffling, hollow-hearted, Underminers of her Power, but rather to Carry a *more Watchful Eye over them, and to make a narrower Inspection into their dark and intricate Proceedings*.

The

The Author of the Dedication of that *Noble History* to Her Majesty, (which this Puny Scribler of a Tedious *Libel* upon, rather than a *Dedication* to Her, in Derision, calls *Pompous*) is not such an *Obscure* and *Unknown Person*, as to encourage this *Wretched Upstart*, to Charge the Pen of that *Illustrious Writer*, with *Unwarrantable and Invidious Conclusions, drawn from Contested Facts and Principles*. But it is the usual Insolent Method of the Dissenters, to Complement Her Majesty, by casting the most bitter Invectives, and Odious Calumnies, upon Her *Nearest Relations*, as if *They were Enemies to Her Government, and Men of Intemperate Heat*, because they Advise Her to secure Her Self and Kingdom, by Defending that Church, which only can support Her Crown.

P. VI. For the Dissenters not *to be Silent*, or rather not *to Plead Guilty to the Indictment* of Schism and Rebellion, so long Charg'd and so fully Prov'd upon them, is not only *Disrespectful to Her Majesty*, but their pestering Her with sawcy Clamours, is enough to weary out Her Patience, and Force Her, tho' Unwilling, to Exert that Justice, which notwithstanding their frequent Provocations, and Exasperating Abuses, She has, as yet Suspended. This is, indeed, doubling their Crimes, and heightning their *Ingratitude*, with Intollerable Rudeness. A greater Instance of which, could scarcely have been produc'd, than their shameless Assertion here, in this Author, *That they have done nothing which may Forfeit, but rather Increase, Her Majesty's Confidence* ; and as a Proof of it, dare Appeal to *their Behaviour of late*, than which we desire no better a Test to convince the World, both of their Effrontery, and its Falshood. For have they not ever since Her Majesty's Accession to the Throne, Virulently Bespatter'd both Her Self, and the *Church of England* (here vilely Degraded into a *Party*) whereof She has profes'd Her Self so hearty a Member, in their scurrilous and seditious Pamphlets, which have of late, like an *Ægyptian Plague*, swarm'd from the Press, not even with the common Decency of Privacy, but Openly, and in the very Face of the Government, to Insult and Confront it, with Avow'd *Vindications* of that *Curs'd Rebellion*, and therein the unparallel'd Murder of Her Royal Grand-Father, not only Justify'd, but Ridicul'd and Lampoon'd ; and her Own Person Threaten'd, and Terrify'd with Her *Successor*, and the *Scotch* Disunion, and Independency on the *English* Crown? Doubtless Her Majesty's Prudence, knows how to Interpret, and Resent such aggravating Abuses of Her Goodness, and enflaming Provocations of Her Justice, and is *better acquainted with the common Interest of the Nation*, and the Danger the Church may incur, from their Plots and Cabals, than to repose too much Confidence in Men of such pernicious Principles and Practices equally Sworn Adversaries to Her Self, and Both.

In pursuance of these Detestable Tenets, this Author, as their Representative, sticks not to tell Her Majesty, That *She had no Right or Title to the Throne, but what they Condescended to give Her, and that She could never Quietly Possess her Kingdom, till they Nominated her Successor.* So much do *these Pharisaical Saints*, the Genuine Spawn of the *Jesuits*, take upon them to Dispose of Crowns and Scepters; whilst the *Passive Church of England*, must be content to be an Idle Spectator, and humbly to pray for a *Toleration* of Her Religion, which will here, as well as in *Scotland*, be most barbarously refus'd her, if they, by God's Afflicting Providence, should be permitted to Usurp the Dominion. How far the Dissenters *Promoted the Revolution*, is well known: Yet it must not be forgotten, (tho' they so frequently press for *Acts of Oblivion*) that when the *Church of England* lay at Stake, in the Reign of King *James* the IId. the Dissenters of all sorts Address'd Him to *stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes*, to carry on and compleat its Subversion *, and have now the Assurance to boast, That *their Establishment by Law was the only Condition they would come into the Revolution upon, or at least to be laid on a Level with the Church.* So that their Compliance with the Government, was not so much to Promote a *Protestant Successor, or to Curb the Exorbitant Power of the French, or Popish Party*, as to Rise and Reign upon the Ruins of the *Establish'd Church.* Our Author here Insinuates, as an high Panegyrick on the Dissenters, That they *chearfully gave and paid Taxes without any private Advantage to themselves.* Whether they *paid*, or not, it is certain they *Receiv'd*; and whilst the Nation Groan'd under an heavy Burden of Debt, they enjoy'd the Profit of our Misery, *sucking thereout no small Advantage.*

But at present, is this such a Meritorious Character, that they pay their Share towards their Protection? Would they be Exempted from the common Contribution to the Publick Safety? Is not the Advantage equal to them with us? But here it seems lies the Grievance and the Oppression, That they are not trusted in our Army, Fleet, or Privy-Council: (tho' too many of them have been Trusted there, to Betray it) It is an *Exclusion of their Rights*, forsooth, that they are not Allow'd, as their pious Cant is, to Sacrifice all *to the Innocent Principle of their honest Ambition.* It is another Obligation, they tell us, the Government owes them, that they have Religion enough to *say their Prayers*, and to *Deprecate those publick Calamities*, they have deserv'd shou'd fall on their own Heads. That is in other Words, that they don't Imitate the Abominable Examples of their Good Forefathers, and openly Blaspheme GOD, by Cursing his Vice-Gerents. As if their Crude, Affronting, Extemporary Effusions, *the Sacrifice of Fools* (in the double Scripture Sence

* *Test of the* Church of England's *honesty.*

of

of the Word) could possibly be Meritorious; which, were not GOD Infinitely Merciful, were sufficient to Blast the Success of Her Majesty's Arms, and Obstruct those Blessings which GOD has bestow'd on Her, both at Sea and Land, which these *Seditious Malecontents* Repine at, whilst they Enjoy, Acknowledge with Reluctance, Behold with Envy, Lessen with Detraction, and Commemorate with Indignation. * These are the *Narrow and Factious Spirits, to whom common Mercies are the greatest Dangers, and publick Disasters become a private Security*, who never fail'd to Embroil the State at Home, when it Flourish'd Abroad; and, as 'twere, to Blind the Eyes of the Nation, to Counterballance *Foreign Victories* with *Domestick Tumults*. But this Fanatical Representative, according to their usual Prophane Misapplication of Scripture, has drawn a Parallel betwixt *their Obedience, and that of* Isaac, *that they, like him, were to be Sacrific'd, like a Thank-Offering for Her Majesty's Success, had not Her Majesty, like the Angel, Interpos'd betwixt them, and Ruine.* One would have thought, the many dismal Massacres, they have brought on this Church and Nation, were enough to have prevented the Appropriation of a *bloody Sacrifice* to themselves; and that this Abuse of a sacred Simile, could prove nothing else, but that they deserv'd to be Sacrific'd for their own Sins, instead of those of others; and it would puzzle any Man's Understanding, but that of a Dissenter's to find, who is the *Abraham* here *commanded* to Sacrifice 'em, and by whom, or, how the *Queen* was the *Angel*, that both *enjoin'd* and *prevented* it, or what Analogy there is betwixt *them* and *Isaac*, who was a Type of our Blessed Saviour; and the *fam'd Obedience* of the *One*, as they call it, and the *infamous Rebellion* of the *Other*. But they have given us too much Reason to fear (to turn and carry their Allegory a little farther) that they would have the *Church of England, the Ram caught in the Thicket*, to be made a substitute Sacrifice in their Place.

3

P. VIII. Yet our Author is pleas'd here to advance a very surprizing Proposition, *That the Dissenters, by being entirely disengaged from all foreign Interests, can have none, but that of the Nation, and must be always suppos'd to be solicitous, how that may be best serv'd; and are too well appriz'd of the Danger of a Disunion from* Scotland *upon Her Majesty's Demise, and the Occasion which that unhappy Hour would give those that are in the Interest of the pretended Prince, to execute their evil Designs*, &c. This Author has forgot who it was that set the City of *London* on Fire, which barbarous and cruel Villany was

* *Witness their Notorious Behaviour on the late Victories obtain'd by his Grace the Duke of* Marlborough, *and Sir* George Rook; *who, by God's Gracious Providence, have prevented, and we hope Disappointed, all their Villanous Schemes and Projects against the Establish'd Church and Government.*

put

put in Execution on the celebrated *Lucky Day of Oliver*, the very time * its Deſtruction was doom'd in a *Cabal* in *Holland*. Neither will he know, that when we were engag'd in War with the *Dutch*, that the Diſſenters held a ſecret Correſpondence with them, that by their Intelligence, and the Conduct of ſeveral *Oliveriani*, Aboard the *Dutch-Fleet*, it was Piloted into our Harbour, and by their Directions, burnt our Ships at *Chatham*. Theſe are ſuch Matters of Fact as ſeem not capable of being diſprov'd, and might confirm with innumerable Inſtances of late, to ſhew what foreign Correſpondence they always kept with our Enemies. It is well known in the *laſt Reign* how often the Diſſolutions of our Parliaments were ſettl'd and decreed (I don't ſay *bought* at the *Hague*) tho' it was no difficlt Matter to gueſs how, and from whom thoſe ſurprizing Events came at home, there having been a conſtant Fellow-feeling betwixt the Two Parties, and a Line of Communication drawn over the Seas. Are they not at preſent plotting Miſchief againſt the *Church* of *England* at the Court of *Hannover*, where they have ſent and maintain'd their ſeditious Agents and Atheiſtical Emiſſaries to repreſent it as a *Schiſmatical Party*, and themſelves as the Church and great Body of the Nation, if poſſible to poiſon and prepoſſeſs the Succeſſors to the Crown, with their lewd Notions and corrupted Prejudices againſt It? Thus they think to carry every thing by factious Caballing, both at home and abroad, by Bribery, Subornation, and everlaſting Lying, (their great *Arcana Imperii* and Myſteries of State,) and to bear us down by their impudent boaſting of the Number of their *Legion*, who are always ready at the Watch-word and Signal given, to mob the Houſe of Commons, aſſaſſinate Her Majeſty, and join with any foreign Enemy to invade the Kingdom, and ſubvert our Church and Government. *Yet they are entirely diſengag'd from all foreign Intereſts, and can have none, but that of the Nation*, by which we may be ſure, they always mean *their own*. And leaſt we ſhould want a Proof how *ſolicitous they have been in ſerving it*, they have the Confidence and Folly to produce the *Scotch*, their dear Brethren in Iniquity and Rebellion, for an Inſtance: Whoſe Quarrels and Diviſions with us, they have ſo heartily eſpous'd, and ſo ſucceſsfully Fomented, that they have brought us under a viſible Danger of a *Diſunion upon Her Majeſty's Demiſe*; and all the ſad Calamities that may attend that unhappy Hour, and have given a fair *Occaſion for all thoſe that are in the Intereſt of the pretended Prince, to execute their evil Deſigns*. Our Author ſeems not here ſo cautiouſly to ſtand upon his Guard, but has unawares ſlipt a Secret which his Party will give him no Thanks for, that the moſt likely Method

* *See* London Gazette, *from* April 16. *to* April 30. 1666. *Num.* 48.

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of introducing a *Popiſh Succeſſor*, and the *French* Power, is by the *Presbyterians in Scotland*, who are as much ſworn Enemies, by Principle, to the Government of our State, as they are to our Church, and with whom our Diſſenters in *England* never fail'd to join, for the Extirpation of Both. And as at preſent they ſtand equally divided from Both, ſo 'tis to be fear'd, that the Arms they are now raiſing, will be as Deſtructive to the Engliſh Monarchy, as themſelves have been to Epiſcopacy: And can we think, upon ſo Glorious an Occaſion as this *Univerſal Reformation*, this *Root and Branch Work* as they call it, our Whigs and Presbyterians here will be Idle, forget themſelves, Deſert their Old Friends, Renounce the Devil and their Intereſt; or, that they'll be miraculouſly Diſpoſſeſs'd of the Spirit of Rebellion, by a ſtrange *Metamorphoſis* turn Honeſt, have a ſudden Averſion to Murder and Sacrilege, and defend that Eſtabliſhment, which they never omitted an Opportunity of Ruining? *P.* VIII *and* IX. Theſe, one would think, were Reaſons ſufficient to *make any Government Jealous of ſuch a Faithleſs and Stubborn Generation, (who never ſet their Hearts aright either to their God or King, a People never to be won with Kindneſs, or controll'd by Laws and Penalties)* to prevent or fence againſt the threatning Danger of their mutinous Deſigns, and ſeditious Stratagems, which will be always found to end, as well as begin in *Popery*. Had the Succeſſors of that Wiſe, Reſolute and Victorious Princeſs, Queen *Elizabeth*, put the Laws She ſo prudently made againſt them, in *ſtrict* Execution, we ſhould have little Reaſon to fear, either *Popery* or *Popiſh Succeſſors*. Which excellent Laws could no more be term'd unjuſt *Hardſhips*, than they would have been found unhappy *Meaſures*, being only neceſſary Guards for the Preſervation of that Church and Government, which they were continually aſſaulting, and without which, it could not poſſibly have been ſecure from the reſtleſs Malice and undermining Treachery of theſe home-bred Incendiaries; and which, to ſpeak the Truth, were only the juſt Effects and Puniſhments of thoſe frequent Plots and Rebellions, wherewith they infeſted the Quiet, and hazarded the Safety, of the Kingdom. Whoever that Author was cited in this Dedication, who told Her Majeſty, *That Her Royal Uncle was a Secret, and Her Father a profeſs'd Introducer of Popery, and Popiſh Succeſſors*, He was but a bad Precedent for this *Pamphleteer* to imitate: the Reflection might in Decency, have bin ſpar'd in an Addreſs to ſo near a Relation, upon whom this odious *Innuendo* is intended to Glance; to derive on Her the ſame *Blackning Suſpicion* they have fixt upon Her whole Line. But ſuch Men as theſe, being ſo *conſiderable a Part* of the Government, can have the Confidence to tell their King, *That Their Conſent muſt be always*

ways ask'd, in making Wars and Alliances; and what is done without Their Advice, is contrary to the Genius, and Interest of the People. Now those Deceas'd Princes, whose Ashes this Raker of Scandal so rudely Disturbs, as they were the greatest Examples of Mercy, and unparallel'd Condescension to the Dissenters, so they were the most unfortunate Precedents for it; having by this well meant, tho' imprudent Mildness, and over-kind Indulgence, given them the Power and Opportunity of bringing all those deplorable Troubles and Disasters upon their Heads: And tho' *Dead*, yet they seem to *speak* a secret Admonition to Her Present Majesty, the last Relick of their Royal Progeny, to Beware of Cherishing those Serpents in Her Bosom, who sting to Death their Best Benefactors, who take great Kindnesses for the worst of Injuries, who never Forgive those whom they have first Wrong'd, tho' they themselves are so frequently Forgiven; and who Resolve to be Ungrateful for those Exceeding Favours, which they find themselves Incapable of Repaying. But, as this infamous Scribler, who rather than miss an Opportunity of Railing, would Vent his malicious Scandal on the *Dead*, so when it serves his Turn, he can prostitute his mean Flattery on the *Dead* too, perhaps as little deserving the *One*, as the Former the *Other*.

For to what end is an invidious Parallel, so frequently drawn betwixt Her Majesty, and Her Predecessor? Can it be intended for any thing else, but to Lessen and Upbraid Her, with his Magnify'd and Exorbitant Praises? Has She not as much *at Heart the Liberty of Her Subjects, and the Preservation of the Protestant Religion*, tho' She does not Lean so favourably to the Dissenters, as to Patronize One, in opposition to the Other? *Has She not Chang'd the Private Maxims of the Court, for the general Good and Inclination of Her People*, by shewing Herself to have an *Heart entirely English*? Has She Given up the Interest, Power, Trade, or Privileges of Her Own Kingdom, to Gratify, or Enrich the Avarice, Ambition, or Usurpation of Foreign Persons and Governments? Has She not *Chang'd the Intrigues* of a *Cabinet*, for a constant Attendance on a *full* Council; and has She not always follow'd the good advice of that best of Councils, Her *Free Parliament*, wherein there are no *Court Pensioners*, to buy and sell the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and to endanger Both, by stickling for a *Standing Army*; no *multiplying Places*, to Bribe Indigent and Mercenary Members, Men, neither of Honour, Conscience, Family, or Reputation, to Barter for, and Sacrifice their Constitution and Country? Has She not *pursued those Measures, which are necessary to secure us from the Danger of a Popish Pretender, and the Aspiring Power of France*, without a Dear-bought Booty *Treaty of Partition*? Has She Alienated the E-

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ſtate of the Crown, Laviſh'd the Immenſe Supplies of Her Parliaments, or Sunk the Credit of the *Exchequer*? Has She not by Her Own Care and Frugality, and the Prudent and Faithful Adminiſtration of Her Preſent *Lord Treaſurer*, Leſſen'd the *Publick Debt*, Rais'd her Own, and Retriev'd the Nation's Reputation? Has She not, to eaſe Her Kingdom of the heavy Burden of Taxes, generouſly given a large Part of Her Revenue towards the Expence of the War, Retrench'd Her Grandeur, to Advance that of Her Subjects, and Encreas'd Her Own Trouble, to Leſſen their's? And yet Her Diffuſive Charity has not been confin'd within the Compaſs of Her own Dominions; How widely has ſhe extended it to the diſtreſſed Proteſtants Abroad? But to ſhew Her peculiar Tenderneſs and Concern for that Church, of which She is ſo Indulgent a *Nurſing-Mother*, has She not Exceeded the Generoſity of Her Royal Anceſtors to it, and ſettled ſuch a Tranſcendent Bounty upon its poor and laborious Members, as at once ſhews Her true Chriſtian Zeal to promote God's Glory, in maintaining the Juſt Dignity of his Worſhip and Religion; and the Honour of Her People, in taking off ſo viſible a Reproach upon them? Has She not Rais'd the moſt Learned and Orthodox Members of the Clergy, into the Higheſt and moſt Sacred Orders and Offices of the Church, to ſupport its Doctrines, Exert its Diſcipline, and Defend Both, againſt its moſt Irreconcileable Enemies? Has She not reſtor'd it out of its ſinking, and languiſhing Condition, to its primitive Splendor and Beauty? And to conſummate Her Character, Have not Her Heroick Generals, by God's Good Providence, and Her Wiſe Conduct and Counſel, Retreiv'd the Ancient Honour of the *Engliſh* Valour, both by Sea and Land; and Humbl'd and Defeated the United Pride and Force of *France* and *Spain*? And doubtleſs, when Her Victorious Arms ſhall have brought the Haughty Houſe of *Bourbon* to Sue for a Peace (which ſeems ſo near) She will take all poſſible Care to Secure the *Proteſtant Religion* to Poſterity, (which truly might have bin an *Article of Peace*, without *Acknowledging the Pope's Supremacy*) and to Advance the *Engliſh* Trade, equal at leaſt, to that of our Allies, the *Dutch*. If in all theſe things She has ſo Nobly Exceeded *the Meaſures of Her Predeceſſor of Immortal Memory*; if Her *Succeſſes have bin Greater than He cou'd Wiſh, or Prepare things for*, We are glad to find the Diſſenters own, That *It was Reſerved by Providence to render Her Reign Glorious, and Her Memory Precious to ſucceeding Ages.* And We hope the Diſſenters will pardon Her Majeſty, if while She allows them a Free Toleration (tho' not that Eſtabliſhment they expected in the former Government, which made them ſo *forward to run all Hazards and Difficulties to ſecure it*) She labours to Tranſmit the *Church of England* to Poſterity;

which whatever Indulgence is granted to Sectariſts, can never be provok'd to complain of a *Perſecution*, much leſs, to alarm Her Majeſty with the Jealouſies and Fears of *Self-Preſervation*.

P. x. Tho' this is the conſtant Method of the Diſſenters, who always pretended an imaginary Notion of an *apprehended Perſecution*, a ſufficient Cauſe for Rebellion, and here obliquely threaten Her Majeſty, that if the *Occaſional Bill* ſhou'd paſs into a Law, that *it would prove a Temptation to their weak and private Spirits to diſturb the Publick*, to throw off that uneaſy Reſtraint the Legiſlative Power ſhou'd think fit to lay on ſuch turbulent and factious Malignants. Is it not then an amazing Thing to hear thoſe Men, at the ſame time, talk of that *Paſſive Obedience they have paid the Laws*, who have bin ſo often, and ſo eaſily provok'd by the Devil, and their Inſatiable Luſts, *to enter into Meaſures*, which (as they themſelves, to their own everlaſting Shame, here acknowledge) *can never ſecure them, nor they juſtify*? But what will ſuch Monſters in Sin ſtick at, who have the Impudence to deny ſuch open, and inconteſtable Matters of Fact, and call all their horrid Conſpiracies againſt the Church and Government, from the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, down to the *Rye-Houſe Plot*, and thence to Her Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, and upwards, *Sham-Plots*? As if the Legal Condemnations, Confeſſions, and Executions of all the Villains, convicted in this long Series of Rebellion, were nothing elſe, but a ſolemn Murder, and bloody Pageantry: As if their being Hang'd for Rebellion was to Die Martyrs, and a *Jeſuit's Plea* at *Tyburn*, was the fitteſt Copy for a Diſſenting Regicide to follow. Are theſe *the Trials of their ſuffering Vertues*? Can there be ſo foul an Aſperſion upon All our Kings and Queens, and Both Houſes of Parliament, to Arraign their Authority, and Queſtion their Veracity and Juſtice, and to turn the Judges themſelves into the Vileſt of Criminals; And even this to the very Face of Her Majeſty? Truly from hence we might expect, in the *Diſſenter's Calender*, to ſee the *Apoſtles* and *Saints* Caſhier'd, to make way for *Regicides* in *Red Letters*, and *Baxter's Saints Everlaſting Reſt*, (wherein ſome of theſe Confeſſors of Hell, are Canoniz'd,) with *Ludlow's New Goſpel*, put in the place of the *Abdicated Bible*.

P. x. *and* XI. It is not, it ſeems, enough to Gratify the graſping Deſigns of the Diſſenters, to Enjoy the Benefit of a Toleration, but they muſt Leſſen and Degrade the *Eſtabliſh'd Church*, of which Her Majeſty is the Head, with the little, narrow Denomination of *a Party*. As if the Queen, becauſe ſhe is engag'd in the Confederacy, is as much Oblig'd by *the Concern ſhe has for the Common Intereſt*, to Defend all Proteſtant Churches, as ſhe is by Oath

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bound to Defend Her Own. Tho' Her Majesty is justly suppos'd to have a very due Regard for all Protestants Abroad, yet we hope she may be allow'd to make a Distinction of Favour to that Church, which she bears so near and honourable a Relation to, without being thought Guilty of Partiality, or *Persecution* of the Dissenters, who wou'd Engross to themselves the only Name of *Protestant Churches*; and from whom, if we are Discriminated, it can never be *by Unnecessary Terms of Communion*. Her Majesty is willing indeed *to bring the Dissenters into the Church*, but not by those scandalous *Methods* of *Occasional Conformity*; She is inclinable to Restrain their *Force* and *Violence*, by just and yet gentle Means, to make 'em *Real* and *Entire*, not *Hypocritical* and *Partial* Members of it. She would allow their Dissent, to be rather their *Misfortune*, than *Fault*, were she sure, that it was not their Prejudic'd Choice, and that they didn't wilfully Offend against the clearest Light, and conviction of Reason; against the expres Laws of God, as well as Man. She wou'd allow their Plea of *Conscience*, did it not look too much like *Obstinacy* and Perverseness, and were it not a meer Term of Cant, so often us'd to cover the blackest Impiety. She knows, that Men have a *Right* to Obey the Dictates of a truly well-instructed Conscience, but that they ought not to Desecrate and Vilify that Venerable and Holy Name, by Sanctifying every singular fantastical Opinion, or sottish Absurdity, and ridiculous Prepossession of Mind, with it. She is sure, that if the Dissenters are *really* Men of Conscience, they can never be *Brib'd* or *Intimidated, tho' Civil Privileges should accompany their Conversion*. She wou'd consent, That Men shou'd enjoy their Opinions, if they wou'd not impudently Assert 'em with Noise and Tumult, in Opposition to Her Establish'd Religion. She thinks Men's *Integrity* may be best judg'd by their *Dutiful Behaviour* to the Government, and *Unfeign'd Obedience*, and yet would have the Laws vigorously Executed to enforce that Obedience, as much among the Dissenters, as the Members of her own Communion.

P. XI. The Dissenters have here the Confidence, to State the *Church of England* only on the Bottom of *Property*, in Opposition to all those Sects and Churches that Differ from Her. Through this Whole Pamphlet, they pretend to *an Absolute Right in their Religion, Exclusive of, and Previous to All Laws*: But since the Grant of the *Act of Toleration*, they Presume to be Founded on an *equal Establishment* with that of the Church; and consequently, look on their Religion as much a *Property* to them, as think Ours to be to us. Indeed, when a Man has a natural Right to the Exercise of the True Religion, according to the Gospel, in a Christian Country; and that natural Right shall be so enforc'd by humane Laws,

as to render the Exercise of his Religion as secure to him, as the Enjoyment of his *Property*; that Religion, with respect to humane Laws, does become to him a kind of *Property*. But then the Church of Christ owes neither its *Being*, nor *Spiritual Nature*, nor *Privileges*, to the Humane Legislature, tho' it may rejoice to find it self protected and supported by the secular Arm, and the Edicts of Pious Princes, who become *Nursing Fathers* to it. Thus it flourish'd more in the Time of that Religious Emperor, *Constantine the Great*, who so well deserv'd this Character, and seem'd, by God's peculiar Providence, rais'd for its Support; than under his persecuting Predecessors, who Eclips'd its Glory. It is evident, that God made use even of Heathen Princes, to defend the Jewish Church against their Enemies; yet, this cou'd be thought no more a Disparagement to that Church, than it is to the Christian, to be Maintain'd by humane Power. Tho' our *Religion* is by *Legal Statutes* as much secur'd to us as our *Property*, yet does not this make it a bare *Property*, divest it of its intrinsick Nature and Excellence, or place its Being in Circumstantials? If Laws are made to preserve it, is it therefore founded purely and absolutely on those Laws; or, does it take its native Perfection from them, tho', under God, it may Owe its Security to them? The Establishment therefore of our Church on the Legislative Authority, can no more be thought to affect its inward Constitution, so as to make it only amount to a *Property*, than the Confirmation and Support of it by humane Laws, can be term'd a Distrust of God's Care over it. It being necessary (considering the Boldness and Corruption of Mankind) that *Divine Laws* should sometimes be enforc'd by *Humane*, as well as *Humane* by *Divine*. And therefore, I hope, we may justly retort the arrogant Charge of *Ignorance*, upon our Author, for *Entertaining so little an Opinion of our Church, and debasing it by such mean and absurd Similitudes*, being wholly unacquainted with the Nature, either of its Doctrine, or Discipline. But, tho' the Dissenters were here Establish'd by Law, all the humane Laws, that might be Enacted, could never legitimate their *Schism*, or give them the true Nature and Constitution of a Church, as failing in its very Essence, and Orders; or, endow them with true *Spiritual* Advantages, having by their Schism (however they pretend to be United to Protestant Churches) separated themselves, not only from the Communion of the Catholick Church in general, but from the Communion of all the particular Churches in the World.

P. XII. And yet they dare assume to themselves, the Title of being *the Truest Friends to Her Majesty's Person and Government* as, she is at the Head of all Protestamt Churches; and arrogate the whole

whole Force of Her Power, to the Strength deriv'd from their Body. But if our Bleſſed Saviour's Maxim, which is as truly *Political*, as *Divine*, may determine this Point, If *every Kingdom and Houſe divided againſt it ſelf, cannot ſtand*, to theſe Men muſt be Owing, not onely the Weakneſs, but the very Diſſolution of that Government; who, by being *Carry'd on by a Furious and Miſtaken Zeal*, Rend it with unneceſſary Separation, and inteſtine Faction, *to its unſpeakable Prejudice, at a Time when our Enemies are Boaſting of their Strength and Numbers, whereby they furniſh 'em with a better Opportunity of Concerting their Meaſures, without Diſcovery, or Interruption.* And yet, Theſe are *that Faithful Part of Her Majeſty's Subjects*, that ſhe is *to place a Confidence in*; Men, Nurtur'd, and Bred-up from their Cradles, in the Principles of Schiſm and Rebellion; whoſe ſecret Jealouſies and Machinations, the moſt Mild and Indulgent Reigns cou'd never prevent, who cou'd enter into a curſed *Covenant*, to take up Arms againſt the King's Perſon, to ſecure his Royal Dignity, and to Maintain the Proteſtant Religion, by extirpating the *Church of England*. But, to Divert us from a cloſer Search into their Conſpiracies, we find 'em here, with our Author, Shifting their own Guilt on the *Jacobites*; as if, by bringing them on the Stage, they thought to ſhelter themſelves, as tho' they were not as dangerous Enemies to our Conſtitution. Now, if we were to draw a Parallel betwixt theſe Two Parties, we ſhall find the Ballance fall on that ſide, on which they as little expect, as they are unwilling to bear it. For as the One, out of a Principle of Conſcience, is ſo unhappy, as not to be able to comply with the preſent Government; and is content on that Account, to ſuffer the Loſs of all Temporal Advantages, and does by his upright, tho' miſtaken Opinion, debar himſelf of all ſecular Rights and Privileges, and, as 'twere, *exclude* himſelf out of the Political Body of his own Country; the *Fanatick*, by being imbodied in the Government, like a ſecret Canker, corrodes and preys upon the very Vitals, of it; and is ready to ſwallow any Oath, tho' never ſo impious and contradictory, and keep it as religiouſly as he takes it, having his *Comprehenſive Latitudinarian*, ſtretching Conſcience commenſurate to his Intereſt, and never interfering with it; His Religion riſing and falling with his Gain, reconciling *God* and *Mammon*, and making *Chriſt* and *Belial* the equal Objects of his Adoration. And doubtleſs, ſuch Godly Infidels have an high Claim to the *Security of Government*, and may very juſtly boaſt of their Fidelity to their Oaths, who have bin forward, on all Occaſions, to Swear to any thing that turns uppermoſt; and who, in the ſhort Space of but One Year, cou'd ſubſcribe to, and ſucceſſively abjure a Gallymawfry of Five ſeveral ſorts of Governments, and particularly that of

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the Royal Family, which yet they have here the Modesty to upbraid Her Majesty with, as if they were instrumental in its Restoration.

P. XIII. *If Her Majesty's Wisdom and Goodness* reach'd no further, than these Men's *unfeign'd Obedience*, we might justly fear Her Government wou'd be laid on as *shallow*, as *slippery* Foundation; that She might quickly descend from a Queen, to become a Subject; be an Head of a Church, without a Body; share a Titular Supremacy In *England* with the *Pope*; and, with the Poor Episcopal-Clergy in *Scotland*, sue for a Toleration, and be deny'd. But our Author's good Manners is always of a piece with his Reason, who is constantly leading Her Majesty backward, and treating Her with an ungrateful Retrospect of the Miseries, and Misfortunes of Her Royal Family, and giving Her to understand, what she must expect Her self, in the like Case; by here imputing those Miseries to *the Severities us'd against the Dissenters*. A Falshood so full of Rudeness, Impudence and Ignorance, that nothing, but that diffusive and astonishing Good-Nature, so peculiar to this Family, (which did not only pardon, but forget their unparallel'd Villanies,) cou'd forgive! For, none but such Wretches as these, that are hardened in ther Sins, beyond the Power of Grace and Repentance, cou'd ever have the Face to assert, That all the Calamities, that fell upon that unhappy Line, didn't entirely proceed from their Mildness and Clemency, and the unadvis'd Indulgence, which they gave this insidious Party of Rebels, ever thriving upon Toleration, gaining Ground by Permission, encroaching upon, defying, and at length overturning that gracious Government, under which they are so mercifully and unhappily cherish'd. And, *What Advantages accrued to the Nation by the Mildness of the last Government*, is sadly evident, from the execrable Swarm of Sectarists, that then over-run, and eclips'd the very Face of the Church, whilst *Atheists*, *Deists*, *Tritheists*, *Socinians*, *Philadelphians*, &c. (not to mention all the spurious and equivocal Breed of heterogeneous Dissenters,) flourish'd, and almost triumph'd upon the Ruines of the Establishment.

P. XIII. XIV. The notorious and insolent Defences, that are every Day publish'd of that abominable Rebellion since *Forty One*, which is here gently smooth'd over with the Complement and Title of *Unhappy Troubles*, are but a very odd Indication how much these Men are *sorry* for the Wickedness of their Forefathers; and give us too much Reason to suspect, that they want only an Occation to act over the same *bloody Scene and Tragedy* again, as they are pleas'd for once justly to term it. So that they sin afresh, and by renewing, partake of the Guilt of their Predecessors; nay, if it were possible,

poſſible, would exceed it, and are ſo far from being concluded under *an Act of Grace and Oblivion*, that they aggravate their Offences, and really ſtand in need of a *New One* to pardon them. So that the dreadful Woe, which our Saviour denounced againſt the *Scribes* and *Phariſes*, (their ancient Picture and Example,) will, I fear, fall moſt deſerved upon them. *Wo unto you Scribes, Phariſees, and Hypocrites, becauſe ye build the Tombs of the Prophets, and garniſh the Sepulchres of the Righteous; and ſay, if we had bin in the Days of our Fathers, we wou'd not have bin Partakers with them in the Blood of the Prophets. Wherefore ye be Witneſſes unto your Selves, that ye are the Children of them which kill'd the Prophets, and allow the Deeds of your Fathers, and fill up the Meaſure of their Sins. Ye Serpents, ye Generation of Vipers, how can ye eſcape the Damnation of Hell?* However, they think to wipe off this indelible Strain, by urging, that their Anceſtors were inſtrumental in the Reſtoration of the Royal Family. But, did they not firſt force the King, when they Crown'd him *Priſoner* in *Scotland*, * to ſwallow their *Solemn League and Covenant*; and leſt that ſhou'd not have bin ſufficient to have *bound his Soul with a Curſe*, did they not barbarouſly compel him, to ſign a *Declaration* of the Juſtice done to the *Idolatry of his Mother's*, and the *Bloodineſs of his Father's Houſe*; with an avow'd Condemnation of their Treaſon againſt their Subjects, wherein he had acted under his Father, when *Prince of Wales*? And to palliate all theſe deteſtable Practices, their Writers of this diſmal Hiſtory, have endeavoured, with all falſe Colours and Miſ-repreſentations, to ſlur over their Guilt, and *deſire that thoſe Times may be bury'd in Silence*, which they find themſelves ſo incapable of defending; and, that the *Thirtieth of January* may be blotted out of the *Engliſh* Calender; upon which doleful Commemoration, and ſolemn Deprecation of God's Wrath and Vengeance, due to that good Prince's Blood, the Defence of our Church againſt *Presbytery* as much depends, as its Preſervation from *Popery* on the *Fifth of November*; they being the Two great Bulwarks againſt, and the juſteſt Reproaches upon, our Implacable Enemies. And this they require, upon their Meritorious Labours in *bringing about the Revolution*; as if that cou'd attone for the Murder of the Bleſſed Martyr, or the *ſetting up* one Prince, cou'd expiate for the *depoſing* and *maſſacring* Another. But the Principles and Practices of the *Presbyterians* have bin always the ſame, the modern Diſſenters abet what their Forefathers committed, and conſequently (as our Author himſelf acknowledges) deſerve the ſame Puniſhments due to thoſe *Extravagancies*, as thoſe worſt of Crimes are here *ſlightly* call'd and extenuated. But if the Diſ-

* *Jan.* 1*ſt.* 1651.

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tents wou'd, in good Earneſt, convince the Nation, that they don't juſtify theſe villanous Practices, let their preſent Miniſters ceaſe from inſtructing and educating their Youth, in the ſame wicked Principles, in their Schools and Seminaries; and let 'em draw up a *ſolemn Abhorrence* of the Murder of King *Charles* I. without palming upon us, the antiquated Impoſture of a ſuſpicious Catalogue of their *Quondam Saints**. But till they do this, no Prince can act unjuſtly, if like that God, whoſe Vice-Gerent and Repreſentative he is, *He puniſhes the Iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children*, eſpecially when the Children openly avow, maintain, and wou'd repeat their Fathers Guilt, and by making it their own, become actual Trangreſſors.

P. XIV. It is an unaccountable ſort of Policy, the Diſſenters have of late practis'd, to Appeal to thoſe Writings for their Defence, which are the moſt direct Proofs againſt 'em. Among which, none could have bin more imprudently cited again, than the Excellent and moſt Faithful *Hiſtory of the Lord Clarendon*; an Hiſtory, which cannot be too often Perus'd by every Engliſh Gentleman, that has a Regard for the Security of his Church, or Safety of our Conſtitution. That Noble Writer has ſhewn the unexpected Events, and *unreaſonable* Conſequences, that flow'd from a *Strict* and *Juſt*, tho' by ſome thought *Rigorous*, Diſcipline, both in Church and State, zealouſly Exerted upon Men, that were contumaciouſly Reſolv'd to Obey it in Neither. That Admirable Defender of Both, is ſo far from Imputing this Miſchief to the *Male-Adminiſtration* of the Bleſſed Martyr, or the *Illegality* of the things requir'd, that he endeavours to Juſtify them, with the utmoſt Force of Argument and Eloquence, and very truly Imputes all thoſe Diſaſters to the Conduct and Principles of the Puritanical Ring-Leaders of the Rebellion: who by Miſrepreſenting the Deſigns of the *King* and *Court*, as tending to Introduce Arbitrary Power and *Popery*, (the everlaſting *Cant* of the *Fanaticks* againſt the *Church of England*) debauch'd and miſled his Subjects into all that ſad and deplorable Series of Injuſtice, Diſtraction and Miſery. But, *Suppoſing, Things had been ſtrain'd too far in Church and State, muſt Mens Minds be rankl'd*, and carried on to ſuch ſanguinary Extremities? Muſt the King be Murder'd, and the whole Nation involv'd in Blood and Ruine, if a petty Fault, or Miſcarriage be committed, or ſmall Occaſions given; muſt a mighty Combuſtion be rais'd out of a Spark, and little Crimes be puniſhed with infinitely greater? Certainly none but thoſe, who wiſh the ſame fatal Conſequences, none but the Diſſenters can *lament*

* See the *Appendix of the* Rights of the Diſſenters.

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that they have not *the Power to ſcrew up things to the ſame Pitch again.* Which as they could ſtruggle for, under the mild Adminiſtration of King *Charles* I. ſo they actually do now, under as gentle a Reign, that of his Grand-Daughter, and by Proceedings, (except that of their Forefathers) *as much without a Precedent.* If we muſt not endeavour to diveſt 'em of Power, till they are capable of exerting it, we ſhall then find it too late to offer to diſarm them, when they have the Sword in their Hands, which they yet laid down, till it was glutted with the Blood of their Oppoſers.

P. XV. Tho' the *Church of England* has, ever ſince the Reformation, appear'd with ſuch invincible Courage, Reaſon, and Learning, againſt the Innovations and Errors of Popery, and particularly to its Honour, at a time when it lay under its ſevereſt Trial, and the moſt dreadful Apprehenſions of it, whilſt the Diſſenters (to their eternal Reproach be it remember'd) not only ſtood by and were ſilent, but complemented and careſs'd the Popiſh Agents; yet the old groundleſs Aſperſion of *Popery* muſt be the continual Cry againſt Her, notwithſtanding her indefatigable Labours to convince the World of the contrary. The *Conſtitution of the Church* was ſo fully and clearly ſtated, that inſtead of adminiſtring the leaſt Suſpicion that way, when it ſtood as the main Fence againſt Popery in the World. And that Bleſſed Martyr, Arch-Biſhop *Laud*, who as ſtrenuouſly defended its Faith by his Writings, as he nobly ſeal'd it with his Blood; was ſo eminent an Inſtance, both of its genuine Purity, and Apoſtolical Truth, as, one wou'd think, in it ſelf ſufficient, to put an everlaſting Silence to ſo unreaſonable and malicious a Slander, and to ſet his Own and the Church's Character above the impotent Defamations of ſuch weak Scriblers, as this Author. For, How cou'd this Primitive and Orthodox Prelate be ſaid *to Return to the Church of Rome*, of which he never was a Member, and which he ſo conſtantly and vigorouſly oppos'd? But it is the pious Policy of the *Fanaticks*, to caſt theſe popular Calumnies at random, and to inſinuate any ſuſpicious Lye, that looks plauſible, and will ſerve their Turn, to *blacken* their Adverſaries, tho' not grounded on the leaſt Colour, or Shadow of Pretence. No Wonder that thoſe, who could dare to fix this falſe and odious Imputation on the ſpotleſs Majeſty of their Royal Sovereign, ſhould not ſpare the Reputation of that great Pillar of his Church. If the whole Courſe of their Lives, and every Action in it, that tended to evince the contrary, were not a ſufficient Confutation of this unjuſt Reproach, yet their laſt Dying Speeches, on the Scaffold, might at leaſt claim the charitable Credit that is uſually given to ſuch ſolemn Proteſtations. *But it is enough for the Diſciple, that he be as his Maſter, and the Servant as his Lord:* if *they have called*

the Maſter of the Houſe, Beelzebub, *how much more ſhall they call them of his Houſhold?* However, theſe villainous Scandals had the Effect for which they were deſigned; for theſe imaginary Fears of Popery, were thought a very juſtifiable Ground to inducethe Diſſenters *to ſubvert the Church of* England, *without being angry with its Conſtitution.* Now if the meer *Apprehenſion* of Danger, with them is a ſufficient Cauſe for Rebellion, (as is more than once aſſerted in this Author's Dedication) what Church or Government, can be ſecure, whenever theſe Men ſhall believe their own Dreams, or pretend to be Hag-ridden with the Bugbear Fears of Popery, and their own Fantaſtical Phrenzy? They run into Sacrilege and Prophaneneſs to avoid *Superſtition*, and becauſe they diſlik'd ſome *Ceremonies* in our Religion, reſolv'd, in their Fury; to diſcard all. What an abſurd and ridiculous Excuſe have we here for the ſubverſion of our Church, when we are told, that *it remained entire, at the ſame time it was utterly deſtroy'd?* As if the Church could be entire, when all its parts were rent in Pieces, when *Epiſcopacy*, the Eſſential Conſtitution of it, was remov'd, *As having neither its Being, Foundation, or Doctrine from Jeſus Chriſt, or his Apoſtles.* This, it ſeems, was only *the Ruin of the Superſtructures of the Church*, as this Writer ſcurvily terms it; but 'tis well known, that the *whole Body* of the Church, ſhar'd ſo much in this univerſal Havock and Deſolation, that ſcarce its Faith, the *Rock upon which it was built, remain'd* in ſeveral Places. Could then the Doctrines of the Church be ſaid to be *preſerv'd*, when neither its *Creeds* were openly profeſs'd in Divine Worſhip, nor its *Sacraments* duly adminiſtred, but both of 'em caſt out and trampl'd on, by that prophane, degenerate Rout of Sects, that roſe out of thoſe tumultuous, corrupted Times of Confuſion?

P. XVI. *Theſe are Remarks which the Adverſaries of our Church know to be juſt, and which they are ſenſible make good the Charges brought againſt 'em, for that inconteſtable Hiſtory of the Lord* Clarendon. And certainly, Her Majeſty can have no *Better a Foundation* for a *Diſtruſt of the Diſſenters Allegiance and Fidelity*, than that the ſame *Diſloyal Principles and Practices of their Forefathers*, (which are here ſometimes acknowledg'd to be Sinful) are yet often Juſtified and Abetted by the *Preſent Body* of their Succeſſors, and particularly by this their ignorant, and impudent Repreſentative and Advocate. From which, were there no other Argument alleged to prove it, 'tis abundantly evident, *That the Monarchy of* England *is not now capable of being ſupported, but upon the Principles of the Church of* England, *in Oppoſition to thoſe of the Diſſenters, which are directly contrary to Monarchical and Epiſcopal Government.* A Concluſion as infallible in Reaſon, as it has always bin found in Experience, and on the due Obſervation whereof, Her Majeſty will find the whole Security of Her Crown depends.

P. xvi, xvii. This Author, according to his usual Modesty, here Asserts, *That there are no Dissenters from the Principles of the* Church of England, *about Government and Monarchy, but the* Non-Jurors. *That the Queen's Title to the Crown is Founded solely upon the Revolution. That the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and the Denial of a Mutual Compact between the Prince and his Subjects, are Dangerous to the Monarchy, as by Law Establish'd.* To which Propositions, here Magisterially laid down, without the least shadow of Proof, it may be sufficient to Reply on the contrary, That every Sect of the Dissenters is more an Enemy to the Principles of the *Church of England*, than the *Non-jurors*. That the Queen's Title to the Crown was not solely Founded on the Revolution. That the Doctrine of Passive Obedience, and the Denial of a mutual Compact between the Prince and his Subjects, are not Dangerous to the Monarchy, as by Law Establish'd. For have not the Dissenters always oppos'd the Principles of the Church in the Points of *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil* Goverment, maintaining a Republican Form in the One, and a Level Administration of Power in the Other? Were not Monarchy and Episcopacy equally Abhorr'd, Condemn'd and Abjur'd as *Arbitrary Encroachments upon the Right and Privilege of the People, as Popish Superstition and Innovation, as the Anti-Christian Marks of the Whore of* Babylon? Did not their grand Rebellion, with solemn Renunciations, pull both down, and don't the Dissenters still, on the same Principle, separate from 'em? Whereas the Non-jurors hold both, but seperate only as to the *Person*, in whom they dispute the Legal Investiture of these Powers. Upon which Account the Dissenters must be esteem'd much more dangerous to our Constitution; as being entire Enemies, to the very *essential Form* of it, especially if we consider the boasted wealthy Numbers of the One, who dare threaten and defy the Government, and the inconsiderable Paucity, and poor Circumstances of the Other, which render 'em incapable of molesting it. As for her Majesty's Right to the Crown, nothing, but the utmost Effrontery and Ignorance, cou'd induce any, but a profes's'd Rebel or Madman to assert, that it was not previous to the Revolution. Had She not an undoubted Right by Her Birth, or cou'd that be forfeited by the Abdication of Her unhappy Father? The Parliament cou'd neither take away that *Former Right*, or give any *New Claim*, but for some great and extraordinary Exigences of State, permitted the Crown to rest upon *that Prince's* Head, during His Life, whom *the Convention* had placed upon the Throne. As for Passive Obedience, it was always known to be the settled Doctrine of the *Church of England*, as it is set forth and explain'd in Her Homilies and Liturgy. And it is indeed not only founded on the expres's Words of the Scripture, but it is a Doctrine so absolutely necessary for all Forms of Government, whether plac'd in the Hands of *One* or *Many*, that it is impossible they ever should

ſubſiſt, or be ſecure without it, For under all Forms of Government, theſe inherent *Rights of Sovereignty*, muſt be inveſted in thoſe who have the Dominion. Namely, that *He* or *They* muſt have the Power of the Sword to put Laws already made, in Execution, That *He* or *They* muſt have likewiſe the Power of giving the Ultimate Sanction and Ratification to new Laws: That neither *He* nor *They* are to be reſiſted in the Execution of thoſe Laws, or to be held reſponſible to the People, to be Arraign'd, Judg'd, or Condemn'd at their Will and Pleaſure. For if the People may be allow'd Arbitrarily to take upon 'em the Judicial, or Legiſlative Authority, to hinder Laws from being Executed, or to Enact new ones, without Conſent of the Supreme Magiſtrate, or to Reſiſt and call him to account for his Actions, then muſt all ſuch Government be wholly Precarious, without any ſettl'd Bottom or Foundation to reſt upon, and liable every Moment to be ſubverted, according to the Caprice or Humour of the giddy and inconſtant Multitude. In ſuch a Caſe, a King or Queen of *England* is juſt ſuch a Titular Creature, as the King of *Sparta* under the Dominion of the *Ephori*; and the ſame fatal conſequence muſt ſuch Principles have in a Republick, which wou'd make the *High and Mighty States of Holland*, as *Poor* and *Diſtreſs'd*, as when they ſued for a Peace, and Obnoxious every Day to be *De-witted*. As for the Imaginary *Mutual Compact* between the Prince and People, if this Author can ſhew any ſuch thing in any Monarchy in the World, (all Monarchies being Inſtituted by God) he will give us a very ſurpriſing Diſcovery in Hiſtory, which has yet lain hid a Secret from the nice Enquiries of the beſt Writers. As the Monarchy of *England* is a Monarchy *Limited by Laws*, ſo when the Diſſenters tell us, that they are Enemies to an *Abſolute Monarchy*, they can be thought to mean nothing elſe, but ſuch Monarchies as are not of their *own making*, or any they can place that odious Imputation upon, as a ſpecious and juſtifiable Pretence for overturning them. *For they have always Remonſtrated againſt the Obligations of Non-Reſiſtance and Paſſive Obedience to the Crown*, as being Originally, Rebels upon Principle. And when they pretend, that the *Right of Government is Lodg'd in the People*, can any Man be ſo ſtupid, as to think they are ſuch Fools, as to mean the Body of the *Church of England*, to which they are Sworn and Implacable Enemies, and whoſe Deſtruction and Annihilation they have Plotted, ever ſince their firſt Riſe; like a *Baſtard Brother* conſpiring againſt the Life of the *True Legitimate Heir and Firſt-Born* to Eſtate and Dominion? As for the Notion of *Self-Preſervation*, it has bin before made uſe of, to raiſe and foment Rebellion, and may be always alledg'd for that wicked Purpoſe, whenever the miſ-grounded Jealouſies, Fears, or ambitious Deſigns of the Peo-

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ple against their Governours shall suggest it, to Molest or Depose 'em, which we need, only appeal to the many sad and notorious Instances, in our History, to prove. The Dissenters however, are here oblig'd to this Author, for the Illustrious *Comparison* he has here drawn, betwixt them and the *Cevennois*; which, how far it may hold good, I shall not stay to enquire, but think, it is a little *odious*, and may serve, at least to demonstrate their *Self-Preserving Loyalty*: but I believe their good Friends, the *Dutch*, will give this Author no Thanks, for setting the *Cevennois* above 'em, and affirming that *They are more hearty Allies to Her Majesty, than the United States, or the Emperor*, whose Dominions she has so lately rescued out of that apparent Ruin and Desolation, the *French* Arms had almost brought them under. But this Defender of Sedition could not forbear Complementing Rebellion, tho' at the Expence of his Friends, well knowing, that this was praising themselves by Proxy; and, that the Honour he bestow'd on them abroad, would reflect back upon his own Party at home.

P. 18. The Dissenters Notions of Government are of the same wild, Latitudinarian Model with their Christianity, that leave Men under a state of Universal *Licentiousness*, to think, or act as they please. And these are their *Free Principles* (as they call them) *founded on the just Rights of Humanity*, which render 'em *Free Subjects*, to Obey, or Disobey, as they think fit, and to hold Allegiance to Her Majesty, only *Durante Beneplacito*. And was it not this, that heretofore *carry'd them to Introduce a Common-wealth to the Subversion of the known Constitution of this Kingdom*? So that here we find 'em Playing Fast and Loose with their Principles, in which they are always *Occasional Conformists*, and can, to serve a turn, either Assert, or Deny 'em, and on that Account, are more Dangerous to our Government, than *Jacobites* can be, who openly profess, and stand to their Principles.

P. XIX. The Divine Right of Episcopacy, founded upon the Institution of Christ and his Apostles, has bin so fully and solidly Demonstrated, by the Excellent Writers of the *Church of England*, that there can be nothing more said to Defend it. Yet the Dissenters (who are never to be convinc'd by Argument, or Learning) will in Defiance of both, allow the Bishops to be only *Lay-Elders*, (a *Moderate Scheme* of Episcopacy, to which some would have it reduc'd) and that their Power is resolv'd into, and dependent upon, that of the State: Tho' for some certain Reasons, best known to themselves, they are pleas'd at present, *to profess a great deal of Veneration for their Lordships Persons*, at the same time that they deny their Authority, But, to use a *Certain Prelate's* Expression applicable to this Purpose, 'The People have not such Metaphysi-'cal Heads, as to distinguish betwixt the Authority, and Person of

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'a Bishop; for when their Authority comes to be question'd and 'vilify'd, the Veneration for their Persons, when it cannot serve 'a Turn, will soon be laid aside. And here it may be seasonably remark'd, that their Dissenting Brethren in *Scotland*, when they see 'em Profess such a strange *Popish Doctrine*, that *They believe Her Majesty to be Supreme in all Causes Ecclesiastical and Civil*; will pronounce their Brethren, here in *England*, *Schismaticks*: The Royal Supremacy being a Notion so Monstrous, that the *Assembly of Divines* were never able to swallow, nor indeed these Men themselves, to digest it. For 'tis a Doctrine, that lies so heavy and sick upon our Author's Stomach, that we find he could not carry it out to the End of his Book, but secretly disgorges the nauseous Load, in a Corner of this Treatise. These Double-Dealers, it seems, are never at a loss for a private *Salvo* to relieve their Consciences at a Pinch, and can, with a good Grace, Lye backwards and forwards, and stick not positively to Recant this *Occasional Declaration*, in as direct Expressions denying what they so solemnly here affirm. But they scorn to be Slaves, either to their Words, or Principles, and despise a *little Inconsistency* in either. And therefore we need not wonder, why (according to the Usual Way of Contradicting themselves) they here both deny the Authority of Bishops, and at the same time tell us, *They hold it Lawful*: If so, Why don't they submit to it? The *Scruples* they pretend can never justify 'em in this: For those must be founded either upon Scripture, or Conscience: The Former cannot be, because they allow the Order Lawful, and consequently not Repugnant to Scripture. Nor the Latter, because as their Own best Casuists maintain, *Conscience* ought to submit to *Government*, in all Lawful Matters.

P. XX. But, for a Justification of the Dissenters Principles and Innocence, Our Author is pleas'd to produce a very singular Argument by Appealing to *the Dutiful Behaviour of their Brethren in* Scotland, *for a confutation of that Fam'd Maxim, No Bishop, no King.* Now, if the *Scotch* Loyalty is to be the Standing-Test, and Measure of that of our Dissenters in *England*, I desire to put the Controversy, betwixt Us and Them, on no better a Decision. The Wise King, that was the Prophetical Author of this Maxim, *James* the *First*, saw the infallibile Truth of it, both in the Temper of His Subjects, and Constitution of his Government; and all the Rebellions of that Nation have bin so many Fatal Proofs of it. Have not all their Solemn *Leagues and Covenants*, even down to that they Enter'd into, on Her Majesty's Accession to the Throne, run in one continued Strain, for the Abolishment of Monarchy, as well as Episcopacy? And, have they not always made Good their Engagements, in the Extirpation of Both, when 'twas in their Power? Nay, 'tis Nonsence to imagine, that as they are the same

ſame *Species* of Government in Church and State, where they are *Incorporated*, the one ſhould ſubſiſt without the other; or, which is impoſſible, with That which is utterly oppoſite to, and therefore Inconſiſtent with it. Have not all the Troubles and Diſaſters, which have bin brought of late Years on this Kingdom, proceeded in a great Meaſure from the Turbulency and Faction of the *Scotch*? And, have not our Diſſenters in *England* conſtantly Join'd with them, when their Rebellion was advanc'd to a Maturity? For, they have always kept a Correſpondence, as an Inſeparable Fraternity, both in Practice as well as Principle; and will, by their Conjunction, if not timely prevented, prove once more the Downfal of our Crown and Mitre; and this they have openly Threaten'd us with, in their ſeditious Pamphlets. Tho' Her Majeſty, like Her Royal Grand Father, has condeſcended almoſt below Her Dignity, to Gratify that Inſatiable People, tho' ſhe had ſubmitted to the Subverſion of the Epiſcopal-Church among them, and had Eſtabliſh'd Presbytery on Its Ruines (which the Bleſſed Martyr ſo ſeverely repented he had done, and which he acknowledg'd the Fundamental Cauſe of his Miſery) yet this wou'd not Satisfy their Unreaſonable Demands, without the utter Extirpation of Epiſcopacy in *England*, which they Declar'd in a Body of 700, or more, in open Rebellion at *Cairntable Sanquhair*; and other Borough-Towns in *Scotland*, *May* 20. 1703, fixing Declarations on the Market-Croſſes, That *They Renounc'd* ANNE *Princeſs of* Denmark, *from being their Queen, unleſs ſhe would Aboliſh and Root-out Epiſcopacy in* England; and thereupon enter'd into a Solemn League and Covenant, to Diſperſe this Declaration throughout the Kingdom, in the Name of all the true Presbyterians in *Scotland*; and this at a time whilſt the Parliament was Sitting, in the Face, and with the Connivance of the Government. And can any Man be ſo Sottiſh as to think, they will not make their Words Good, now they are Permitted to be in Arms? If our Nation does not feel the Ill-conſequence of Truſting Power, in their Hands, They have both chang'd themſelves, and their Old Scheme of Politicks. Let the World then judge, how far Her Majeſty can depend on the *Dutiful Behaviour* of the Diſſenters in *England*, when they Appeal here to that of the *Scotch*, as their Meaſure and Example. Perhaps they will have the Face to Deny this, as they do all Matters of Fact, that Exhibit their Principles and Deſigns; and particularly, *the Solemnizing that Diſmal* Thirtieth of January, *in Scandalous and Opprobrious Feaſting and Jeſting in their* Calves-Head-Clubs. They tell us, *They cou'd Wiſh, and they Hope, and they are Apt to Believe, that there are no ſuch things done; and if they are done, they are very ſorry for it, and that they are ſure the Diſſenters were never Guilty of ſuch a Barbarous and Inhuman Rite, as is the Inſulting the Memory*

mory of a Vertuous and Unfortunate Prince; and, that they Hope, that none, that Breath the ſame Air with Her Majeſty, can be Guilty of it. And indeed 'tis Pity, that thoſe, who are Guilty of it, ſhould Breath the ſame, or any Air at all. But *this Solemnity* (as our Author here calls it) is ſo far from being *Practic'd in Secret*, or a *Suſpicion Groundleſs and Falſe*, that it has bin Openly Celebrated in All the Populous and Trading-Towns of this Kingdom, eſpecially ſince the Revolution, And was it not high Time to make a Complaint of this Enormous Crime to Her Majeſty, which ſo Baſely and Daringly Reflected upon that Bleſſed Perſon (from whom ſhe has the Honour to Deſcend,) to the Affront of our Laws, and Her Own, and the Church's Diſgrace, as well as Danger? Whether this Deteſtable Practice is not a ſad and ſufficient Proof, of *the Preſent Diſſenters retaining the Rebellious Principles of the laſt Age*, let even themſelves Judge, and whether they Deſerve not to be equally Puniſh'd, for the Crimes of their Predeceſſors. *

P. XXII. Since upon the Whole then it appears, That the *Diſſenters have no Principles or Intereſts concurring, to aſſure Her Majeſty of their Fidelity: and, ſince they have done ſo many Facts, and hold ſuch Pernicious Principles, that ought to raiſe a Diſtruſt of them in Her Majeſty, they have no Reaſon to promiſe themſelves, that She will by any* Means, *be Engag'd, either to maintain the Diſſenting Aſſemblies, or Academies to the next Generation; or, to Allow 'em any Powers, or Capacities of Dethroning Her Majeſty, Subverting the Church, and Enſlaving the Kingdom.*

Having thus repreſented the Diſſenters in their true, proper Colours, and unmask'd all their ſeditious and dangerous Deſigns, in the fallacious Pretences of this Author, *Not through any Private Deſign, or to bring Difficulties and Uneaſineſs on Her Majeſty, and the Publick; but through a Steddy Adherence to the true Intereſt of Her Majeſty, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion*, to ſecure Both which, is the only Deſign of theſe Remarks: *Having ſhewn the utter Inconſiſtency of the Diſſenters Principles and Practices with any Monarchy, and particularly that of* England, *We may juſtly Pray the Almighty, by whom Kings Reign, and Princes decree Juſtice, to bleſs Her Majeſty with the Diſcernment of an Angel of God; and, in Order to render Her Government eaſy to her Self, and a continued Bleſſing to Her People, that he would vouchſafe to Her Majeſty a perfect Knowledge of her trueſt Friends the ſincere Members of the Church of* England *and the moſt bitter and implacable Enemies of Her Perſon and Government, the whole Body of the Diſſenters, and grant She may never Truſt any of Theſe, or Diſtruſt any of Thoſe.*

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* *See this Matter prov'd in Mr.* Weſley's *Two Treatiſes on the Subject, who had the Misfortune to be Educated among them, and was therefore capable of diſcovering their Villany, and ſecret Conſpiricies.*

Having

THE RIGHTS OF THE *Church of ENGLAND*, ASSERTED and PROV'D.

In ANSWER to the REVIEW of the *Diſſenter's* CASE.

P. 1. IT may ſeem very ſurprizing, that an Author who pretends to appear an Advocate for the *Diſſenters* in a *Review of their Caſe*, ſhou'd introduce it with a Declamation concerning the *Eagerneſs* and *Frequency* of thoſe *Attacks*, that have bin lately made upon 'em, and the *Reluctancy* which they have ſhewn in *Replying*. Which is here farther aſcrib'd to their *Want of Leiſure for Controverſy, and Receſs from Buſineſs, to the ill Tendency of Diſputes, and their Conſciouſneſs of their own Innocence, which they* THINK *ſo manifeſt to all Impartial Judges as to need no Apology: and to the weak and inſufficient Arguments of their Adverſaries, and the unanſwerable Defences of their Friends.* All which Reaſons, for the *Diſſenters* long Silence, cou'd not yet reſtrain *This very idle Fellow, from being forward to engage in this Controverſy, howſoever incapable of doing either good Service to his own Party, or Harm to the other Side.* But it ſeems he expected to have gain'd no ſmall Honour, by *Encountering a late Champion of the Church*, with whom this Doughty Heroe has preſum'd *to Enter the Liſts*, not upon any *Religious Account*, but chiefly to *avoid the Imputation of Cowardice.* Now to ſhew the Vanity and Falſhood of this Repreſentation, we need only appeal to the ſmall and imperfect Specimen annex'd of Books Publiſh'd, within a few Years, by a *Single Party* of the *Diſſenters*, againſt the *Eſtabliſh'd Church:* to which if we add that *Legion* of Treaſonable Pamphlets and Libels they have ſet out and diſpers'd againſt *the State*, together with the Schiſmatical and Seditious Writings of their other Sects within the ſame Period, it will abundantly appear, that our Author's Reaſons againſt *Engaging in Diſputes*, drawn from *the ill Influence they have on Religion and Society*, condemns the Conduct of his own Faction. For theſe are ſo many undeniable Inſtances to prove, that *Neither the Obligations of Chriſtian Charity*, nor *that Sedate-*

See the Appendix.

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P. 2.

Sedateneſs of Mind, ſo abſolutely neceſſary for the Diſcovery of Truth, cou'd keep 'em from that Acrimony of Spirit, and Rancour of Reproach, which *gives ſuch an Edge to Mens Minds and Expreſſions, and*
P. 1. *has provok'd 'em to break the Tyes of Love, the Band of Civil and Religious Perfection.* Has not this caſt 'em into ſuch unreaſonable and indecent *Paſſions*, as has always ſhew'd a *Greater Concern for themſelves than their Arguments.* A Demonſtration, that they don't think that their *Conduct ſpeaks ſufficiently for it ſelf, without having Recourſe to Vindications and Apologies*; that however they *Flatter'd themſelves*, that
P. 2. their Doubling *Behaviour was blameleſs*, they cou'd not ſtand acquitted from the Charge of the moſt *Abominable and Damning Hypocriſy* in their *Occaſional Communion*; and that the *Lords Reaſons* for it, were not, even in their Opinion, of ſuch Weight and Force, as not to need their *Additional Fallacies.* This indeed was a Practice ſo ſcandalouſly wicked, that it was not in the Power of Humane Reaſon to *Excuſe*, much leſs to *Juſtify* it; and which the *Charity*, they pretend to the *Church*, and the *Sincerity* they owe both God and Man, muſt ſtand in everlaſting Oppoſition to. Yet we are told, *That the Diſſenters have,*
P. 2. *out of Charity, Occaſionally Conform'd to the* Church of England, *at Her Invitation to do it:* Which is very falſly inferr'd from a miſtaken Paſſage in a Sermon Preach'd by then a *Private Presbyter* of that Church, which contains his bare *Complaint of the Diſſenting Miniſters, for not acquainting their People with what they granted themſelves, that our Church was a Lawful Church, and ſuch as might, in ſome Caſes be conform'd to.* And this Learned Writer, to prevent a Miſconſtruction of his Words, ſoon after Publiſh'd a Treatiſe in Defence of that Sermon, wherein he proves at large, that *if Occaſional Conformity to any Church is Lawful, conſtant Communion with it, is a Duty* *. As little can the *Sincerity* of *Occaſional Conformity* be vindicated, becauſe it is pretended, that
P. 3. *it was in Uſe long before any Shew of Intereſt cou'd tempt the Diſſenters to it.* But when this Practice aroſe, or what Motives gave it Birth, we ſhall not here debate, ſince 'tis plain for what Reaſons they continue it, who only attend our Church, when induc'd by the Expectations, or forc'd to it by the Duty of a ſecular Poſt or Intereſt. Did they ſometimes Communicate out of a Principle of Conſcience or Charity, the ſame Principle wou'd be of Univerſal and Eternal Obligation, and equally perſwade at all times, to a conſtant Communion, when their Ambition or Advantage are not to be ſerv'd by it.

But it is here to be obſerv'd, to prevent future Miſtakes, that our Author has induſtriouſly, or ignorantly, fall'n into the ſame Common Error, that all the Defenders of Occaſional Conformity have committed before him, in confounding an Occaſional hearing of Prayers and Sermons in our Church, with an Occaſional *Sacramental* Conformity in the Bleſſed Euchariſt. The firſt, is indeed an Action, which no one can juſtify, that believes the Terms of our Communion, and the Conſtitution of our Church unlawful, which no Man can joyn in

* *Bp.* Stillingfleet's *Unreaſonableneſs of Separation, Part.* 2. *Sect.* 17.

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without Sin, that is perswaded in his Conscience of their Illegality. But this *Former Conformity* is not the Matter, at present, in Debate, nor what *this Law* so much clamour'd against, was design'd to restrain; but the *Latter*, which was a Practice not known among the Dissenters, till of late, finding themselves excluded all *Civil Offices*, by the *Test and Corporation Acts*, to preserve their Interest, they thought it convenient to relinquish their old Opinions, and to strain their Consciences (which before cou'd not admit an indifferent Ceremony) to comply with what they held before to be the grossest Idolatry. This scandalous Abuse, of the most sacred Part of our Religion, *the Bill against Occasional Conformity* was intended to prevent, 'As making the Re-'ception of the Lord's-Supper the most reproachful Umbrage of the 'blackest Iniquity, and a woeful Rock of Offence to all Pious and 'Unfeigned Christians, and as letting in Rebels and Schismaticks into 'the Offices of the Church and State, and thereby endangering both; 'and, as being as inconsistent with the Dissenters own Principles, as 'with the Laws, which were not a sufficient Guard for the Church 'or State, without this further Security, because they had found out 'a Means of evading their power. All which weighty Arguments, produc'd by *the Honourable the House of Commons*, and so fully demonstrated by that *Learned* and *Ingenious* Member of it, Sr. *Humphry Mackworth*, seem to me, by this Author's good Leave, not so *Light* and *Trivial*, having as yet receiv'd not the least Confutation, either from him, or any other Writer. So that we are still at a Loss, to conceive how the Dissenter's Cause can lay any more Claim to *Honesty* than *Reason*, or that *their Rights were oppress'd by* this *Bill* in Agitation only; *P.* 3. Or, *That their Lordship's Credit and Authority (which they stand so justly possess'd of) was so much encreas'd by their being Advocates for the Dissenters*, as this Author pretends; or, that those *Noble Lords*, that Voted for Passing the Bill, do not stand in as much Credit as those that Voted against it. It is a strange way of Reasoning from the ill Success, that the Bill met with, to its real Merits; an Argument which never fail'd to bear hard upon the Church, and may serve to justify the worst Persecutions it has suffer'd from its prosperous Enemies: But, I think, it may, without any Derogation from their Lordship's Honour, be affirm'd, that the *whole House* of Commons Voting for the Bill (who are suppos'd to be the Representatives of the Majority of the Nation) is, at least, as good an Argument to defend it, as *some of the Lords and Bishops* Voting against it, is to Condemn it.

Having thus shewn the contemptible Weakness of this *Author's Introduction* to this Discourse, we proceed to examine his *Review of the Dissenter's Rights*, following his own Method observ'd in it, Answering it Paragraph by Paragraph.

1. First, *We will consider the Reasons for their stated Dissent.*
2. Secondly, *For their Occasional Conformity.*
3. Thirdly, *The Right which they claim to an Unlimited Indulgence*, and
4. Lastly, *Of what Advantage the Allowance of this Claim wou'd be to the Government.*

P. 6. First, Their Reasons for *their Stated Dissent* amount to this, '*That the Worship due to God, is what a Reasonable Creature thinks most* '*acceptable to him, and that therefore Dissenters, who have not this* '*Opinion of the Way of Worship, establish'd by Law, must either forbear* '*all Adoration of the Deity, or adore him in a different Way: That it* '*matters not whether they are mistaken, or no, since all Men must act ac-* '*cording to their Apprehensions, whether true, or erroneous.* Now, if the Worship due to God, be always what a Reasonable Creature judges to be so, then the various and contradictory Opinions of Men must be the Measures of it. Whereby the most barbarous and ridiculous Ways of Adoration wou'd be entitl'd to the Divine Acceptance, and a sincere *Pagan*, or *Mahometan*, wou'd serve God as acceptably as the most knowing and devout Christian. This is not more an Absurdity, than a necessary Consequence of that Position, *That the Worship due to God, from a Reasonable Creature, must be what such a Creature judges most acceptable to him.* A Man indeed may be bound to obey the Dictates of an *Erronious Conscience*, yet if he mistakes Evil for Good, he will not thereby perform the Obedience due to God: In such a Case, tho' 'tis a Sin to act counter to his Perswasion, 'tis as truly a Sin to act according to it; since our Opinions can't alter the Nature of Things, or the Measures of Duty, or make God's Laws the Reverse of what they are. This our Author might have learn'd from *that* *P.* 7. *Judicious Prelate* he appeals to, and that very Discourse that he cites. To suppose that every Man may follow the Dictates of his Opinion without Sin, gives a distinct *Infallibility* to the Reason of every Individual Man, and makes all Contradictions equally true. If this *Fundamental Principle*, which is laid down as the Grand *Basis* and *Postulatum* of this fallacious Treatise (and upon which is plac'd the whole Stress of a *Stated Dissent*) prove false, as it must, if there be any Truth in the World, the whole Foundation of the Dissenter's Separation is entirely overturn'd.

P. 8. Having thus taken a *General* View of the Separatist's Reasons, in their united Force, for their *Stated Dissent*, let us next, with our Author, examine 'em in *Particular*, First, *Those Reasons by which they justify their Departure from the Establish'd Church*; Secondly, *Those upon which they more immediately found their Obligation to Com-* *Sect.* 1. *municate with other Religious Societies.* First, *The Dissenters* THINK *it necessary to separate from a Church, which has so many unnecessary Rites and Ceremonies, to assert their Freedom from all Human Impositions.* To state this Matter rightly, we must consider what Power God has invested the Church with. Our Blessed Saviour having delegated the same Power to the Apostles, and by the Intervention of them, to their Successors, which he himself had re-
Joh. 20. 21 ceiv'd; *having sent them as his Father had sent him*; They consequently, by giving Laws to his Church, do not *Encroach* upon his Authority, but only execute his Commission, without extending it to any unjust Latitude, and that without the least Violation of our *Christian Liberty*, which may be preserv'd inviolable, whilst their Injunctions re-

restrain us from the Actual Exercise of it. For the true Nature of Christian Liberty consists, not in a *Freedom of Practice*, in arbitrarily doing or forbearing things undetermin'd by the Divine Law, but in a *Freedom of Judgment*, in esteeming such to be neither necessary, nor sinful in themselves, and is then only infring'd, when we do, or forbear them, without this Opinion of their *Indifferency*. St. *Paul*, the great Patron and Assertor of it, declares, That *shou'd his Meat make his Brother to offend, he would eat no Flesh while the World standeth, least he shou'd make his Brother offend*: Shewing by this Instance, how well his *Christian Liberty* might be preserv'd entire, under a perpetual Restraint of its Exercise, than which, *Positive Humane Laws* cannot lay it under greater Confinement. Nor can these Laws, by enjoining the Use, or Forbearance of *Things Indifferent* in their own Nature, constitute any *thing necessary to Salvation*, which God has not made so. This can never be pretended, when a Church prescribes Rites and Ceremonies, only as conducive to the Regularity and Solemnity of Divine Worship, not as *absolutely*, and *in themselves necessary to Salvation*. For the Necessity, which they derive from this Injunction, is only *Relative* and *Consequential*, arising purely from a Command suppos'd, which if they can't receive, without an *Unwarrantable Alteration in Religion*, then by Parity of Reason, the *Civil Magistrate* has not the Power to enjoin any thing undetermin'd by God's Law, how requisite soever for the Publick Good: Since he makes thereby the same Alteration in Mens Duty, and the Terms of their Salvation, obliging 'em to do some things *for Conscience sake*, which, antecedent to his Command, they might have omitted without Scruple. For these Reasons, a Command that Men should receive the Blessed Eucharist, in the significant, tho' indifferent Posture of Kneeling, is not the least Usurpation upon their Conscience, being warranted by those General Directions of St. *Paul*, to do *All things decently, and in Order, and to obey those who have the Rule over us*, a sufficient Foundation for all Ecclesiastical, innocent Ceremonies; and Obedience to such a Command is consistent with the greatest Freedom of Judgment and Conscience, since the Ground of that Obedience is not any absolute Necessity of the thing commanded, but the Necessity of obeying our Lawful Governours, in all things that are left by God under their Discretion, and are concluded under no Divine Prohibition. These Principles of Universal *Freedom from Humane Impositions*, strike at the Root of all Government, as well *Civil* as *Ecclesiastical*, and supersede the Power of all *Laws* in either. I can't here think my self oblig'd to vindicate our Church from *Encroachments* upon that Authority, which God has lodg'd in any *Members* of either *Families* or *Churches*, since her Adversary accuses her for it, without offering at the least Proof or Instance, and that in such general and loose Expressions, as don't admit of any certain Interpretation or Reply; and argue nothing so much, as that a fair Proposal of this Objection, would have too much display'd the despicable Weakness of it. But we ought not here to forget that these Men, who have such an irreconcileable Aversion to all *Humane Impositions*, cou'd formerly in *England*,

1 *Cor.* 8. 13.

1 *Cor.* 14. 40.

Heb. 13. 16.

England, as their Brethren do now in *Scotland*, puniſh the Profeſſors of the Doctrines of the Epiſcopal Church, with Impriſonment, Confiſcation of Goods and Eſtate, Baniſhment, and ſometimes Death; which forſooth, is no Violation of *Chriſtian Liberty*. But the Truth is, the *Chriſtian Liberty* the Diſſenters plead for, is an unbounded Licence to think an act as they pleaſe, in Contradiction to all wholſome Laws, that theſe ſingular, wild, *Self-Opiniators* ſhall reproach as *novel*, *fanciful* and *corrupt*; a comprehenſive Account of their own Enthuſiaſtick Faith and Religion.

P. 8. §. II. The ſecond Reaſon for *Stated Nonconformity*, *is the Want of a further Reformation in the* FAITH *and Worſhip of the* Church of England. Now thoſe *Articles of Faith*, the Profeſſion of which, is a Condition of Communion in our Church, are ſumm'd up in the three Creeds, *thoſe Forms of ſound Words*, that contain the *Firſt Principles of the Oracles of God*, which Fundamentals of Chriſtianity, at the Reformation, all *Proteſtant Churches* ſubſcrib'd, and at preſent do, or ought to adhere to. The ſame Rule of Faith obliging 'em to retain the Belief and Profeſſion of theſe, which required 'em to renounce the Anti-Chriſtian Errors of Popery. Our Author, not having repreſented the particular Exceptions of his Party, againſt theſe excellent Summaries of our Faith, and ſo many learned Vindications and Expoſitions being extant in our own Language, I ſhall think it needleſs to add any Apology for 'em; But ſhall be more particular upon this Head, when our Author has told us, what Articles of our FAITH we are deſir'd to ſacrifice to *Peace* and *Unity*, and the Scruples of our Diſſenting Brethren: Whether they can't *ſtatedly* join with us in our Profeſſion of the Doctrine of the Trinity, the Incarnation, Satisfaction or Reſurrection of Chriſt; by diſcarding which or how many Branches of our Creed, they deſire *to equal the Honour due to our Reformers*, for re-
P. 9. jecting the Abſurdities of the *Roman* Church; And whether *their Ambition to imitate thoſe in the perfect Reformation of the Faith*, will be ſatisfy'd, till, according to the Scheme of their *Great Patron*, they have contracted it into *One Article*; and laſtly, whether the Profeſſion of *this One*, ought to be rigorouſly inſiſted on? But upon Examination, Innovations in the *external Worſhip* of our Church, will appear as unneceſſary as Innovations in her *Faith* and *Doctrine*. Her Ceremonies are grave and decent, neither diſtracting Mens Devotion by their Variety, nor leſſening it by the Difficulty of their Performance. Many of 'em recommended by the venerable Authority of the Primitive Church; Others endear'd to us by the Practice of the Holy Apoſtles, and even the Example of our Bleſſed Saviour himſelf. And all of them warranted by their great and peculiar Significancy, their admirable Fitneſs to expreſs what is intended by them. By the Advantage of our Liturgy, as being a Set-Form, our Congregations offer up their Prayers with greater Underſtanding of what they ask, than the Separatiſts can; with more aſſurance that it is good and acceptable to God, and without Interruption in their fervent Attention to it, either from the Weakneſs or Failures of their Teachers, or the Admiration of their Abilities. And he that further conſiders the Excellency of this Set-Form, how

peculiarly

peculiarly it is suited even to the private Cases and Occasions of all that use it, how well it expresses our awful Distance from God, and yet close Dependance on him, through the Merits of our Redeemer, how qualify'd it is to excite in its Hearers those Affections, upon which the Prevalence and Acceptance of Mens Prayers depend, must own, that no Humane Composure wants less Amendments; and that nothing but the most obstinate Frowardness, and perverse Itch of Change, can induce Men to insist upon either its Abolishment, or Alteration, as the Condition of their Conformity. To recommend such a Liturgy as this, to any One's Admiration, no mercenary Prospects, no Perswasions of secular Interest need be made use of; and to condemn it with Sincerity, the darkest Ignorance, or most inveterate Prejudice must be requir'd. And what else, but these corrupt Causes, join'd with Envy, Pride, and Ambition, cou'd induce these Adversaries of our Church to require to see it disrobed and stript of *all its Emoluments* and Honours, the greatest Eye-Sore and *Blemish* (as they call it) that *Blinds their Sight*, and is *that Vail* which they wou'd have *taken away*, to expose it naked and defenceless to Contempt and Poverty. Here indeed we are oblig'd to our Author, for not exercising that Hypocrisy he justifies, but plainly speaking out the Sense of *His Party*; the Church, it seems, to make her *Reformation Perfect*, must be dismantl'd of her Fortifications without, as well as her Doctrines within; her Lands and Dignities confiscated into the Enemies Hands, to compound for their Conformity. Then doubtless the Way will be open for them, all Objections remov'd, and Plunder and Sacriledge will wonderfully purify and cleanse it. But we have not yet so much forgot what Effects this Christian Way of *Reformation* in 41 had upon it, to desire to see the same lamentable Tragedy acted over again; and we hope this charitable Author, and his Pious Brethren, will excuse us complying with their kind Proposals, tho' *they do envy their Forefathers the Honour of having it on foot, and are so ambitious of carrying it on to a greater Perfection, and of imitating their happy Spirit, by removing these worldly Obstacles of true Piety, which their Ancestors suffer'd to remain, only to bring over the* Roman *Catholicks*. This indeed, would be a most effectual way to follow the *Arabian Proverb*, as our Author calls it, to *put out the Churches Eyes to make her see clearly*. To answer which learned and wise *Apothegm* with as good an Application, this would be much the same sort of Remedy the Physician practic'd upon the *Old Woman in the Fable*, whom they cur'd of her Blindness, by stealing all her Plate and Jewels. But I hope our Church will stand in need of no such *Religious Quacks* and *State Mountebanks*, whose *Cure* (to go quits with our Author for his Proverb) is alway worse than the Disease.

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P. 9. §. III. And since it therefore appears, that the *Church of England* is guilty of no *sinful Impositions*, nor wants any *Reformation* in her Faith and Worship, the Dissenters can be under no *Obligations* to Form themselves into *Separate Religious Societies*, and to erect Private Conventicles, under the fallacious and arrogant supposition of being *Churches*, which our Author afterwards, with more Truth and Modesty, calls by the proper Name of *Confederacies*, being so many Combinations of Schism and Rebellion,

Rebellion, that prohane the Name of a Church, by the impious Application of it to Barns and Stables; as if ſuch Places could be ſanctify'd by their unclean Gueſts, and become the Houſe or Temple of God.

P. 9. §. IV. Nor will the *Edification*, or *Diſcipline*, they pretend to be found in their ſeparate Congregations, prove a better Juſtification of them. For neither of theſe *Spiritual Advantages*, which they ſo vainly boaſt of, in *the Choice of their Teachers*, and *the Correction and Reproof of their Aſſemblies*, can be any ways ſo viſible among them, as they preſume they are deficient in the Church. As for the *Choice of One's own Paſtor*, it is a thing as contrary to *Reaſon*, as *Scripture*, and the pureſt Practice of both the *Jewiſh*, as well as *Chriſtian* Church. For thoſe who ſtand in the greateſt Need of Information in any kind, are upon that Account leaſt capable of judging, who can beſt inform them. Since to diſcern the Superiority of One Man's Knowledge above Another's, ſome conſiderable Skill in what they profeſs, is requiſite. For which Reaſon the Generality of toe Chriſtians, ſo few of whom, for want either of Leiſure, or Diligence in the Study of Religion, are qualify'd to eſtimate the Abilities of the Paſtor, wou'd be more probably miſled by one choſen by themſelves, than by ſuch as ſhou'd be aſſign'd to them by One choſen by competent Judges. Beſides a Man is ſo far from being *ſure*, *that his own Choice in this Caſe is diſintereſted*, that he ought very much to ſuſpect his own Prudence, and impartiality in it. Since the Generality of Men, who are in Love with their Vices, muſt deteſt the beſt Qualification of a Paſtor, an undaunted Freedom in Reproving, and liſten with the greateſt Complacency, to thoſe, who *Propheſy ſmooth things*, and indulge Men in their Crimes, from whom they are never likely to hear, what ought, with the greateſt Force and Courage, to be put home to their Conſciences. Thus the moſt Edifying Teacher, that ever addreſs'd himſelf to the VVorld, has been hated and rejected by it, and even poſtpon'd to *Scribes* and *Phariſees*, becauſe *their Deeds were evil*. The very Original Ground of the Schiſm in the Church of *Corinth*, was the ſame, that is here alledg'd by the Diſſenters for their Separation from our Church, which was ſo ſeverely reprehended by the Apoſtle: Some ſtyl'd themſelves the *Followers of* Paul, *ſome of* Apollos, *ſome of* Cephas, *and others of Chriſt*. Yet their different Opinion of theſe ſeveral Teachers, did not juſtify the forming themſelves into different Sects. Tho' St. *Paul's Bodily Preſence was in the Eyes of ſome weak, and his Speech contemptible*, who were more affected with the Preaching of *Apollos, a Man eloquent and mighty in the Scriptures*; yet the Pretence of Profiting by Sermons, cou'd not warrant their diſturbing the Order, and breaking the Unity of the Church: For their Edification depended, not ſo much on the Gifts, or Abilities of *him that planted, or him that watered*, as upon the Bleſſed Operation of the Divine Spirit, that always *gives the Increaſe*. And, if we conſult the ancient Practice, both of the *Jewiſh*, as well as *Chriſtian* Church, we ſhall find, that in the Firſt, God by his own Authority immediately conſtituted his ſacred Miniſtry; and in the Second, as our Bleſſed Saviour himſelf Elected and Commiſſion'd his Apoſtles and Diſciples to Preach the Goſpel to the VVorld; ſo in the firſt and pureſt Ages of Chriſti-

1 *Cor.* 1. 12.

1 *Cor.* 10. 10.

Acts 18. 24.

Christianity, it is evident from the expres Testimony of *Clemens Romanus*, and St. *Cyprian*, that the Pastors were then appointed by the Apostles, and their Successors, the Bishops, and that the People, in their Elections of them, were only *Witnesses of their Consecration*, barely expressing their Approbation of those, who were thus appointed, that they were *well reported of for good Works*. Which Appeal to the People, the *Church of England* does admit of, in her Office of Ordination. But in the corrupter Ages of the Church, when its Rights began to be encroach'd on, and usurp'd by the Laity, *Popular Elections* of the Clergy were, sometimes for *Peace*, irregularly allow'd, which yet afterwards prov'd of such a contrary Effect, that the Church found her self oblig'd to assert her own Right in the Designation of her Officers, to prevent those Feuds and Divisions, and even Murders, that were frequently committed, in those Quarrels which always attended these Elections of the * People. And among the many Inconveniences of it, this is not the least, that the pernicious Principles of *Popery* and *Heresy* (which the People can never be suppos'd capable of distinguishing from the Truth) may, as they actually have been, instill'd into 'em by *Jesuits*, and other *Impostors* in Disguise, in Conventicles. But among the many Misrepresentations of this Author, he has, in this Point, done Injustice to the very *Presbyterians* themselves, who do not always allow their separate Congregations, the Power of Electing their Ministers, who are frequently impos'd upon them by their *Elders* and *Synod*.

P. 10. §. V. As for the Objections against *the Discipline* of our Church, no one cou'd have expected her own Complaint of the Want of the strict and rigorous Execution of Discipline in the Primitive Church, to have bin retorted upon her as a Reproach, when at the same time, she expresses her zealous Wishes to see it restor'd, if the Circumstances and Conditions of the times would bear it. And much more surprizing is it to find this Cavil brought against us by the Dissenters themselves, who gave the first Rise to, and have ever since bin the greatest Cause of this Defect and Obstruction of Discipline. For have they not always oppos'd what Discipline is left, and since the Toleration, taken care to render all Discipline ineffectual? The Defect whereof is here ascrib'd to Two Reasons, *the Want of good Orders*, or a *good Constitution to execute 'em*. But what incoherent Nonsense is it to suppose, that the Levelling and Confounding the Orders of the Church, (whose Distinction is prov'd by the Testimony and Practice of all Antiquity, and which shews her strictest Conformity to the Primitive Model,) should any ways contribute to the Restoration of Discipline; or, that the Constitution of the Church could be more impower'd to exercise its Discipline, by the Abolition of Episcopacy, which is essential to its Constitution? It can never be prov'd, that a Parity of Pastors tends more to support and retrieve the Discipline of the Church, than the

* *See this Matter fully stated in Bp.* Stillingfleet's *Unreasonableness of Separation, P.* 3, *Sect.* 25.

Superiority of ſome above others, any more than that *Popular* Forms of Government are better adapted to the Execution of Juſtice than Monarchy, however theſe may be thought the Two *Darling Principles* of the *Presbyterian* Religion and Polity. But ſuppoſing there was ſuch a Defect of Diſcipline in our Church, as this Author would inſinuate, and the ill Examples of the Lives of its Members were a great Reproach to its Conſtitution and Government, yet even this was no ſufficient Plea for the Diſſenter's Separation from it. For the Number and Impunity of its corrupt Members cannot Unſanctify the Religious Services of the Reſt: Nor are theſe Services the leſs acceptable to God, becauſe not ariſing from the Publick Fear of Cenſure and Penance, but rather ſhew a more ſingular Ingenuity of Mind, and a more diſintereſted Love of God, as perform'd without the Influence of Puniſhments, in Oppoſition to ſo many ill Examples. So that no good Man's Concern for his own Salvation, cou'd induce him to ſeparate from any ſound Part of the Catholick Church, tho' its Diſcipline ſhould be decay'd or imperfect. But here we may obſerve the Diſſenters manifeſt Inconſiſtency with themſelves, for clamouring in this Paragraph for Diſcipline; and in another part of this Pamphlet, declaring againſt all Penalties whatſoever, as an Infringement on their Chriſtian Liberty: without which Penalties, no Diſcipline can ſubſiſt. Tho' at the ſame time we are told, that the Primitive Diſcipline is reſtor'd in the Diſſenting Congregations. But is Penance and Excommunication in greater Perfection among them than in the *Church of England*, or who ever knew the real Exerciſe of any ſuch thing in a Conventicle? Or, if there be, it is kept ſo private, that we never heard of it, and muſt be a very odd Way of correcting a *Notorious Offender*. We ſhould be glad to know, if there is any ſuch Power, in whoſe Hands it is lodg'd, whether the Adminiſtration of it is in their Clergy or People, ſeparately or jointly, how far it is extended, whether always adapted and proportion'd to the Nature and Guilt of the Offence, whether exercis'd Judicially, in any Synod, Court or Conſiſtory, or Arbitrarily, at the Miniſter's Will, and in ſhort, how they came by this Power, and whoſe Commiſſion they act under, as Delegates. Have they Enacted or Publiſh'd any Eccleſiaſtical Laws, Injunctions or Canons, whereby the Diſcipline of their Congregations is to be regulated? Or are the Lives of their Members ſo ſtrict and exemplary above thoſe of the *Church* of *England*, as to ſuperſede the Uſe of any ſuch Laws; Rather to ſpeak Truth, are not their Aſſemblies the Receptacle of the moſt profligate and diſſolute Sinners, when caſt out of the Church by its Diſcipline, as unworthy its Communion; There they never fail to find a Sanctuary, and oftentimes to be *Sainted* and *Canoniz'd* for their Lewdneſs and Impiety. What a [*P.* 11. contradictory, abſurd Scheme of Diſcipline has this Author here propos'd, to reſtore it to the Church by taking it away from her, and in Order to comply with her Injunctions, to erect Altars in Defiance and Oppoſition to 'em, and to ſhew their *Conformity* by their *Separation*.

P. 11. Theſe

P. 11. These are all their Reasons for their *Stated Dissent*, which we hope we have prov'd altogether invalid, as to a *Stated Dissent*, but to those that think 'em otherwise, they must at least be conclusive against their *Partial Conformity* to our Church. How far a Man is bound by his *Erroneous Opinion*, has been already consider'd; and if the Dissenters act like Men of *Honest Principles* (as they do frequently boast) it is impossible for any of 'em to Communicate with that Church which they equally Charge with *Deficiency* and *Redundancy*, without bringing on themselves the justest Imputation of the most inexcusable *Hypocrisy*; as allowing themselves, on *Occasion*, *Partially* to do that, which they *Totally* Condemn; and which, according to the Position of this Author, is to *Affront God, and defraud him of his due Honour, by giving him a Worship which is less, when it is in their own Power to give him what is more acceptable to him.*

P. 12. §. I. For which Reason, those that entertain this false Notion of the Church's *Deficiency* and *Redundancy*, and their own Religious *Societies being preferable to it*, cannot esteem it a *Good and Lawful Church*; and consequently, according to the Argument of this Author, cannot in Conscience *Occasionally* Conform to it: Because (as he says) *Every Man is bound to offer the most perfect and acceptable Service that he can to the Deity.* And whilst *They think the Church is guilty of introducing Impositions and Superfluities, and allowing several Defects in it, they must hold it to be an Unlawful Church, and would be guilty of a Sin against their Consciences if they should Conform to it.* So that the Dissenters both Believe and Act a Contradiction, in holding the Church, and their Conformity to it, both *Lawful* and *Unlawful* at the same time. But this stuff is palliated with as weak an Argument drawn from their *Charity*, That they condescend to *Believe great Numbers of the Church-Men to be among the visible Saints on Earth, and that they will make a good Part of the Church of the First-Born in Heaven.* This Complement we are obliged to 'em for, but they only give it us in order to have it return'd back upon themselves, desiring us to Believe the same of them, because they Conform to us in the Sacrament. But should we in Charity believe both them, and some Members of the Church of *Rome*, whose Ignorance is Invincible, to be of the Number of the *Visible Saints*; yet ought we not to Conform with the latter, in the *Eucharist*, whilst we think 'em guilty of Idolatry, nor the Dissenters indeed with us, whilst they think us guilty of the same *Crime*, as their Authors tell us. For no Man can Communicate with a Church, which he takes to be *Erroneous*, without in some measure partaking of its Errors: And therefore the Dissenters must involve themselves in the Guilt of those Sins, which they falsly impute to the Church, whilst they *Partially* Communicate with Her. But still the Dissenters urge, That *they do not joyn with us in any faulty Parts of Worship, which would be Sin against their Conscience*, (a strange *Metaphysical* way of Conforming to a Church, by *Abstracting* it from its Errors) *but they Communicate with us in such Things and Occasions,*

in which they can do their Country and Religion Service. But on ſettling this ſingle Point, in a great meaſure, lies the Turn and Streſs of this whole Controverſy. If Occaſional Conformity to a Church, which we take to be *Illegal* (as our Author's Reaſons conclude) be a Practice *Evil in it ſelf*, the Conſequences of it, can never alter its eſſential Malignity, nor the Advantages it produces, ever juſtify its Goodneſs, according to that Maxim of Eternal Truth, on the Violation of which the Apoſtle has pronounc'd no leſs a Puniſhment than *Eternal Damnation*, *That we ought never to do Evil that Good may come of it*, Rom. 3. 8. The Diſſenters believe us to be guilty of Idolatry in the Sacrament, and yet can be Idolaters with us to ſerve their Religion and Country; which in other words is, that they will ſtick at no Knavery, or Hypocriſy, to ſerve themſelves. But can they ſeriouſly think us ſuch Fools, or are they themſelves ſuch Sots as to believe, that either God, or Man, the Church, or the Nation, can reap any Honour, or Benefit, from that which is the moſt ignominious Flam and Reproach upon them? Our Church as little wants, as deſires the Service of theſe *Judas's*, who wou'd only Kiſs and Complement her, more effectually to Betray her. But the ſame *Services* that oblige them *Occaſionally* to Conform to ſome Parts of our Worſhip (which they both allow and condemn) ſhou'd, if they were true to their Country, oblige 'em to a conſtant Conformity. But with what Shew of Reaſon or Integrity; can any One *Statedly Diſſent* from what he holds it lawful *Occaſionally* to Conform to; unleſs it be that he holds it only lawful upon the Account of ſecular Intereſt *Occaſionally* to Conform to that, which he *Statedly* Diſſents from, becauſe he holds it *Simply* unlawful? As if the ſame thing was *Abſolutely* and *Eſſentially* a Sin, and *Occaſionally* no Sin at all. Do not theſe Men juſtly deſerve that Character, that St. *Paul* gave of himſelf whilſt a Perſecuting Jew, and under a State of Sin, as one wou'd think was *Prophetically* ſpoken of 'em; Men *that are carnal, and have a Law in their Members warring againſt the Law of their Mind, bringing them into Captivity to the Law of Sin, which is in their Members. For that which they do, they allow not, and what they would that they do not, but what they hate that they do.* But *Happy is the Man that condemneth not himſelf in that thing which he alloweth.*

Rom. 7. 14, &c.

P. 12. §. II. This Shuffling Author being beaten out of theſe fallacious Subterfuges, has another Hold to retire to, out of which we will immediately Unkennel him: Tho' he has labour'd here to perplex his Reader, and loſe him in a Labyrinth of Sophiſtry. He has, we muſt confeſs, a very difficult Part to play, and ſtands in need of the Pity and Forgiveneſs of his own Party, for managing it ſo untowardly. He endeavours here to reconcile the Two vaſteſt Contrarieties in Nature, that is the Occaſional Conformiſt's *Principles* with his *Practice*, and to vindicate him from the Inconſiſtency charg'd on him, in complying with thoſe Injunctions of the Church, which he affirms *to be Eccleſiaſtical Uſurpations and Encroachments on his Chriſtian Liberty, which no One can in Conſcience comply with.* In order to which, he diſtinguiſhes be-

betwixt the *Imposition of an Indifferent Thing, and the Indifferent Thing Impos'd, asserting, that a Man may not countenance and abet the Former, tho' he don't altogether abstain from the latter.* For tho' constant Receiving the Sacrament upon our Knees, wou'd be a Compliance with the Prescription of our Rubrick, yet he who *Generally* receives it in a different Posture, and but *Occasionally* in a Posture of Kneeling, pays no Submission, and gives no Countenance to it. By the dextrous Application, of which Distinction, this *Legerdemain* Reasoner doubts not to reconcile the *Occasional* Use of all other Ceremonies with their Notions of *Christian Liberty*, and *Humane Impositions.* To examine this Matter closely, and shew our Author's Inconsistency in Reasoning, as much as that of the Occasional Conformist in Practice; we must remember, that P. VIII of this Treatise, we are told, *That a Command to kneel at the Sacrament is an Usurpation on Mens Consciences, and an Authority that no Commission can be produc'd to support, that it is in it self an Imposition NOVEL, FANCIFUL* and *CORRUPT, an Encroachment on the Divine Right our Saviour has to give Laws to his Church, an Intrenchment upon the Liberty of his Subjects, an Alteration of Religion, and a Constituting something else necessary to please God, besides that which he has made so.* And yet here we are told, that Kneeling at the Sacrament is *an indifferent Thing, perfectly an Indifferent Thing, and which the Dissenters may use, if they think fit, and that the Imposition does not alter its Nature, or of an Indifferent Thing make it Unlawful.* What wretched Shifts and Absurdities is this dodging Writer put to, to cast false Colours upon things whose Native deformity can never be conceal'd? In one Place, it is an Usurpation upon our Christian Liberty, and in the Other none at all; there the Command makes it from *Indifferent* become *Sinful*, here it does not in the least change its Nature; there he betrays his Christian Liberty in complying with it, here he preserves it Inviolable and Entire. Nay in both Places the *Imposition* makes the Action *Lawful* and *Unlawful* at the same time, in the Opinion of the Dissenters, which *must debar them from concuring to it, abetting it, or giving it any Countenance constantly*, but *Occasionally* they may: As if a Sin by being practis'd once only, or a few times, were no Sin, and the frequency alone, or Continuation of it, gave the Act a Malignity in its Nature, or as if there was no Flagrancy in it, but what it had from Custom. Our Author would have made an excelleut Casuist for *Naaman the Syrian*, and helpt him out with this kind Salvo of His Idolatry. He could have seen no Harm in his *Bowing in the House of Rimmon* Occasionally with his Master, because he kept his Commission by it. But to reconcile these huge Contradictions, we are told, Page the Eighth, That *a Man may comply with the Usurpation, but not with the Principle upon which that Usurpation is founded.* Whoever *Voluntarily* complies with any *Usurpation upon his Christian Liberty*, cannot but be suppos'd to comply with a thing, which he himself takes to be Illegal; Usurpation implying an Encroachment on our Christian Liberty: But whosoever complies with any thing,

thing Illegal, muſt either do it againſt his Conſcience, knowing the Injuſtice of it, or elſe out of Ignorance, not underſtanding the Obliquity of it: The Diſſenters cannot do this out of Ignorance becauſe they believe *Kneeling at the Sacrament an Uſurpation*, they muſt therefore comply with it againſt their Conſcience, unleſs they will own it a thing Legal in it ſelf, and then they ought to comply with it *Univerſally*. However, when they think it *Legal* or *Illegal*, they cannot deny but that they own the *Authority* that commands it, by complying with it. For 'tis a moſt ridiculous Abſurdity, to ſuppoſe a Man to pay an actual voluntary Obedience to any Law, without acknowledging the Legiſlator's Power, ſo that *He that complys with an Uſurpation, cannot but comply with the Principle upon which it is founded*. From all which it is manifeſtly apparent, that the Propoſition, which is laid down by that *Worthy* and *Judicious Senator*, Sir *Humphry Mackworth*, remains as yet Unanſwerable, notwithſtanding the Cobweb Diſtinction of this Author, *That the occaſional Conformiſts Conform to that from which they Diſſent, and Condemn themſelves in that which they Allow, and are Guilty of a Wilful Sin*, P. 6. §. 5, 6. And that to *Diſſent ſtatedly* from a Thing which they hold *unlawful*, and yet *Occaſionally* to *Conform* to the very *ſame thing*, and hold it *lawful*, is a palpable and groſs Contradiction, if there is any ſuch thing in Nature. As for our Author's Inſtance of *Occaſionally Eating Fleſh or Fiſh in a Popiſh Country, upon Wedneſday or Friday, or a Believing Corinthian's eating Meats offer'd to Idols*, it proves nothing to his purpoſe, unleſs he can ſhew what he wou'd inſinuate, That not only the Poſture we receive the Sacrament in, but the very Sacrament it ſelf, is a Thing altogether as *Indifferent* in its Nature, as either of the Inſtances he produces,

P. 14.

P. 14. §. III. Having thus prov'd the *Practice* of the *Occaſional* Conformiſts to be Inconſiſtent with their Avow'd *Principles*, we proceed to conſider what our Author farther urges in their Juſtification, namely, That *Occaſional Communion is a Practice built upon the Communion of Saints, enjoin'd by the Rules of Charity, and Warranted by the Apoſtolical Example*. But can this Writer be thought ſerious, or in earneſt to ſay this? Is the *Communion of the Saints Occaſional*, or are the Diſſenters *Saints* for uſing *Occaſional Communion*? The Communion of Saints is the conſtant uninterrupted Union of the inviſible Triumphant Church in Heaven, with the viſible Catholick Church on Earth, in one Body, under one Head, *Jeſus Chriſt*. But, how can the Diſſenters pretend to be in Communion with the Body of Chriſt's Church, who being ſeparated from the Communion of the Church on Earth, cannot lay any Claim to the Communion of that in Heaven? Much leſs can they defend either their Schiſm, or Occaſional Conformity, by the Rules of *Charity*. Whoever peruſes that admirable and full Deſcription of it, ſet down by the Apoſtle, in the 13*th* Chapter of the Firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, will ſcarce find Schiſm, or Occaſional Conformity, rank'd among the Properties of Charity, to which they ſtand in oppoſition, as being the greateſt Violations of it. But we ſhall ſpeak fur-

further on this Point, in the Sequel of this Discourse. And, I believe, on Examination, we shall find St. *Paul's* Example, on which this Author lays so much stress, as little favouring this wicked Practice, as his Doctrine, which I shall therefore search to the bottom. The two Things, upon which our Author founds his Comparison of St. *Paul's* Practice with that of the *Occasional Conformists* are, First, *That the Assemblies of the* Jewish *and* Gentile *Converts (with the former of which he* Occasionally *Communicated*, and Statedly *with the latter) bear an exact Proportion to the Establish'd Church, and Dissenting Congregations in* England. Secondly, *That the Reasons of St.* Paul's Stated Dissent, *and* Occasional Conformity *bear likewise, an exact Proportion, to those for the* Stated Dissent, *and* Occasional Conformity *of our Separatists.* In order therefore to overthrow the false Support they have form'd to themselves from this Example, I shall briefly shew, that it can't be fairly pleaded in their behalf on either of these Accounts. And First, *The Assemblies of the Jewish and Gentile Converts don't* (as our Author pretends) *bear an exact Proportion to the Establish'd Church, and Dissenting Congregations in* England. He makes the Parallel between them to consist in this, *That the Governours of the Jewish Church, like those of that Establish'd among us, impos'd the Observation of many things indifferent in their own Nature, which had been enjoin'd by God, for a Term of Time that was then expired, and that the Gentiles, like our Dissenters, were reputed Schismatical for their neglect of them.* But certainly this must appear a very groundless Parallel to any, that compares the *Decrees* of the *Jewish*, with the *Canons* of the *English Church*. For do not these expresly condemn the Separation of our Dissenters as *Schismatical*, and require their constant Conformity to our Publick Worship? And did not the other, as may be seen in the 15*th* of the *Acts*, as expresly release the *Gentiles* from the Observation of the Mosaick Rites? Did not St. *James* and the *Elders*, even when they advis'd St. *Paul* to Conform to the Temple Worship, acquit them from all Blame, notwithstanding their Dissent from it? *As touching the Gentiles which Believe, we have written and concluded, that they observe no such things, save only that they keep themselves from things offer'd to Idols, and from Blood, and from that which is strangled, and from Fornication.* Acts 21. 25. Since therefore the same Power of the Church, which warranted and authoriz'd the Nonconformity of the *Gentiles*, condemns that of our Dissenters, this Author most irrationally, and without any Shadow of Resemblance between 'em, make the One a Precedent and Pattern for the Other. Nor Secondly, is he less unhappy in imagining, *That the Reasons of St. Paul's Stated Dissent from, and Occasional Conformity to the Jewish Church, bear an exact Proportion to those for the Stated Dissent, and Occasional Conformity of the Separatists.* For can the most prejudic'd Person in the World conceive, that he, who speaking to the *Jewish* Church, gave that Glorious Testimony the Faith and Practice of their Governours, *Heb.* 13. 7. *Remember them which have the Rule over you, who have spoken unto you the Word of God, whose Faith follow, considering the end of their Conversation*, should, at the same time, think those very Men

guilty

guilty of an Encroachment upon the Legiſlative Power of our Bleſſed Saviour, or of introducing Corruptions into the true Faith and Worſhip, or of Neglect to excite thoſe under their Care, to a holy Life, by ſeaſonable Reproof and Correction? Or will our Author ſay, that the great Apoſtle of the *Gentiles* communicated *Statedly* with them, for Benefit of chooſing his own Teacher, or that he who went up to *Jeruſalem* to worſhip, when *the Holy Ghoſt witneſs'd in every City, that Bonds and Afflictions did abide him*, conform'd Occaſionally to the *Jews* upon Motives of Intereſt, for worldly Grandeur or Profit, the chief Perſwaſions of Occaſional Communion amongſt us? Neither cou'd St. *Paul* be ſaid to do this, to *Promote the Service* of the *Jewiſh* Church, tho' a ſtrict Jew before his Converſion, Cut to advance the Propagation of the Goſpel. To conclude this Point, which has been ſo clearly ſtated by other Writers, * this Parallel will never be found to hold, either with Regard to the *Gentile* Converts, who cou'd never be ſaid to ſeparate from the Jewiſh Church, of which they were not Members, and the Diſſenters who *Statedly* ſeparate from the *Church of England*; or with regard to the different conditions of the Church in its Infancy then, and Eſtabliſhment at preſent or with regard to the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies, and thoſe of the *Church of England*, the Firſt whereof were Types and Shadows of the *Meſſiah*, inſtituted by God, to ceaſe after his Appearance, and which, in the *Apoſtles* time, among the *Jewiſh* Converts, were rather Matters of *Charity* and *Prudence*, than of *Conformity* or *Nonconformity*, and wholly indifferent, as lying under no Command or Prohibition of any Law: Whereas the other being rather decent than typical, are enjoin'd by the Church and Authority of the Apoſtles for *Edification and Order*, not to be aboliſh'd as the *Jewiſh* Ceremonies were; unleſs this Author and his Brethren, the Diſſenters, can ſhew any new Commiſſion to diſobey theſe Eccleſiaſtical Powers, and to erect a new Church and Religion with the Apoſtles, in Oppoſition to that already eſtabliſh'd.

P. 15. But this Author, to defend his *Occaſional Conformiſt* among the Diſſenters, is pleas'd to ſuppoſe there may be an *Occaſional Nonconformiſt* among Church-Men, who may be juſtify'd upon the ſame Principles, But who this very MODERATE CHURC-MAN is, that can go to a Conventicle, and receive their pretended Sacrament there *Occaſionally*, and yet *Statedly* Communicate with the *Church of England*, we are as much at a Loſs to know, as I hope this Author is to prove. Certainly no true Member of the *Church of England* can entertain ſuch looſe and profligate Opinions of his own Church, as to Communicate with ſuch Perſons as are caſt out of its Body, by their Separation, and its own Diſcipline; and who can never pretend either to the Being, Conſtitution, or Name of a Church. But this imaginary

* *Occaſional Conformity a moſt unjuſtifiable Practice. A Letter to a Friend from* Oxon, *to prove Occaſional Conformiſts guilty of Schiſm and Hypocriſy.* Wolf Stript, *&c.*

Practice,

Practice, we find here defended by another *Apostolical Example*, that of St. *Peter*, who is describ'd as *a Stated Communicant with the* Jewish *Church establish'd by Law, and an Occasional Communicant with the separate Assemblies of the Reform'd* Gentiles, and consequently that a *Church of England Man* may Occasionally conform with a Gentile *Dissenter*. Now it may be remember'd on this Author's Principles, that a Man is bound to offer God the most perfect Worship in his Power, and that 'tis the most provoking Affront to him, to give him a less acceptable Service, when we are capable of giving a better. On which account, whosoever *thinks the Assemblies of the Dissenters Lawful, but the Church preferable to 'em*, is oblig'd by his Perswasion, to Communicate, not only *Statedly*, but *Constantly*, with the *Latter*, and not for only *the most Part*, but *always* to pursue the Course, which tends most to his Spiritual Improvement. Neither is this contradicted by St. *Peter*'s Practice at *Antioch*, which since our Author urges as a Precedent for *Occasional Conformity*, he must suppose, that in this Apostle's Opinion, the Churches of the *Gentile Proselytes* were *Good* and *Lawful*, but that of the *Jewish Converts* BEST, as being zealous of the Law, which the *Gentiles* neglected. Whereas nothing is more clear from Scripture, than that he thought neither of 'em inferior or preferable to the Other, on that Score. He had bin instructed by a Vision *Not to think any Man common or unclean*, from which he rightly argued, that *God was no Respecter of Persons or Nations*, but the *God of the* Gentiles *as well as the* Jews, *accepting in all Nations indifferently those who do his Will, and work Righteousness*. This yet more fully appears, from his Speech at the Council of *Jerusalem*, when the Question under Debate was, Whether the Believing *Gentiles* were oblig'd to keep the Law of *Moses*, which he oppos'd with the greatest Zeal and Earnestness, and in such a Manner as shew'd that the Neglect of the *Jewish* Ceremonies wou'd not, in his Opinion, render their Worship less acceptable, *God* (says he) *has put no Difference between us and them, purifying their Hearts thro' Faith*, and concludes, *We believe that thro' Grace we shall be sav'd even as they*. Acts 15. 9. *and* 11. Than which Words none cou'd have more fully express'd his equal Esteem of the *Jewish* and *Gentile* Churches, and his Perswasion that the Diversity of their Rites, gave neither, a Precedency to the Other, in the Divine Favour. So that St. *Peter* did not Communicate *Statedly* with the *Jewish*, and *Occasionally* with the *Gentile* Churches, as *thinking One preferable to the Other*, nor therefore does he warrant, by his Example, Occasional-Non-conformity, as this Writer groundlessly asserts. But supposing St. *Peter* had shewn a little too much Zeal for the Ceremonies of the *Jewish* Church, and once had bin carried away by it, erroneously to refuse Communion with the *Gentiles*, for fear of giving Scandal to the *Jews* (which St. *Paul* reproves him for) yet this Apostle's Prejudice and Frailty, in this Case, wou'd be no Argument for a Member of our Church Occasionally to Conform with the Dissenters, who can never justly pretend to the Apostolical Institution of a Church. So that the *Hypocrisy* and *Dissimulation*, that our Author says St. *Paul* charg'd upon St. *Peter*, ought properly to be retorted on our Occasional Conformists.

P. 16. Our Author goes on to display the *Latitudinarian* Principles of the Dissenters, and, in the next Paragraph, presents us with a sort of *Free Thinkers*, Men of Vast and COMPREHENSIVE Spirits, who scorn to be confin'd within the narrow Bounds of any single Church, who neither renounce our Communion, nor *Stedily* adhere to the Dissenters, who equally esteem Church and Conventicle, and think the Orders of those that Officiate in both, alike Valid and Legal. They make no Difference betwixt Bishops and Presbyters, betwixt Forms of Prayer, and Extemporary Harangues, and are above Observing the little Marks, and *Pedantick* Peculiarities whereby Religious Societies stand distinguish'd from each other. They can be Occasionally, Papists, Jews, Turks, Infidels, Hereticks, Quakers, Deists, Socinians, Atheists, or what not, as the Caprice takes 'em, and it suits best with their present Humour or Interest. These *Christians at large* (if they can lay any Claim to that Name,) have their Faith always to choose, and their Principles (if they have any) at Command, and *frequent the*
P. 16. *Communion of Episcopal, Presbyterian and Congregational Churches indifferently, as Circumstances and Occasions happen to determine and invite, in which they act as correspondent to themselves, as either of the former Occasional Conformists do.* That there are such a party of COSMOPOLITES, such Vagrants and Ubiquitarians in Religion, Men equally of All and None, must be own'd to the Shame of the Nation, and the scandalous Abuse of the *Act of Toleration*, which because our Author cou'd not defend by the *Scriptural* Examples of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, he has endeavoured to justify them by the *Pagan* Precedent of *Diogenes*. And it wou'd be highly for the Advantage of the State, if these *Citizens of the World* would follow their great Predecessor's Example, confine themselves, like that Sage Philosopher, to Preach out of their *Tubs*, and renounce their Relation to all particular Communities, as they have already done to Churches. It may be remember'd, that some of 'em, in a *Popish* Reign, cou'd conform to other Religious Assemblies, besides those of Protestants, tho' by a lucky Chance, they were seasonably re-converted at the Revolution: for they are always directed by * *That First and most Fundamental Law of Nature, Self-Preservation*, and are therefore ready to comply with any novel Scheme of Government and Religion, that they think they can gain by.

P. 16. §. IV. Our Author proceeds in the next Paragraph to assert, *That it is as lawful and consistent for a Church-Man, or Dissenter, to go sometimes to a Meeting, and sometimes to a Church, as for a Church-Man to go sometimes to a Cathedral, sometimes to a Parish-Church, at one time to a Church under Episcopal Jurisdiction, at another to one exempted from it; That we can't found the Unlawfulness of going to Meetings upon any Defect of their Orders who Officiate in those Assemblies, since many of the Dissenting Ministers, whose Congregations we yet condemn as Schismatical, were Episcopally Ordain'd: And, Lastly, Since our Laws*

* *Dedication to the Queen, P.* 18.

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have granted some Privileges to the Dissenter's Congregations, as well as to the Church, they can't see any difference between Worshiping God in the One or the Other. To which we Reply both with regard to the *Legality* and *Consistency* of this Practice. The Laws and Canons of our Church prohibit its Members all Communion with separate Congregations, and therefore no True Church-Man *can go to any Meeting*, without a known and deliberate Violation of those expres's Injunctions. Which at the same time require his Attendance, either in a Cathedral, Exempt, or Parish-Church, according as his Residence happens to be, because in all these, there is the same Uniformity in Worship, One Publick Liturgy, which is the same, Said or Sung, One Priesthood, One Confession of Faith, One Hope, and the same Charity and constant Visible Communion, which Unites 'em in the Body of *Christ*. But these things being in a great measure Deficient in the separate Assemblies of the Dissenters, no sincere Son of the Church can lawfully Joyn with 'em, and be consistent with his own Principles. I know not what Law the Dissenters can urge for their Occasional Communion with the Church, either from the Act of Uniformity, or Toleration; but certainly 'tis equally inconsistent with their Principles to go sometimes to a Meeting, and sometimes to a Church. For the Dissenters thereby make a solemn Profession of that *Faith*, into which they pretend Fancy and Interest have introduc'd the greatest *Corruption*, and of which they demand an *immediate Reformation*. They sometimes Worship God after a manner which they don't think *most Acceptable* to Him, and at the same time declare, That *the Worship due to Him ought always to be such*: They pay Submission to the *Rubrick*, and term it an *Ecclesiastical Usurpation*, *not innocently to be comply'd with*. In a word, They do all those things, which the Laws of God and Man have made Signs and Tests of a sincere Adherence to our Church, without the least Intent of continuing longer in her Communion, than their Interest or Ambition can be serv'd by it. Upon all which Accounts it is manifest, that it is not *as Lawful and Consistent* for a Dissenter, to go sometimes to a Meeting, and sometimes to Church, as 'tis for a Church-Man, to go sometimes to a Cathedral, and sometimes to a Parish-Church. As for the *certain Immunities and Privileges*, granted by the Act of Toleration to Conventicles, their Toleration can by no means be thought to infer their *Establishment*, any more than the Toleration of a Bear-Garden, Play-House, or Stews can make 'em Legal *Religious Societies*. Since the Act that Tolerates Conventicles never Revers'd the *Preceptive Part*, nor therefore the Obligation of any Laws made against these separate Assemblies. But supposing Conventicles were not only Tolerated, but Establish'd, yet wou'd they be never the less Sinful and Schismatical: Since those who Officiate in them as Priests, never receiv'd any sufficient Commission to execute that Function, and consequently usurp an Authority they have nothing to do with: Or, if they ever did receive it from Bishops, (of which, if there can be alleg'd any, they must be very few Instances) yet they have Renounc'd it, by Disown-

P. 6.

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ing and Revolting from that Power from which they Receiv'd it. So that their Relinquishing our Church, may be very justly esteem'd as an Abandoning its Authority, a voluntary Resignation of its Gifts and Offices, and an Apostacy, not only from the Communion wherein, but the Hands whereby they were Ordain'd. And to gather Churches out of *lawful* and well-constituted Churches, and without cause, to erect Altar against Altar, is to defeat that solemn Prayer of our Dying Lord, that *His Followers shou'd be one, as he and his Father are one*; and it is the grossest Violation of that Divine Precept, to *Glorify God with one Mind, and one Mouth*, and of those innumerable others, which so earnestly recommend, and so strictly enjoin *the Preservation of the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace.*

Par. §. V. From the *Lawfulness* and *Consistency* of the Occasional Conformists Practice, let us next pass to its *Expediency*, which this Author urges as the most proper Method, *to Root out Party in the State, and Bigotry in the Church.* But certainly nothing can be found to produce this happy Effect in any Nation, but Agreement in Matters of Faith, and Uniformity in Worship. We need only appeal, for the Truth of this Assertion, to the undoubted Records of our own History and Experience, which abundantly convince us, that the Church was never Rent with Schism, but the State Sympathiz'd in its Calamities: And that the Members of the same Society can never differ in their Religious Persuasions without Hatred and Resentment, nor agree without Union and Confederacy. The Propagation of Christianity it self, where it did not perfectly displace the *Jewish* or *Pagan* Worship, was attended with this ill Consequence, that *It divided the Father against the Son, and the Son against the Father.* Nothing but a general Indifferency to all Religion, the worst and the rarest Quality, that can befal any People, can preserve so much as Civil and Social Unity betwixt those who Disagree in their Creed, and in their Modes of Adoration. As unlikely is it, that those who thus differ, should place their Religion, rather in the great Articles and Duties of it, than the peculiar Tenents and Practices of their respective Sects: That Self-Love and Pride shou'd not determine 'em to measure their Sanctity, and Orthodoxy, more by their Opposition to each other, than the Conformity of their Manners and Opinions to the Gospel. No Practices therefore, which Cherish and Multiply different Religious Sects, in any Nation, can ever be thought to tend to extirpate *Faction* and *Bigotry* out of it, which will be always on the contrary, found the inevitable Consequences of it. For no Tranquility in Church or State, can be expected under such a Variety of opposite Interests, unless Uniformity in Mens Judgments, and their Agreement in Faith and Worship, be suppos'd the necessary Condition of it. But our Author (who always places his *Godliness in his Gain*) is of Opinion, that nothing can be so *likely an Expedient* for an Universal Union in Religion, as an Equality of Rights to Employments, *which opens a Door to all Honest* DIS-

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SENTERS and *MODERATE CHURCH-MEN* whom he conſtantly couples, being indeed both of the ſame ſpurious Breed and wicked Alliance) *to enter into Preferment: That it is no matter, whether a Man goes either to Church or Meeting*, ſo that he does but profeſs himſelf a *Chriſtian in general*; and by pretending to *inward* Worſhip, can get himſelf advanc'd into any profitable Poſt or Office, that he may be *better qualifi'd to ſerve his Church and Country*, in Betraying both, of which he was never a ſincere, or true Member. Is it not to be juſtly fear'd, that not only Men of Senſe, but even the *Common* and meaneſt ſort of People will, and cannot but judge *ſuch Men's real Principles from their open Examples*, and conclude, that their whole Religion lies in Places, their Conſcience in the Exchequer, and their Rights in Dominion? And when Religion is thus leſſen'd, by this diſgraceful Notion, nothing can keep up its Credit and Power from being gradually ſunk, and at laſt eradicated out of the World.

P. 18. §. VI. The laſt Topick, from which this Writer recommends Occaſional Conformity, is, that *it is highly ſerviceable to the Church, in tending to induce ſuch as practice it, to a conſtant Communion.* But what Uſe or Service that can bring to the Church, which utterly overturns and deſtroys its Religion, is a Paradox which we deſire this inconſiſtent Writer to explain, with the reſt of his Contradictions. But to uſe his own Argument againſt him, ſuppoſing that *Occaſional Conformity* ſhou'd be a likely Means of reconciling ſome Diſſenters to the Church, *Occaſional Nonconformity*, which our Author ſays is *mutatis mutandis*, *founded upon the ſame Principles*, will, on the other Hand, ſeduce as many to the Conventicle. So that it will do as much harm to the Church, on the one ſide at leaſt, as can be pretended it will *Good* on the Other. For if *Partial Communion* with the Church is, according to this Author's Principles, as likely to paſs into *Conſtant Conformity*, then its neceſſary Attendant, *Partial Communion* with the Diſſenters muſt be allow'd as likely to paſs into as conſtant *Nonconformity*. The former of theſe Effects our Author reſolves into *the groſs Stupidity, which diſpoſes moſt Men to account things either altogether, and at all times Good, or altogether and at all times Bad*, and the ſame general Infirmity of Mankind, tends equally to produce the latter. But to prove that Occaſional Conformity may paſs into conſtant Communion, this Author alledges the Words of a *Great Prelate*, producing the *Conſequence of the* Bartholomew-Act *in* 62. as an Inſtance of it. We deny not but that ſome Men at that time, through Fear of Loſing thoſe Preferments, which they till then enjoy'd, or a Proſpect of getting Better, might be brought by theſe Mercenary Motives, either in themſelves, or in their Families, to a conſtant Conformity to the Church. But this Fact is equally as good a Reaſon to paſs the Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity: Becauſe it may prove a means of inducing thoſe, who *Occaſionally* Conform for a Place or Office, *Conſtantly* to Conform, to keep it. But the Advantage the Church is like to have from ſuch *Falſe Converts*, has not been found of ſuch great

P. 15.

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Service to Her, as to encourage Her to open Her Arms to embrace such as have *always ſerv'd themſelves* in enjoying Her Revenues, and let ſlip no occaſion of Betraying or Deſerting that Communion, when their Intereſt invited, the only Hypocritical Ground it was built upon. To put this Inſtance a little higher: Suppoſing any Man ſhould out of Principle Abjure Epiſcopacy, and yet afterwards, upon the View of One or Two Thouſand Pounds a Year, ſhou'd not only *Occaſionally* Conform to, but ſuſtain that Order, which he had renounc'd before as *Illegal*: I ſay, only ſuppoſing ſuch a thing, which God forbid ſhould ever befal His Church, wou'd not ſuch a Time-ſerving Apoſtate be a foul Stain and Reproach upon the Dignity he bore? Cou'd we think he wou'd ſincerely believe or aſſert the Doctrines of the Church, maintain its Diſcipline, or ſupport its Rights and Privileges; wou'd not this *Demetrius*, this Crafts-man in Religion, who adores his *Diana* for the *Gain of the Silver Shrines*, ſhould *the Temple be deſpis'd, or its Magnificence deſtroy'd*, Perſecute St. *Paul*, or like *Demas* Forſake him? Such Men *follow Chriſt* for his *Loaves*, and not for his *Doctrine*: And the ſame Suppoſition will be found to have the ſame Conſequence in all leſſer Inſtances.

P. 19, Our Author proceeds to tell us, that *It is the Prerogative of God alone, to know and judge the Hearts of the Diſſenters, whether they have taken due care to inform themſelves, or whether they ſincerely profeſs what they believe; and that ſuppoſing them to be in the wrong, they have yet an unqueſtionable Right to Toleration*, the Nature and Extent of which he afterwards deſcribes. I hope what I have already ſaid, and ſhall further offer, will convince my Reader, that the Reaſons for their Separation, and *Occaſional Conformity*, are altogether Inſufficient; that conſidering under what Advantages of Information they have liv'd from their Infancy, thoſe among 'em who are really Miſtaken, have not us'd due Impartiality and Diligence in their Enquiries after Truth; that the Inconſiſtency in their Practice ſhews their Diſobedience to our Laws, to proceed not from the *Weakneſs of their Judgment*, but the *Perverſneſs of their Will*, and therefore excludes 'em from all Pleas of Impunity, with which Error and Sincerity can ſupply Offenders. Therefore it can be no Breach of Charity in that Accompliſh'd Gentleman, Sir *Humphry Mackworth*, or any other ſenſible Perſon, to Charge them with *Hypocriſy*, whoſe *open* and *undeniable Actions* are ſo Repugnant to their *profeſs'd Opinions*, as to leave not the leaſt ground to believe them HONEST. If theſe wilful Errors muſt be extenuated with the Title of a *Weakneſs in Judgment*, I hope the Diſſenters themſelves will at leaſt own this, That it ſhews how *Unfit* Perſons they are to fill and diſcharge thoſe Places and Offices they pretend to have a *Right* to, upon no other Qualification than that of their *Ignorance*: Doubtleſs ſuch Men are admirably capacitated to Rule, and Preſcribe Laws, which they own they cannot Underſtand, and to which they cou'd never themſelves pay Obedience, or be reſtrain'd by their Power. And if they

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are to be Tolerated for no other Reason, but because they are *Peaceable Men*, I fear they will be under no less a Difficulty to make out their Claim to this Reason, since their *Mistakes* (as they slightly term their Rebellious Obstinacy) have been found as Fatal and Pernicious to the *Peace* and Security of the Kingdom, as they have been Reproachful to themselves. But we come now to examine those Arguments on which they wou'd found this Toleration. As for our Author's Description of a *Perfect Unlimited Toleration*, it is in the main True and Just: Toleration in its general Notion implying, *a suffering any Thing to be done without Punishments; a compleat and absolute Toleration of those Members of any Nation, who are mistaken in Matters of Religion, is* (as he says) *an Exemption of them from all Civil Penalties upon that Account.* And such a Toleration of our Protestant Dissenters in particular, is, *Securing them from all Harm and Loss which our Laws protect INNOCENT Men from.* The *Act of Toleration* therefore does allow the Dissenters in the Exercise of their Religion, and the Enjoyment of their Lives and Fortunes, but the Legislators cannot be thought by *That Act*, so to have Tyed up their own Hands, as for ever to have disabled themselves, by any *subsequent Law*, from restraining the incroaching Abuse of that Toleration, to the Prejudice of those that granted it. Nor can it be suppos'd, that this *Act of Toleration* should entitle the Dissenters to all the Privileges those enjoy, who obey the *Act of Uniformity*; or, that the excluding the Dissenters from those Privileges, is a Penalty, or Inconsistent with their Liberty of Choosing and Professing their own Religion. Doubtless Prejudice and Interest can never so much Blind and Infatuate these Men, as to render 'em incapable of seeing the vast Difference betwixt *Protection* and *Privilege*, *Impunity* and *Reward*: Certainly a Man may enjoy *Liberty* and *Property*, and all that a *Good* and *Innocent* Citizen is entitled to, tho' he be not Advanc'd or Preferr'd by the *Publick Favour*, the want of which can no ways hinder him from the Profession of his Religion. But we shall proceed to examine further those Arguments, upon which the Dissenters found their *Right* to this *Universal Unlimited Toleration*; and shall prove, that such an *Unbounded Exemption* from all *Coercive Penalties* whatsoever, as they Demand, can't be *Due* to them in strict *Justice*, but must be a meer Act of *Grace* and *Favour*: That however, to debar them from Publick Employments wou'd be no Breach of their *Toleration*, and that the Learned Sir *Humphry Mackworth* (to whom the Highest Returns of Gratitude are Owing, from all True Friends of the *Church* and *State*, for his signal Service to Both) has Defended this Cause with the greatest Strength of Reason, and without the least Self-Contradiction here charg'd upon him, by the most scandalous Instance of it in the World, our Fallacious, Ignorant and Self-betraying Scribler.

P. 23. §. I. The First Proposition here laid down is, *That a Toleration is the indefeasable Right of all Mankind, and particularly the Dissenters; for these Reasons, because no Man can HELP believing what he THINKS is true, and every Man is bound to worship God in that way wich he THINKS is best, and that no Man should be punish'd for*

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that which he can't or ought not to help. Here I desire the Reader to observe that this Argument, if Concluſive, will ſerve to prove an *Equal Right* of Toleration to all SECTS OF INFIDELS and PAPISTS, in their Prophane and Superſtitious Opinions, which the Diſſenters will hardly grant to the *Latter*, whatever they will do to the *Former*. But have *Hereticks* a RIGHT publickly to Profeſs and Propagate their Hereſies? St. *Paul*, who *deliver'd ſome of them over to Satan*, did not it ſeems underſtand *this indefeaſable Right*, that every Man has of Thinking, Talking, and Acting as he pleaſes: And our Legiſlators, both *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil*, have entrench'd upon the Liberty of Mankind, in preſuming to lay any Reſtraint on this Univerſal Freedom: The Statute *de Haretico comburendo* was forſooth much fitter for the *Flames*, than thoſe *Martyrs* to *Villany* which it condemn'd. According to this Notion, the whole Revelation of God muſt be entirely ſubject to Humane Will, and the *Jews* had doubtleſs a RIGHT to commit Idolatry, and to crucify our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour, becauſe theſe execrable Crimes were perhaps agreeable to their own Perſwaſions, and they were ſo groſly *wicked* and *ſtupid* as to *THINK they did God good Service* by them. But will the Diſſenters ſo far imitate their abſurd Example and Tenents, as to deny this manifeſt Truth, That *Our Opinions are ſo far in our Power, as to Entitle us to Rewards and Puniſhments?* The *Moſaick Law* threatn'd *Temporal* Death to the Disbelief of God's Unity and Providence, and the *Goſpel* as expreſly denounces *Eternal*, to ſuch as reject and deſert their Faith. Both therefore by ſuppoſing Men's Opinions to be *Criminal*, imply, that they are *Voluntary*. Whoſoever thinks otherwiſe, muſt deny the Sincerity of that Exhortation of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, 1 Ep. c. 1. v. 10. *I beſeech you Brethren, by the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, that ye all ſpeak the ſame thing, that there be no Diviſions among you, but that you be perfectly join'd together in the ſame Judgment.* Which ſolemn Words of the Apoſtle can ſignify nothing, unleſs we allow, that when Men are of oppoſite Perſwaſions, and divide from the Church, thoſe who are in the Wrong, are not only at Liberty, but are oblig'd to relinquiſh their Errors, and Embrace the Truth: And conſequently 'tis ridiculous Nonſenſe to ſay with this Author, *That a Man is neither able nor bound to retract his Errors.* Indeed the Mind of Man neceſſarily judges according to the Appearance of Things, but that they ſhou'd appear in a due and convincing Light, depends upon our Will and Election, becauſe it is in our Power to proſecute or reſtrain our Enquiries after them, and to divert the Underſtanding from examining and conſidering any Truth, which without ſuch a previous Conſideration, we cannot aſſent to. And ſince, from the Abuſe of this Liberty, proceeds all the Variety of Errors which we fall into, we are as juſtly reſponſible for theſe, as the very immediate Acts of our Will. And tho' a Man ſhou'd *be bound to Worſhip God in that way which he THINKS to be beſt*, yet if his Conſcience err in its Information, he is accountable for THINKING that Worſhip true, which is falſe, and conſequently is liable to a Penalty for it. But this Matter has been in a great Meaſure ſtated before.

P. 23,

P. 23. § II. The Proposition, whereby this Author proves a Man's *Right* to a Toleration, let him *Think* what he will, is, *Because no Man, neither in general, nor the Magistrate in particular, has any Authority, either to oblige another by a Law to believe any Speculative Article; or to approve of any Mode of Worship, or else to undergo a Penalty. The Magistrate* (he says) *has no such Authority, because his Province extends no farther than the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of the Subject, but can't reach to any Points of Faith or Worship, which being not the Ends of Civil Society can't be the Matter of the Enacting Part of any Law.* But can this Author be either so confident or ignorant to assert, that this is not a quite different Representation of the End and Extent of the Magistrate's Power, from what *St. Paul* and St. *Peter* have given us of it? The *First*, whereof in the 13 *th*, of his Epistle to the *Romans*, terms the *Magistrate the Minister of God, and an Avenger to execute wrath on them that do Evil.* v. 4. And the *Second* places the Exercise of his Authority *in the Punishment of Evil Doers, and the Praise of them that do well.* 1 Ep. 2. 14. Whereas, in this Writer's Opinion, the Magistrate's Commission only warrants him to *Protect the Lives*, and *promote the Civil Interests* of the People, but not to intermeddle in their *Religious Concerns*, not to *Execute Wrath upon Evil Doers* as *such*, unless their Impieties *accidentally* interfere with the Temporal Advantages of the Community. This Advocate of the Fanaticks has forgot the Power, the *Lay-Elders* formerly claim'd and exercis'd among the *Presbyterians*, who were invested with a mixt sort of *Secular*, as well as *Ecclesiastical* Jurisdiction, and had the Authority of Compulsion and Penalty lodg'd in their Hands: And that their Brethren, now in *Scotland*, put it in such rigorous Execution, that it is there no less than Forfeiture of Goods and Estate, to believe or profess any Doctrines contrary to those establish'd. But however, suppose we should allow our Author, what he so absurdly asserts, that *The Sole End of Government is to protect the Lives, Liberties and Properties of the Subject*, does not the Belief and Practice of Religion, in their own Nature and proper Effects, tend to promote the *publick Good*, and has not God assign'd the benign and vindictive Dispensations of his Providence, to the Increase and Decay of Piety in any Nation? Is not this the plain and express Tenour of the whole *Legal* as well as *Evangelical* Oeconomy? Is not this the great Covenant of God with Mankind, declar'd as well by *Moses* as *Christ*, and all the Prophets since the World began? And have not we found their Veracity fulfill'd in a visible Demonstration, that *Righteousness exalteth a Nation, and Sin is the Reproach of any People?* Certainly the Magistrate's Commission, which requires him to provide for, and secure the Temporal Interest of the Community, does by Consequence oblige him, as he is God's Vice-Gerent, to preserve and propagate the true Faith and Worship. As for the *Church's Legislative Power and Authority to inflict Penalties*, which this Author denies, if by Penalty he understands a *Civil Sanction*, we freely grant, that the Authority of the Church, when not assisted and seconded by that of the Magistrate, does not, by it self, extend to the Inflicting any such Penalty. The Power of the Church is always the same, whether it be under a State of Persecution

cution, Toleration, or Eſtabliſhment: And, in both the former Conditions, Obedience is only due to it under the Pain of *Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures*, and the Conſequence annext to 'em, of incurring God's Infinite Diſpleaſure: A Sanction, one wou'd think, in it ſelf ſufficient, to need no additional Civil Penalty to enforce it. As for the Church's having any *Power to make any new Article of Faith*, our own Church having in her XX *Article*, ſo expreſly diſown'd it, this Writer is very unſeaſonably impertinent, in endeavouring to prove the Illegality of any ſuch Impoſition. However, ſhe might think her ſelf inveſted with ſuch an Authority, were there no better Argument againſt the Exerciſe of it, than what our trifling Author produces, which is this Magiſterial Aſſertion, That *the Church has no Legiſlative Power, and is reſtrain'd barely to the Execution of thoſe Laws which our Saviour has left us.* A Poſition utterly inconſiſtent with that Command of the Author of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, *Obey thoſe who have the Rule over you, and ſubmit your ſelves, for they watch for your Souls*, C. 13. v. 17: And with the whole Conduct of the *Council of Jeruſalem*, as it ſtands recorded in the 15*th* of the *Acts*: In which the *Apoſtles* and *Elders* gave the higheſt Proof of a *Legiſlative Power* reſiding in the Church, and extending to what our Saviour never prohibited or enjoin'd. The Execution of this Power is ſometimes render'd more eaſy, by the Aſſiſtance of Civil Governours, when, according to their Duty, they encourage and ſupport the Church in her Authority, ſometimes more difficult, by their Oppoſition, when *the Kings of the Earth ſtand up, and the Rulers take Counſel together, againſt the Lord and his Meſſiah, whom they ought to kiſs and reverence, leſt he be angry, and they periſh from the right way.* Pſ. 1. 2. Thus as the Church may Enact Laws for Decency and good Order, the State is oblig'd to inflict thoſe Penalties by additional Laws, that are moſt likely to enforce them. And this Doctrine is perfectly agreeable to the Conſtitution of our own Kingdom, in which *Her Majeſty* enjoys both Powers United, and is *Supream in all Cauſes, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil.* Which, methinks, our Author might have remember'd
P. 19. that he had granted in his Dedication to the Queen tho' he expreſly denies it here: But defending the Principles of the *Occaſional Conformiſt*, he cou'd not forbear imitating his Example.

P. 24. §. III, The Third Reaſon for an *Abſolute Toleration of all Religious Sects*, is drawn from the Nature of Penalties, as *being wholly Ineffectual to convince the Mind, that any Article of Faith is true, or manner of Worſhip beſt, ſerving only to reſtrain and deter, not to perſwade or convince.* It muſt indeed be acknowledg'd, that Penalties annex'd to the Diſbelief of any Doctrine, are no Proof of its Truth: But however, they may be, doubtleſs, very inſtrumental in gaining our Aſſent to it. Thus the Improvement of Youth in Arts and Sciences generally depends upon the Strictneſs and Severity of their Inſtructors, tho' no Man ever pretended to believe the Truth and Certainty of what is learnt, deducible from it. Is not that tremendous Threat of our bleſſed Saviour, upon which is laid no leſs than the whole Support of the Chriſtian Faith, *He that Believeth not ſhall be Damn'd*, a moſt undeniable Inſtance of the proper Uſe and Efficacy of Penalties, to convince

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the World, and influence their Belief? Which cou'd never attain the end for which it was denounc'd did not the dread of Punishment dispose Men for Conviction, and controul their Belief as well as Practice. From whence it appears, that tho' Punishments are no *Proper Mediums* to prove the Truth of any Doctrine, yet both God and Man have made choice of 'em, as very powerful Means to contribute to our Belief of it, by constraining us to apply our selves to the most effectual Helps and Methods of knowing it. But our Author, with as much *Wit* as *Philosophy*, still urges, That *Nothing but a Connection between Ideas, and the Evidence of that Connection can convince: and there being no Connection between the Truth of any Proposition and a Penalty, it is impossible by Penalties to work any Conviction.* If this Sceptical Writer had liv'd in the time of our Blessed Saviour and his Apostles, when the Gospel was first promulg'd, upon this Principle he might as well have argued himself into a Disbelief of its Doctrines, as now he defends his Disobedience to the Discipline of the Church by it. For when he had heard the Articles of Faith propos'd, as a Means of Salvation, he might have disputed the Want of *Connection* between the *Ideas* of *Faith* and *Reward*, of *Infidelity* and *Damnation*. There are many sublime Mysteries in Christianity, which are never to be comprehended or explain'd, by *Connection of Ideas*, as that of the Trinity, the Incarnation of the Son of God, and the like: Yet we are oblig'd to believe 'em, on no less a *Penalty* than the Loss of Eternal Life. Not only all *Divine* Laws, under the *Mosaick* as well as *Christian* Dispensation, but all Human Laws also must be enforc'd by *Penalties*, yet is it the Legislator's Business to convince any private Man of the *Reason* of those Laws? Is every Peasant to dispute his Submission to the *Parliamentary Acts and Statutes*, because he can't apprehend the Ground of every Proposition contain'd in them, or has not a *Connection between the Ideas* of *Thievery*, *Murther*, a *Whipping-Post*, and a *Gallows*? So that this kind of *Antinomian* Writer wou'd entirely bereave all Laws of their Force and Power by depriving them of their Sanctions. Let us here, without any Breach of Charity, judge whither these Men's Principles lead 'em, and in what they will end: Is it not in *Anarchy* as well as *Atheism*, in the utter Subversion of all *Religion* as well as *Government*, and the Abrogation of all the Laws of God, as well as Man? If this impious and sturdy Scribler in his Minority had bin a little more subject to Penalties, and had underwent the Discipline of that *Cat-of-Nine-Tails* he mentions, and has so well deserv'd for his rebellious Position, it wou'd have strangely *Enlighten'd* his Understanding (as he expresses it) and have prevented all those dark Reasonings he so blindly urges, and which, to speak the Truth, a *Corporal Correction* is the best Answer to.

P. 24. §. IV. His next Argument, against Penalties in Religion, is founded upon this supposition, *That an Authority to inflict them would not be Useful to Mankind, because that Men, not being Infallible, may by the exercise of that Power, propagate Error as well as Truth: that this is very likely to happen, because more Churches and Magistrates are in the Wrong than the Right, and that Truth and Error can never be Propagated by the same Means; and lastly, that every Man must judge freely of Truth for himself, and no Man shou'd judge for Another.* This way of Arguing plainly

ſuppoſes, that no Man, who is not Infallible, can be ſecure that his Opinion about Religious Matters is True; and tends to introduce an Univerſal Scepticiſm into Mens Minds, and concludes as ſtrongly againſt the Method of Recommending our Faith by Reaſon and Argument, as Propagating it by Authority: Since thoſe who purſue the former Method, are not Infallible, and therefore, according to our Author, can't be ſecure, that they don't propagate Error inſtead of Truth. The Authority about which we Diſpute, is a Power of enforcing the Belief and Practice of the True Religion by Penalties, which Power is not the leſs conducive to that end, becauſe ſo *Great a Majority of Churches and Magiſtrates are in the Wrong.* There was a Time when the True Religion was Profeſs'd but in One Nation of the World, in which however, Idolatry (the Religion of all Mankind beſides) was by Divine Appointment Puniſh'd with the utmoſt Severity; Which irrefragably proves, that Penalties may be uſeful to reſtrain the Belief and Practice of a Falſe Religion, notwithſtanding the greateſt Diſproportion betwixt thoſe who Beleive, and thoſe who Reject the Truth. And nothing is more uſual than the ſame thing differently apply'd, that may be inſtrumental in Propagating both Error and Truth. The *Devil* we know had his *Oracles* and *Inſpirations* in Imitation of *GOD's Prophets* and *Apoſtles.* It cannot be deny'd, but that the *Art of Rhetorick* may be abus'd, to recommend and ſet off Falſehood, and yet our Author's Dedication to Her Majeſty (which ſo vainly abounds with all the Affectation of it) is pretended to be written in favour of the Truth, to prevent thoſe Repreſentations of the Diſſenters Diſloyalty, which had been ſo undeniably prov'd in another Dedication to the Queen. A convincing Proof, that Truth may be maintain'd, and Error inſinuated by the ſame Means. If therefore the fear of Puniſhment can *Reconcile Men to Popiſh Tenets*, the worſt of Errors, in defiance of the moſt cogent Arguments (as our Author ſays) may we not ſuppoſe, that when this Fear is ſeconded by cogent Arguments, it would moſt effectually recommend the Truth to their Aſſent? To give Succeſs to our Enquiries after it, a free and impartial uſe of our Reaſon, without an abſolute Reſignation of it to the Judgment of others, is neceſſary. But however, this does not infer, that the fear of Puniſhment is not as neceſſary to prevent, or reſcue Men out of, Error: Since that moſt efficaciouſly incites them to exert the utmoſt of their Power, which ſo great a Difficulty will require as *the Renouncing our Prejudices*, and to lay aſide that partial Deference we are ſo apt to give to other Men's Judgments. However, a private Man ought to be very confident of the Truth of his Reaſons, that ſhall preſume to ſet them up in Oppoſition, either to the united Opinion of the Catholick Church, or the general Tenets of his own particular Church. We ought not indeed *implicitly* to ſubſcribe to Articles we cannot believe, but in Matters of Doubt and Difficulty, wherein any *One* can't be ſuppos'd to be an abſolute and compleat Judge, he is oblig'd to ſubmit himſelf to the better Determination of Men of more Learning and Abilities, rather than maintain a *Singular* Opinion, which he is not poſitively aſſur'd of. For if every Man may be allow'd to ſet up an *Unlimited Freedom* of Thinking in Religion, as he pleaſes, according to his irregular

irregular Humour or Caprice, we should have as many different Religions, as there are Men in the World. Tho' the Gospel gain'd Admission into Men's Understanding, by an impartial Search of the Scriptures and Examination of the Apostle's Doctrine, yet St. *Paul*, by whose Ministry it was so much propagated, and who, if ever any Man, deserv'd the glorious Character of *a Votary to Truth, and a Witness of it to others*, thought Punishment so proper a Restraint of Infidelity, 1 Tmi. 1. 29. that for it, *he deliver'd Hymenæus and Philetus over to Satan*, which way of Excommunication was attended, in the Primitive Church, with the greatest Plagues that the Devil cou'd inflict both upon Soul and Body.

P. 25. §. V. Our Author's Reasons for a Toleration in the Essentia's of Religion being Disprov'd, let us see next how he pretends to invalidate the Authority of the Church, and Magistrate, in prescribing Circumstantials, which he denies, as being *Things altogether in their Nature Indifferent, and* that *Indifferent things can't be the Object of a Law.* To wich we Answer, that Things are Indifferent, either with respect to *their End*, or the *Command* of Superiors. The Injunctions of the Church, with respect to their *End*, can never be thought to be laid upon Trifles and Impertinencies wholly useless, but are prescrib'd for Decency and Order, which must be allow'd to be Matter of very high Importance and Advantage. And when they are once Commanded, they cease to be Indifferent in their use, but lay an Obligation of Obedience under the Penalty due to Sin. The very Power to propagate the true Faith and Worship, must of necessity infer a Right to prescribe these Indifferent Things. As for Instance, to Command in what Place, at what Time, and in what Manner such Faith is to be publickly profess'd, and such Worship perform'd, God having left these Circumstances undetermin'd: and because the aforemention'd Power can't be executed whilst they continue so, they necessarily fall under the Determination of those who are invested with it. There can't be conceived a more rash and ill grounded Inference than this of our Author's, *That because the Advantage of Society is the End and Measure of Laws, therefore Indifferent Things ought not to be the Matter of Laws.* Suppose several Means are equally conducive to the same End, and each consequently Indifferent with respect to it, are therefore none to be prescrib'd by those to whom the prosecution of that End is committed? To use our Author's Instance The *Physicians* may have several Remedies for *Phrenzy*, as Bloodletting, Hellebore, dark Room, *&c.* wherein the Madman may be perhaps *confin'd* to his Straw, and *ty'd up from some certain sorts of Meats and Drink's*, whereby the Doctor *renders himself intolerable to his Patient*, P. 16. who with our Author, under these Circumstances, may sue for a *Toleration*: However, he can't deny, but that the Physician may justly refuse it, and use any of these Remedies to cure such Enthusiasts. But to leave this Trifler with *his Chips in Porridge*, under a Course with his Doctor, which indeed he seems to want; Laws are not made to restrain Men only from *Hurtful*, but also to enjoin *Useful* Actions; and this *End* is fully answer'd, when the Legislator, out of the great *Variety of Means* that offer themselves to his Choice, as subservient to the *Publick Good*, selects *such* as are *sufficient* for that Purpose, tho' *in Preference* to

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others, equally ſo. It is the Duty of the Magiſtrates to make, not only *Juſt*, but *Good* Laws, not only ſuch as may be *innocently* obey'd, but likewiſe ſuch as will tend in their Execution to the *General Good and Advantage* of the People, tho' not agreeable to the particular Humours of every *Private* Man: We muſt diſtinguiſh betwixt the *Bounds* which the Magiſtrate is to obſerve in *Making Laws*, and the *Meaſures of his Subject's Obedience*: Tho' the *Inexpedience* of any thing ought to debar him from enjoining it, yet when 'tis *Enacted*, nothing but the *Illegality* of it, can releaſe them from its Obſervation. When the Law is actually promulg'd, ſhall the Multitude be permitted to queſtion, and arraign the Prudence and Diſcretion of their Legiſlators? It is the greateſt Inconvenience, in a *State of Nature*, that Men's Actions being therein directed by their Private Judgments, and thoſe various, as their Humours, no unanimous Endeavour can be expected amongſt 'em to repel a Common Enemy, or provide for their mutal Security. And this Misfortune muſt equally attend a State of Society and Government, if every Subject therein, may be allow'd to refuſe to act in Conjunction with the reſt, whenever his Opinion happens to differ from the Legiſlator's, concerning the Expedience of a Law. The Conſequences of ſuch a wild *Liberty* as this, wou'd be more grievous and intolerable, than all the moſt *Unneceſſary* Commands of the moſt humourſome Prince in the World. It wou'd in ſhort overturn any Conſtitution, and ſubvert the very Being of Government. For, What was the Riſe of that *Damnable and never to be forgotten Rebellion* in 41. but the *admir'd* Maxim of our Seditious Pamphleteer, here inſolently aſſerted, That *Obedience is only due to the Magiſtrate; when the People think he commands Juſta & Utilia?* The Miſeries whereof, which he has curſorily term'd *Extravagancies* in his Dedication to the Queen, I hope our Author will allow at leaſt to be ſomething worſe than *the Freaks of Heliogabalus*; and that *Edict of the Emperor, that ordered all the Spider-webs in* Rome *to be collected, and the People to be entertain'd with a Show of Mice, Rats, Weaſels, and Pole-cats*, was not more ridiculous than the awkward Geſticulation, Phantaſtical Whining, and Hypocritical Canting of thoſe Rebellious Saints, who made Religion vile and contemptible, by covering all their villanous Impieties under a Godly Maſquerade. But this Author's whole Book is one entire Confutation of this his *Beloved Maxim*, That *the Magiſtrate has an undoubted Right to command Omnia Juſta & Utilia*, having, th o' the whole Courſe of it aſſerted, That *every Man has an un-doubted Right to Think, Believe, and Act as he Pleaſes.*

P. 14.

P. 26.

P. 27. §. I. Our weak Author having in his own vain Imagination Triumph'd o're the Cauſe of the Church, in maintaining an UNIVERSAL Toleration of all SECTS and INFIDELS whatſoever, proceeds with all the Little Force he can Muſter, to Attack that Honourable Member, Sir *H. Mackworth*, who has ſo eminently Signaliz'd himſelf in this Controverſy; and repreſents him under the odious Character of a *Perſecutor*, both in his Opinions and Practice. The firſt Reaſon he produces, to ground this Accuſation upon, is this *Worthy Gentleman's* ſuppoſing *Occaſional Conformiſts to be Hypocrites, in that they pretend Conſcience, and purſue, nothing but their Advantage.* The Truth of which, we have already in ſome meaſure prov'd, and we hope to make undeniably appear

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in the Sequel of this Discourse. That this is granted by Many of the Dissenters themselves, admits of no dispute, and therefore so Just and Accurate a Writer, as Sir *H. M.* may be suppos'd to Assert, not for any *Quaintness of Expression*, but his undoubted Assurance of the Fact, that *Occasional Conformists, who desire the Guardianship and Execution of our Laws, are seldom intrusted by Dissenters to be Guardians of their Children, and Executors of their Wills.* Which Fact our Author has insinuated to be of so fatal a Consequence, that he says Sir *H. M. does by asserting it, as far as in him lies, endeavour to take away the Liberty from Honest Men of following their respective Trades, which he himself makes one Instance of Toleration: Since he that is not fit to be Trusted as an Executor, is as unfit to be Dealt with as a Merchant.* This Consequence is as *false*, as 'tis *popular:* For I may Trade with a *Quaker, Papist, Presbyterian*, or *Atheist*, or any Man without regard had to his Religion; but there's very good Reason to make no such Man my Executor, for that is a Charge of the Highest Trust: Whilst I deal with such my self, I can prevent their Villany, or at least the Inconvenience will affect only my own Person, but the other Case Hazards the Safety of my Family. I shall add, that if Sir. *Humphrey Mackworth*'s Censure of the Occasional Conformist be a *Persecution*, both our Houses of Parliament are Chargeable with it, and equally partake in its Guilt. For to that Argument produced by the *Commons*, That *the Intent of the Occasional Bill was to prevent a Scandalous Practice, which is a Reproach to all Religion, gives Offence to all Christians, and to the best among the Dissenters themselves*, the Lords replied, That *they had gone a great way to prevent the EVIL that Bill was intended to remedy, and that it was a Scandal to Religion that Persons should Conform only for a Place* (*) Thus Sir *Humphrey Mackworth*'s Practice is fully vindicated, by the great Precedents he is able to quote for it; and the Consistency of his Assertion with his Notion of the Toleration, due to *Conscientious* Dissenters, will as clearly appear, if we consider these Six following Positions, and how very reconcileable the greatest Tenderness for Dissenters is, with them.

P. 29. §. II. The Positions are these, 1. *That tho' a Toleration ought to be given to a constant Dissenter, it ought not to be given to an Occasional Conformist.* 2. *That to incapacitate an Occasional Conformist for all Places and Employments, is not inconsistent with a Toleration.* 3. *That Penalties are not an improper Method to convince.* 4. *Or at least to dispose Men's Minds for Conviction.* 5. *That the Dissenters are not capable of Employments by the Act of Toleration, Or,* 6ly, *That if they are capable by that Law or any other, they should not be suffer'd to remain so,*

P. 29. §. I. First, *That tho' a Toleration ought to be given to a Constant Dissenter, it ought not to be given to an Occasional Conformist.* Sr. *H. M.* indeed very truly accounts these more Inexcusable than *Constant* Dissenters, and that those who Uniformly follow the Prejudices of their Education, in an uninterrupted Separation from our Church, are more justly entitl'd to Impunity, than such Separatists who can Com-

(*) *Reports of Several Conferences relating to an Act to prevent Occasional Conformity*, p. 21. 25.

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municate with her, when 'tis the condition of obtaining ſome Temporal Honour or Advantage. For which Reaſon his excellent Diſtinction betwixt a *Conſcientious Diſſenter*, and a *State Diſſenter*, or an Occaſional Conformiſt for a Place, is juſt, and well grounded. And ſhou'd a Man think, that no other means ought to be us'd to Reclaim *the former*, but *Love and Kindneſs, Arguments, Perſwaſions, and a good Example*, this wou'd not oblige him to allow that ſuch gentle Treatment was due to *the latter*. How far Men's Opinions are in their own Power, how juſtly their Religious Errors expoſe 'em to, and how effectually they may be remov'd by, Penalties, we have before examin'd, and there ſhewn, how little Reaſon our Author has to inſiſt, as he here does, upon his Arguments for a Toleration of *Atheiſts, Deiſts, Socinians*, and all other Sects in the World, as if they were obvious and undeniable Truths. Becauſe an *Occaſional Conformiſt* has not the ſame Notion of our Church, and the terms of her Communion, as a *Conſtant Separatiſt*; therefore his Non conformity is more Inexcuſable; the Guilt of his Schiſm is aggravated by his favourable Opinion of that Church he Diſſents from; this makes all Arguments for Seperation from it, which are at beſt Inſufficient, to become in his Mouth, trifling and frivolous. Our Author ſays, that *to make Conſcientious Diſſenters the Object of Toleration*, is to ſubvert all *Toleration*; *ſince no Magiſtrate can tell, who is a Conſcientious Diſſenter, and who is not*: Whereas there can't be any more ſure and infallible *Criterions* of any thing than of this: For what can be a greater Demonſtration, than ſuch *Irreconcilable Contradictions* betwixt Men's *Profeſſion* and *Practice*, as may enable the Magiſtrate, or any other to make the Diſcovery? For Inſtance, ſhould a Man join ſometimes in the moſt ſolemn Profeſſion of our Creeds, and yet ſeparate from the Church, becauſe the Fancies and Intereſts of Men have introduc'd Corruptions into 'em; Should the ſame Man think the Worſhip he owes to God, to be what he judges moſt Acceptable to him, and yet ſometimes comply with a way of Worſhip, which he eſteems not to be ſo, that Man muſt either want ſound Underſtanding, ſo as not to be able to *ſee* the moſt open and palpable Contradictions, or be *conſcious* of the groſſeſt Inconſiſtency, betwixt his Principles and Actions. And becauſe *Occaſional Conformiſts* are, even according to our Author's Principles, Chargeable with Hypocriſy upon both theſe accounts, he muſt own, that no one can want ſufficient Demonſtration, that they neither are, or can be *Conſcientious Diſſenters*. But the Diſſenters, who before made their *Conſcience* the only Plea for their Toleration, now urge, that *If the Magiſtrate Tolerates only Conſcientious Diſſenters, it would not only Cramp a Toleration, but render it Impracticable*. But we can't diſmiſs this part of our Author's Performance, without conſidering a very remarkable Inference, which he draws from Sir *H. Mackworth*'s Treatiſe on the Bill. He ſays, this Gentleman has given Reaſon to *SUSPECT, than he thinks not more Favourably of any other Diſſenters, than of Occaſional Conformiſts; and SEEMS to ſuppoſe, that 'tis their ſtubborn and corrupt Wills that makes them Diſſent*. To ſhew the Sincerity of this Quotation I ſhall tranſcribe Sir *Humphrey*'s Words at full length, which are theſe:

P. 23.

P. 6.

P. 6. §. 2. *When Men ought, nay can, and actually do comply with the Law for their own private Advantage, but will not for the ſake of the Government, which is the Caſe of Occaſional Conformiſts, Whether is it the Law, or their own ſtubborn and corrupt Will, that puts 'em under an Incapacity of ſerving their Prince and Country?* In which Paſſage there occur ſuch Expreſſions as exclude all Poſſibility of its being deſign'd againſt Conſtant Diſſenters, that our Author's imperfect Recital, and unfair Miſapplication of it to them, may paſs for the greateſt Inſtance of *Hypocriſy*, next to that Practice, for which he appears in this Book, a Senſeleſs and Ridiculous Advocate.

P. 34. §. 2. But to involve Sir *Humphry Mackworth* under the ſame Crime, (that is here alleg'd againſt himſelf) of Hypocriſy, in maintaining Contradiction, he is endeavouring to retort this Argument upon him, by faſt'ning an Inconſiſtency upon him, how truly we ſhall ſee in the Examination of the next Propoſition aſcrib'd to him, namely, *That to Incapacitate Occaſional Conformiſts, for all Places and Employments, is not Inconſiſtent with a Toleration.* Now as all *Offices* of *State* and *Government* are *Truſts* of *Power*, they muſt be granted from *thoſe* in whom that *Power* is lodg'd, as Matters of *Free Gift*, to which no one Perſon can lay any Claim; whether they are deriv'd from the *Sovereign*, or his immediate Repreſentatives conſtituted by Nomination, or whether they are ſettled by the Determination and Appointment of the Legiſlature. And as they are purely the Effects of Bounty and Favour, thoſe that give 'em have an undoubted Right to Aſſign the Qualifications of ſuch as ſhall Enjoy them: Whereby if any Number of Men ſhall be debarr'd from them, they can't on that account be thought to undergo any Puniſhment or Penalty. For whereas this in its Notion carries a neceſſary Reference to ſome antecedent Crime, of which when juſtly inflicted, it argues the ſuffering Party to be Guilty; on the contrary, the moſt Inoffenſive Man Living, may be fairly excluded from Civil Employments. To juſtify this, it's ſufficient that he wants ſome Accompliſhments to Qualify him for that Poſt, or Buſineſs, that a Man may be Innocently without, or that others may be poſſeſs'd of in an higher degree. Neither is hereby *any Mark of Infamy or Diſgrace put upon them*, the Preference in this caſe given to others, at moſt, is only an Argument, that their Governours think them not the *MOST FIT* among the Body of Subjects for *Offices* of *State*, an Opinion that every *Modeſt* Man (except an *Occaſional Conformiſt*) muſt entertain of himſelf. Nay, in ſome Caſes the *Legiſlature* may Incapacitate ſome Members of the Common-wealth to hold publick Employments, tho' in their Judgment no ways *Inferior* to thoſe to whom they are Appropriated. When a Kingdom is divided into oppoſite Factions, Diſaffected to each other by long Hereditary Quarrels, and Diſtracted in Opinion, concerning the true Intereſt of their Country, and the beſt Means of advancing it: If in this Caſe the *Legiſlators* deſire Unanimity in the Publick Proceedings, (without which no Nation can be ſafe or happy) they muſt exclude One Party or Other from a Share in the Adminiſtration, notwithſtanding the *Equal* Opinion they may have of their Abilities.

And that our *Proteſtant Diſſenters* may be thus excluded *without any Breach of the Toleration* which they claim, appears from our Author's Deſcription of it *Pag.* 20. §. II. which as he defines to *Be an Exemption of them from any Harm the Law protects every innocent* Engliſh-*Man from, and ſecuring them in thoſe Rights which innocent Men enjoy*, certainly diſabling them to hold Publick Places and Employments is *conſiſtent* with it. Foraſmuch as many *Innocent* Subjects of *England* are under that Incapacity. For is not one whole Sex debarr'd from publick Employments, notwithſtanding its great *Capacity* for Buſineſs and Governmen? Which our Conſtitution it ſelf ſuppoſes, by Allowing the very Crown to deſcend upon it, and the Throne has been fill'd by it in the Two moſt Incomparably Glorious and Proſperous Reigns ſince the Conqueſt. A manifeſt Proof how poor a Claim *Innocence* and even *Ability* give to *Places* of *Truſt* and *Honour*; to which no Man can *aſſume* any *Right*, as being meerly Acts of *Grace*, and what *Merit* the *Occaſional Conformiſts* can pretend to, muſt be left in the *Donor's* Breaſt to judge. We may juſtly fear that truſting Men of ſuch Hypocritical and pernicious Principles and Practices will be found a ready Way *to bury the QUEEN, inſtead of them, alive*, who can have the Confidence to menace the Government with their hard Uſage, and Rebelliouſly here aſſert, that they are ſtigmatiz'd as *Pillory'd and Expos'd Villains not fit to be truſted*; and that they are *Murder'd* if they are not *Prefer'd*. As for the *Purchas'd Employments*, which our Author has the Modeſty to term *Free-Holds* and *Properties*, if the Government ſhou'd re-aſſume them by any Law, it is but Juſtice upon that baſe Corruption, by which they were at firſt unrighteouſly obtain'd: this indeed wou'd be only reſtoring things, out of Uſurpation, to their proper and primitive Order, and putting them in the Channel which they ought to run in. And if ſuch *Mercenary Stock Jolbers of Offices*, ſhou'd be *Stript and ſtarv'd*, it is only what they deſerve, for bringing ſuch a Diſgrace upon the Government, by making a meer Traffick and Exchange of it. Since therefore the *Incapacity* intended by the *Bill* is *no Encroachment upon the Liberty, Property and Rights of the Subject*, ſince, (as Sir *H. Mackworth* ſays) *it only aims at the* PRESERVATION
P. 36. OF THE GOVERNMENT, *not the Perſecution of Diſſenters*, and *affects none who think fit to Conform Occaſionally for their own private Information, ſince in thoſe who Occaſionally Conform, on other Accounts, it does not ſo much regard the Nature of their crime*, as the PUBLICK SAFETY, we may very juſtly conclude that Sir *Humphry's* Learned Defence of the Occaſional Bill is altogether conſiſtent with his Notions of Toleration, and cannot, without the moſt malicious Miſ-Conſtruction, be any ways term'd a *Perſecution*. But this is the old Cant of the *Schiſmaticks*, and had *Lewis* XIV. *put no ſeverer a Perſecution on his Subjects*, the *Hugonots* wou'd have found little Reaſon to have deſerted their Country for want of Employments, or complain'd of the *Tyrannical* Uſage of their Sovereign, for not advancing 'em into *Preferments*. They wou'd have been content to have enjoy'd the Exerciſe of their Religion in Peace and Tranquillity, and wou'd have been ſo far from ambitiouſly aſpiring to the *Favours* of the Government, that they wou'd have taken it as the utmoſt

Favour

Favour to live undisturb'd in their Rights and Properties, and the Profession of their own particular Sentiments. But this will not satisfy *Our English Dissenters*, who must have their Religion sit *Comfortable* about them, not *bare* and *naked*, but well *cloath'd*, and recommended with *Wealth* and *Honour*; they tell us, *they wou'd have their Passage to Heaven thro' this World free and easy*, not molested with the burdensome Doctrines of Mortification and Self-Denial, which are the *Persecuting* Parts of Christianity, and by no means suited to the *Tender* Constitutions of *Saints*, and *Weak Brethren*. They desire to be excus'd the Transportation of *Elijah*, or making an odd Figure in *Foxe's Martyrology:* They protest against *Fire* and *Faggot*, have a *Mortal* Aversion to *Hemp*, and *swoon* at the Sight of a *Gibbet*, and think nothing so proper a *Vehicle* to the next World, as a *Feather-Bed:* And are therefore very angry with Sir *Humphry Mackworth* for asking the Question, *Whether there are no Hopes of going to a better World without a Publick Employment?* A Question, they tell us, only proper for a *Julian* to put to a *Christian*; but, with Submission, I think it is a Question very properly put from a *Christian* to a *Julian*, to a Man that is no *Christian*, but an *Apostate* and *Renegadoe*, a Man that renounces his own Principles in his Practices.

P. 37. This next Paragraph is so full of Nauseous *Tautology*, and awkward Jests upon Sir *H. M.* that it deserves no other Answer than Contempt and Silence. But lest this Vain-glorious Author shou'd plume himself upon his *Buffoonry*, we will take him a little to Task. The Proposition which herein he ascribes to this Judicious Gentleman, as contradictory to his Notions of Toltration, and the very Premises from whence he deduces it, is, *that Penalties are proper to convince Dissenters.* His Words upon which this Imputation is founded, are these: *That nothing in his Judgment can be more free than the Mind of Man, and nothing can prevail upon it, but what is introduc'd by Love and Kindness, and that therefore he ever thought, that gentle Methods, by Reason, Arguments, and a good Example, were much more proper and likely means to bring the Dissenters over to the Church, than Penalties and Punishments.* Now all that our Author can fairly charge upon Sir *Humphry*, is, that he has not inferr'd quite so much as wou'd have follow'd from his Premises: That he has only gathered from 'em, That *gentle Methods are much more* (instead of the only) proper Means, and much more (instead of the only) *Likely Means to bring Dissenters over to the Church, than Penalties.* Do these Two Propositions, *Gentle Methods can only prevail on the Mind of Man*, and *Gentle Methods are more likely to prevail on it, than Penalties*, contradict each other? The *Latter* asserts nothing but what the *Former* affirms, tho' not exactly so much: And therefore *Novices* in Reasoning know, that the *Former* necessarily contains and infers the *Latter*. The only Fault of such Deductions as this, is, that thy are too manifest, and very seldom inform any One of what they did not know before. But how I pray can it be inferr'd, because Sir *Humphry* declares *Gentle Methods to be, in his Judgment, much more likely to win over Dissenters than Penalties*, that he covertly intimates a Desire, that the *Latter* shou'd be inflicted on them? This is so wild a Conjecture, and so groundless an Imputation, as nothing can reconcile, with the great Degree of Charity our Author lays Claim to, but a much greater Want of *Logick*.

Pref. P. 1. *Sect.* 9.

P. 39. The *Fourth* Poſition which our Author charges upon Sir *H Mackworth*, as Inconſiſtent with his Notions of Toleration, is *that Penalties are (if inſufficient to convince the Mind) yet at leaſt proper and effectual to diſpoſe it for Conviction.* This our Author infers to be that *Worthy Gentleman*'s Opinion, becauſe to all that he ſays concerning the *Freedom of Mens Minds, upon which nothing can prevail, but what is introduc'd by Love and Kindneſs*, he ſubjoins, that *He can't conceive that theſe Means will be render'd leſs effectual by the Aſſiſtance and Influence of the Occaſional Bill.* Now the Incapacity under which *that Bill* would have laid Diſſenters, being the MILDEST METHOD by which the Members of the Eſtabliſh'd Church can attempt their own Security: being, as we have ſhewn before, neither in Truth, nor in Sir *H. Mackworth*'s Opinion, a *Puniſhment*, our Author can't infer from what he ſays concerning the Influence and Aſſiſtance of That Bill, that he thinks Penalties proper and effectual to diſpoſe Men for Conviction: But ſuppoſing he thought ſo, let us ſee how his Adverſary proves their Inefficacy to that purpoſe. He begins thus, *If Deprivations and Incapacities would diſpoſe the Diſſenters to be convinc'd, then all the Penal Laws ought to ſtand in full Force againſt them: For if Hardſhips are proper for that end, the greater they are, the more likely they are to be effectual.* One wou'd never have expected to have found an Advocate for the Diſſenters drawing this Conſequence, and truly they are obliged to us if out of Charity we ſhould Wiſh it Falſe. For if this Argument proves any thing, it infers, that all Crimes, tho' of the moſt unequal Demerit, ought to be Puniſh'd with the ſame Severity, that is, with the utmoſt poſſible. For according to this Reaſoning, if any Degree of Puniſhment be uſeful to reſtrain the leaſt Sin, the Puniſhment due to the greateſt, ought to be inflicted on ſuch as are Guilty of it, Becauſe that would *more effectually* than the other, prevent its Commiſſion.

Pr. p. 2. *Sect.* 1.

P. 59. *and* 40.

P. 40. But our Author goes on to this purpoſe, *If Hardſhips and Inconveniencies were requiſite to diſpoſe Diſſenters for Conviction, Caſhiering them from their Places wou'd not be neceſſary for that end; ſince their Diſtance from the Church is attended with nothing but Reproach and Difficulty, being already precluded from Uſefulneſs, Honour, and Preferment.* Now how the Diſſenters, who in Deſpight of *their Diſtance from the Church*, by *Occaſional Conformity* to its Sacraments, daily advance themſelves into Places of great Truſt and Honour, are at the ſame time *precluded* from Honour and Preferment, does, I confeſs, exceed my Comprehenſion: This is a more broad and glaring Contradiction than any our Author preſumes to charge Sir *H. Mackworth* with. Certainly they who think their Schiſm attended with nothing but *Hardſhip* and *Infamy*, whilſt they enjoy as well the *Extraordinary Favours* as the common Protection of the Government, contend, as this *Ingenious Senator* ſays, *not for Liberty of Conſcience, but for Power and Dominion*, and will never think their Toleration compleat, till they enjoy theſe *excluſively* of all their Fellow-Subjects.

P. 3. §. 5.

P. 41. Our Author proceeds to ridicule the Way, by which Sir *H. Mackworth* thinks the *Occaſional Bill*, which incapacitates Diſſenters for Offices, wou'd diſpoſe 'em for Conviction, namely by *Inducing them to Wiſh for a Reconciliation with the Church, and inclining them to a more favourable*

rable Enquiry into its Nature and Excellency. He thinks nothing more ridiculously absurd, *than that Men shou'd be brib'd and intimidated, in order to make 'em judge aright concerning the Excellency of the Establish'd Church, that Truth can be prejudic'd by nothing so much as this Method, nor Falshood supported by any thing more.* Now after all this insipid *Satyr*, against disposing Men for Conviction by raising their Hopes and Fears, is it not the very Way that God himself has thought fit to make use of to procure and preserve Men's Belief of the Two only Religions he has reveal'd? To prevent *Apostacy* from *the First*, it was made *Capital* by *Moses*, and a *fearful looking for of Judgment and fiery Indignation* was thought necessary, by Christ, to keep us steady and unshaken in the Belief of the *Latter*. And this, tho' *the Law was a Commandment Holy, Just, and Good*, and *the Gospel* yet more agreeable to the best Reason, and wisest Apprehensions of Mankind, is a plain Evidence, that the Excellency of no Church or Religion is so great, but that to perswade Men of it, it may be very proper and effectual to apply to their Passions and alarm their Fears. A Man wou'd be apt to think, that an Author, who rails so plentifully against that Method of gaining Men's Assent which *Infinite Wisdom* has made use of to propagate and confirm the Belief of *Judaism*, and *Christianity*, had no great Reverence for *Reveal'd Religion*. "Are you sure, Mr. *Declaimer* "(to apply your witty Address to Sir *H. Mackworth* with some Variation "to your self) that there is no Lurking *Deist*, no *Unitarian*, no *Politico-* "*Theologist*, no *Socinian*, or *Spinosan*, no *Blount* or *Toland* behind the Cur- "tain, who, under Pretence of asserting the Rights of *Protestant Dissen-* "*ters*, aims at the Subversion of Christianity, and to reduce this Nation "to the Worship of the *One* True God, as the Cant of some *Mahometan* "*Citizens of the World* is? *A Reformation in the Faith* of the *Church of Eng-* "*land* would be very subservient to this blessed End, and make way for "Popery, or any thing else, but the true Protestant Religion.

P. 42. Our Author is here, with his usual Fidelity, pleas'd to charge some Propositions on Sir *H. M.* which he no where so much as Insinuates; As that *Occasional Conformity is of great Advantage to the Church*, which if he were sure of Sir *H. M. Thoughts* (which this Writer cou'd not assert, without usurping that Prerogative of God, which he is always charging upon his Adversary) yet both *he* and all Men must own that *constant* Conformity must be of *Greater* Advantage to it: and that it is therefore for its Interest, that Dissenters shou'd have the Inducements to the Latter, which they have now to the Former. Neither does Sir *H. Mackworth* suppose, as our Author misrepresents him, *That Occasional Conformity will be so much practis'd, when 'tis no Inlet into Places, as now it is*; On the contrary, he directly asserts, That *those great Numbers, who now occasionally conform for their Profit, will then have greater Inducements to be constant to the Church. P. 9. §. 3.* This indeed was *One Main End*, and Design of the Bill it self. Nor Lastly, does he suppose, as this Writer pretends, the *Church* to be in *Danger* of any Thing, but her *Establishment*, should *Occasional Communion* still continue unrestrain'd, or that the Steadiness of Church-Men to their Principles, and their faithful Adherence to Episcopal Communion, under the greatest Discouragements, is more to be question'd than the Perseverance of the Conscientious Dissenters in the

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like Circumſtances. So that all the Inconſiſtency of Sir *H. Mackworth*'s Opinions, with the Truth, and his own Aſſertions, is owing to want of *Diſcernment*, or a much *worſe Defect* in his Adverſary.

P. 43. But he goes on in his uſual abſurd way of ſhewing Sir *H. Mackworth*'s *Inconſiſtencies*. *Firſt roundly and peremptorily aſſerting, that ſome Church-men ought to be incapacitated for Places as well as Diſſenters, ſince ſome MODERATE Men, that pretend to be Members of the Church, have not ſufficiently enquir'd into it's Excellency, and that their Conformity is owing to Education, Cuſtom, Eaſe, and Advantage: and then Arraigning Sir* H. Mackworth *for want of Charity, in not believing the Diſſenters have Proteſtations, and for encroaching upon God's Prerogative in judging Mens Hearts, becauſe he paſſes the like Cenſure on the Separatiſts.* It is, it ſeems, our Author's peculiar Way *Occaſionally* to do what he *Statedly* condemns. He will not, I preſume, pretend to judge of Men's Hearts, by Natural Means, with greater Certainty than Sir *H. Mackworth*, but 'tis the Privilege of SAINTS to be endow'd with Gifts, which none but themſelves are *conſcious* of, and who are always *conſcious* of Others, but not of their own Hypocriſy. None but a *Sceptick* can aſſert, that after a diligent and impartial Examination of any Truth, a Man can ſincerely reject it, as falſe. And therefore Sir *H. Mackworth*, with good Reaſon, affirms, that ſuch an Enquiry into the Doctrine and Conſtitution of the *Eſtabliſh'd Church* muſt by Conſequence, reconcile Diſſenters to it: That *Uninterrupted Conformity*, wou'd be the Effect of that Enquiry, tho' not the ſame thing with it, as our Author makes Sir *H.* ſay, that he may the more effectually blacken him under the odious Character of a *Perſecutor*. Hitherto the Credit of this worthy Gentleman's *Accurate Performance* (if the Baffling ſuch a Puny Adverſary can give any Man any Honour) is advanc'd by the weak Attempts of this, and all that impertinent Fry of Scriblers, who have ſhewn nothing, beſides their own Ignorance and Ill-breeding, but that the moſt inquiſitive Malice can find nothing in Sir *H*'s. Treatiſe that he ought not to maintain, *for the ſake of the Truth, and his own eſtabliſh'd Reputation.*

P. 44, *and* 45. The next Abſurdity, which our Author without the leaſt Ground, aſcribes to that *Learned Gentleman*, Is this Inference, *That Depriving and Incapacitating the Diſſenters for Offices, is no Injury to 'em, becauſe they have no Title to, or ſo much as a Capacity of holding them by the Act of Toleration.* Here our Author triumphs, as if Sir *H.* by this Deduction, had forfeited all Pretences to Senſe and Reaſon, whereas no fair and intelligent Adverſary could ever have charg'd him with ſuch a thing. In ſome Debates, on the *Occaſional Bill*, it was objected, that the *Incapacity*, under which it put the Diſſenters, would entrench upon the *Act of Toleration.* To which Sir *H.* replies *P.* 3. *That this Act cou'd be no ways concern'd in a Diſpute upon that Subject, there being no Proviſion made by it, that Diſſenters ſhould be intitl'd to, or qualify'd for, Publick Offices and Employments.* He does not, from theſe Words, infer, that ſuch an Incapacity wou'd be *no poſſible Injury* to Diſſenters, but that it was not prejudicial to 'em upon this particular Account, as any ways *entrenching upon this Act of Toleration, which cou'd in no Reſpect be affected by it.* Should indeed a Law paſs, to *Diſpoſeſs Diſſenters of their Eſtates, or to burn 'em all*

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in the Cheek (as this Author puts the Case) it would, in Effect, destroy *that Act*, as inflicting on 'em severer Punishments, than the *Penal Laws* did, from the *Sanction* of which they are exempted by it. But the present Indulgence granted to them, being only, as our Author describes it, *an Ease given to tender Consciences*, all Laws are consistent with it, the Penalties of which no Sectarist can incur for *Conscience sake*, barely for serving God in his own Way. If our Author performs his Promise, of solidly replying to what Sir *H.* lays down concerning the *Corporation and Test Acts, that according to their plain Meaning and Intent, Occasional Conformists stand excluded from Places*, I hope the Weakness and scandalous Faults of this first Performance will be aton'd for, by the Exactness of the Second. From what we have before remark'd, it appears, that Sir *H. Mackworth*'s Queries, concerning the *Consistency* of the *Toleration Act* and *Occasional Bill*, are proper Appeals to the Common Sense of all Mankind, besides our Author, as importing the Negation of no One Thing, that is not notoriously and undeniably false, *As that there is any Word or Clause in that Act, which supposes Dissenters to be qualify'd for Offices; that this Bill subjects 'em to any Penalties for serving God after their own Way; in particular, to the Loss of any Part of their Property.* For we have before shewn it to be against the Nature of *Government*, that the *Offices of State* should ever become *Freeholds*, by proving, that the Legislature may, as it judges most for the Advantage of the Publick, determine, who shall bear a Part in the Administration, and who shall be exlcuded from it: And those *who are liable to Prosecutions and Fines*, if they should presume to exercise that Authority, for which they are by Law disqualify'd, may yet enjoy the *most absolute Liberty of Conscience*: A Law inflicting Penalties on Dissenters, for *that Crime*, no more encroaches on the *Toleration*, than those Laws which punish them for Theft and Murder: It does not restrain 'em from doing any thing they think *necessary for Salvation*, but only from what They, who represent the Government, judge *Incompatible with the Publick Safety*, and what the Dissenters, did they rightly consider the *Terms of Salvation*, would judge as inconsistent with *it*.

P. 47. Having thus evinc'd, *That the Dissenters have no Right to a boundless Toleration in general, and that the Occasional Conformists in particular, have less Reason to lay claim to it; and, that Depriving and Incapacitating them is no Persecution, but a proper Means to dispose them to Conviction; and, that 'its no way Inconsistent with the Act of Toleration*, we come to consider the last Position, which our Author calls the *Main Objection*; That *Supposing Dissenters were capable by the Act of Toleration; or any other Law, of Publick Places and Employments, yet they ought not to be suffer'd to continue so, because they are* HYPOCRITES *and* SCHISMATICKS. Our Author to shew that the *Charge of Hypocrisy* ought not to *Impeach their Right* (as he terms it) to Offices, defines *an Hypocrite to be one, whose Actions are inconsistent with his Principles, and who is Conscious that they are so*, Supposing which Definition to be just and true, I shall join Issue with our Author, and undertake to demonstrate, that this Character is very deservedly fixt upon the Occasional Conformists. What has been before said on this Point, might be sufficient to determine it, but because nothing shall be wanting most effectually to establish this Accusation, we will omit no

Weight

Arguments our Author produces, but will exhibit them in their full Weight and Force, which will be found very inconſiderable. The whole ſtrength whereof, conſiſt in theſe Two Propoſitions, Firſt, *That a bare Inconſiſtency in Principles and Practices is not ſufficient to prove a Man an Hypocrite, unleſs it is alſo prov'd, that he is Conſcious of this Inconſiſtency, and through Malice and Deſign, guilty of it.* Secondly, *That tho' this ſhould be prov'd upon the Occaſional Conformiſts, there are other Men in the World, as much deſerving the ſame Imputation, and particulary ſome Men in the Church.* For the proof of the Firſt, we are told, that a *Man may be Inconſiſtent in his Actions and Principles, through Ignorance, Inadvertency and Miſtake, and conſequently, ſuch an one may be denominated a weak Man, but not a Hypocrite.* That this is not the *Caſe of the Occaſional Conformiſts*, will appear from a right View of it. They tell us, that they believe our *Church's Rubrick*, which enjoins, that none ſhould publickly Receive the Conſecrated Elements, unleſs Kneeling, is *an Eccleſiaſtical Uſurpation, which they ought not to countenance or abet, nor can comply with, innocently*: And yet they always preſent themſelves in this Poſture, when they come to receive the Bleſſed Euchariſt in our Church: They maintain their *Seperation* from her, upon no leſs an Accuſation, than that *ſhe is Corrupt in Her Faith and Worſhip*; and require a *Reformation* in both, to render Her Communion *Legal*; and yet to Qualify themſelves for Preferment, can in Deſpight of this publick Charge, join in the moſt *Solemn Profeſſion* of the *one*, and *Circumſtantial Performance* of the *other*: They tell us that *greater Edification*, and an *higher Advancement in Spiritual Improvement*, is their main Argument for entring into Religious *Confederacies*, in Oppoſition to the Church; and yet they can Communicate with it, *upon Occaſion* for their *temporal* Advantage when it lies equally under this *Defect*. They Reproach our Church for want of Diſcipline, and the weakneſs of Her Authority, whilſt they themſelves deny a neceſſary Part of that Authority, the Power of Refuſing the Sacrament to any profligate Wretch, whom it may Capacitate for an Office. Either we muſt ſuppoſe *Occaſional Conformiſts* incapable of any Reflection in the World, and much *Weaker Brethren*, much more *Unqualified* for Offices, than they wou'd be thought to be, or aſſert that in all theſe plain and undeniable Inſtances, they cannot but be *Conſcious of the greateſt Inconſiſtency betwixt their Principles and Practices.* But to retort an Argument upon our Author, which ought for ever Silence him; he has acknowleg'd himſelf, in the Diſſenter's Name, Guilty of this Charge, by Aſſerting in theſe expreſs Words, *That the Diſſenters would be Hypocrites, ſhould they not Worſhip God, in that which they take to be the moſt acceptable manner*; and as poſitively in the very *ſame Period* affirming, *That the Diſſenters think their way of Worſhip, more Acceptable to God, than that Eſtabliſh'd by Law:* The neceſſary and moſt obvious Conſequence of which Poſitions, is that *Diſſenters* are, by their own Conceſſion, guilty of *Hypocriſy*, whenſoever their *Occaſions* lead 'em from their Conventicles to the Church: *Out of your own Mouths ſhall ye be condemn'd, O ye Wicked Servants!*

X P. 6.

Neither will the Recriminations our Author is pleas'd, out of his great Charirty, ſo falſly to caſt upon the Church, any ways alleviate

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his heinous Crime, or lessen the Infamy of his own Confession: We may say with him in the Psalmist, *Thou givest thy Mouth to Evil, and thy Tongue frameth Deceit: Thou sittest and speakest against thy Brother, thou slandrest thy own Mother's Son: Thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as thy self, but I will reprove thee.* The pretending Inconsistency of *Going sometimes to a Cathedral, sometimes to a Parish-Church, sometimes to a Church subject to Episcopal Jurisdiction, sometimes to One exempted from it*, has been before fully Confuted. And his other Instances of Hypocrisy, and Perjury, in the Church, are so highly reflecting upon the Government, that they deserve to be Confuted by it, not with *Argument*, but *Correction*; and are a sufficient Proof, that Penalties are the most proper Methods to work upon a *Fanatick's* Understanding. The Crimes laid to our Charge here, are, *taking Oaths upon the occasion of a good Place, or Benefice, that a Title is the pretended Motion of the Holy Ghost, for Clergy-men to take Orders, that the Chapter's Electing a Bishop according to the* Conge d'eslire, *is Hypocrisy before God.* But is our Author so stupid as to believe, that there's any Parity betwixt taking the Oaths and receiving the Sacrament, to qualify a Man for an Office? Is not the former a Security which every Man is obliged to give the Government, to which he comes in, upon Principle, and after faithfully adheres, and pays a constant Allegiance to? But do these Occasional Conformists either come to the Communion of our Church upon its Principles, or are they afterwards *constant Members* of it? If the Laws for the Clergy's Provision and Maintenance have required, that every Man that is admitted into Holy Orders, shall have a *Title*, Does that *Legal*, *External* Condition exclude the *Evangelical Call*, or *Internal* Condition? Is not the One required, as well as the Other? Or cannot a Man have a Motion of the Holy Ghost, either previous to, concurring with, or even without this Title? If a Chapter is obliged, under a Premunire, to comply with the *Conge d'eslire*, that is, to shew their Obedience to the Government, by approving of its Election of a Bishop, and they beseech God's Providence and Direction in it, where is the *Hypocrisy* in all these Cases? The Truth is, the Dissenters are resolved to engross the Holy Ghost to themselves, and think no one can be moved by the Spirit, but to rebel like themselves against their Superiors. Our Author was in the right, in Prefacing these Scandals upon the Church, with some mollifying Expressions, as being well *conscious* that *such Language ought not to be born from the Dissenters*, p. 49.

P. 5. 19. 20. 21.

P. 49. This Charge of Hypocrisy, being so evidently made out against the *Occasional Conformists*, that our Author seems to distrust his own Defence, and give up the Cause; he has however another *Salvo* for their absolute *Toleration*, and urges, that *They ought not to be depriv'd of it, upon the Account of Hypocrisy, because it is no Civil Crime; as falling not under the Magistrates Cognizance, and therefore not punishable by any Human Law, or Power in this World, but only by God in the Next.* To which we reply, that Hypocrisy, tho' an Offence *Immediately* against God, is also, with respect to Mankind, a *Violation of Justice*; as being a *Lye in Action*, and may be so Circumstantiated, as to become no less Destructive to *Civil*, than *Religious Societies*. When Conscience

is made Uſe of, as a ſanctify'd Pretence for diſturbing the Peace and Order of a Nation, by Men who are only govern'd by their Intereſt; when they plead it for living in a State of Diſobedience to their Superiours, whoſe Injunctions they can never ſubmit to, but for mercenary Profit; and when their Reaſons, for their *Occaſional* Compliance with the Laws; ſo palpaly contradict thoſe for their *Stated* Violation of them, that no Man of common Senſe, can really aſſent to both: In each of theſe Caſes, much more when they all concur, *Hypocriſy* becomes a *Civil Crime*, and ought to be reſtrain'd upon a *Political*, as well as *Religious* Account. For althogh it is a Sin of a *Spiritual* Nature, and immediately ſubject to the Divine Inſpection, yet ought it not therefore to be exempted from the Notice of the Magiſtrate: Becauſe his Office Reſpects *All* Sins *Indifferently*, tho' ſome more indiſputably belong to his Cognizance: And tho' the Morality of all our Actions, is wholly ſeated in the *Inner-Man*, and our *External* Performances don't conſtitute their Guilt: yet thoſe Performances are *Signs* and *Indications* of the *Thoughts*, and Intentions of the Heart; and as *Such*, ſubject Offenders (and no leſs *Hypocrites*, than Others,) to Human Examination. Our Bleſſed Saviour himſelf has given us this, as a ſure and infallible Rule of diſtinguiſhing *Hypocrites*, when they act their Parts under the moſt crafty and diſguiſing Subtlety, and the moſt likely to ſecure 'em from Diſcovery, that even then, by *their Fruits we ſhall know them:* And what more *Fruitful* Proof can be given, than ſuch an Irreconcilable Repugnancy in the Diſſenters Principles and Practices, which openly tends to deſtroy all *Mutual Truſt*, the great Band and Foundation of *Human Society*, and conſequently ſtrikes at the very Root of Government? The Magiſtrate doubtleſs, is not only *Permitted*, but is *Oblig'd*, as God's *Vice-Gerent* by any *Legal* Methods to reſtrain ſuch a pernicious Act of *Hypocriſy*, which is as capable of Proof and Evidence, by its *Overt Acts*, as Murther, Robbery, Treaſon, or any other abominable Crime; for to leave the Practice of it, without a ſufficient Penalty to prevent it, is to promote and encourage it.

Ma. 7. 16.

P. 50. §. 2. Our Author is here pleaſed, in the Name of the *Diſſenters* to make a very *merry* Propoſal to the *Church-Men*, which I dare alſo promiſe in *their* Name, they will very readily comply with; Namely, that *Occaſional Conformiſts ſhall contentedly ſtand excluded from all Offices, when thoſe who have never taken the Oaths, or ſign'd the Aſſociation, are excluded too.* What *Military*, or *Civil Imployments*, theſe *Latter* have, or are capable of, if this unaccountable Writer will be ſo kind as to inform me, I may perhaps farther promiſe him for his Reward, to get him the *ſame Preferment*: And when his Hand is in, for reconciling Contradictions, I wou'd beſeech him to acquaint me, how *Occaſional Conformiſts can THINK, that their Country won't want their Service, when all Hypocrites are debarr'd from Places, whilſt they alſo THINK, at the ſame time that there would be thereby, fewer Officers, than Places to be ſupply'd?* But THINKING Abſurdities is ſo Habitual to them, that they may be ſuppos'd even to THINK, that the Preferments of this Kingdom may be *Out-Numbred* by *fewer* Officers than

than there are Preferments in it. Can any Tenet be ever too monstrous for such Men to swallow? Will their Faith stick at *Transubstantiation*, that can down with such gross Propositions? But let us here observe their *Extraordinary Charity*, for the want whereof they so often Bellow against their Adversaries; rather than own this Accusation of Hypocrisy, which they find utterly impossible to shift-off, or deny; they are resolv'd to arraign all Mankind for the same Sin, and think to make themselves *Innocent*, by charging the *Whole World*, as *Guilty* of it: As if there was no such thing as *Veracity*, or *Sincerity*, upon Earth, because it cannot be found among the *Dissenters*.

P. 51. Having thus prov'd the *Charge of Hypocrisy* against the Dissenters, *and therein fix'd a Bar against their boundless Toleration*, the *next thing they desire to be heard to*, by this their Representative, *is the other Charge of SCHISM: To which they plead not Guilty; or supposing them to be Guilty of it, yet, that Schism ought not to debar them from the Right of this Toleration.* To prove the First they tell us, *That they are not guilty of Schism, because they are not Uncharitable, for that there is no other Sense of that Word in Scripture, than a meer Breach of Charity.* To which we Answer: That it is a Fundamental Law of *Natural Religion*, to Love, Honour, and Sympathize with all Men, as partaking of the same Common Nature, and Infirmities with our selves; which has been very much advanc'd and improv'd in its Perfection, by that exalted Measure and further Enforcement of it laid down in Christianity, of *Doing as we would be done by*, a Rule of no less Compass and Latitude, than *the whole World*. But to suppose that *Charity*, the *Object* whereof, is far *more Extensive* than the *Church of Christ*, is yet the *peculiar* and *sole Bond* of *Unity* betwixt its Members, and that which severs and distinguishes it, from the rest of the World, is no less absurd than to affirm, that the Parts of *Christ's Mystical Body*, are as *strictly* and *vitally* United to *Jews* and *Pagans*, as to one another. Therefore tho' *Charity* is the *Universal Cement of Unity* in the whole World, yet it is not *it self*, the *sole sufficient* Principle of *Unity* to the *Body* of *Christ's Church*. For to make the *Catholick Church*, and its several Parts, *One Body*, there is not only required the *same Charity*, but the *same Faith*, the *same Hope*; and besides all this, nothing less than an *External Visible Communion* in the *same Sacraments* and *Prayers*, and other Religious Offices, which the Church, by the Authority of Christ and his Apostles enjoins, can *Perfectly Unite* Christians in *One Visible* Body. Therefore he that Seperates causelessly from this *Visible External Communion* with the *Catholick* Church, as the Dissenters do from the *External* Communion of our Church (a *sound* Part of the *Catholick* Church, is a *SCHISMATICK*, let him talk never so much of *Charity*. Besides this Supposition of *Charity's* being the *sole Tye* of Unity among Christians, quite inverts the *Order* of things propos'd in Scripture, in which the Unity of the Church is represented as a principal Inducement to that Love, and *Charity* which is due from one Christian to another. *We being many* (says St. *Paul*) *are one Body in Christ, and every one Members one of another*, Rom. 12. 5. whence he concludes *That we ought to be kindly affection'd one towards another, with Brotherly Love, to Weep with those that*

Weep, and Rejoice with thoſe that Rejoice. Which Reaſoning of the Apoſtle ſhews, that the *Fundamental Principle* of Unity betwixt Chriſtians, is as *Antecedent* to their mutual Good-Will, as the *Motive* of any Duty is to the *Practice* of it. But our Author here endeavours to juſtify his *Schiſm*, from a *further* Argument drawn from *Charity*, *That the diverſity of Gifts and Adminiſtrations proceeding from the ſame Spirit, and found amongſt the Diſſenters, may be of great Service and Advantage to the whole Body of the Church.* In Anſwer to which we muſt take the Freedom to tell our *Conceited* Author, that if St. *Paul* underſtood this Argument taken from the *Diverſity of Gifts and Adminiſtrations of the ſame Spirit*, it is a very forcible Argument againſt *Schiſm* as he himſelf urges it at large *Ch.* 12. 1 *Cor.* Where this Learned Apoſtle with noble Eloquence and convincing Reaſon has ſhewn, that tho' *there are Diverſities of Gifts from the ſame Spirit for every Man to profit withal, yet the Deſign of thoſe Gifts is not to Rend, but Unite many Members in one Body*: which is Illuſtrated by a lively Similitude drawn from a *Natural Body*, wherein all the Members tho' many, and endow'd with different Functions, are united by the ſame Spirit, yet all co-operate with the ſame Mind and preſerve a mutual Union: from whence the Apoſtle infers this *Concluſive Analogy*, to the Church the *Myſtical Body of Chriſt*, *That there ſhould be no SCHISM in the Body, but the Members ſhould have the ſame Care one of another.* V. 25. From whence alſo we may infer, that if the Diſſenters have *Diverſity of Gifts from the ſame Spirit* (as they Arrogantly boaſt, with what Reaſon let the World Judge) theſe gifts ſhould rather animate and incite them to promote the Service of God in *preſerving the Unity* of the Catholick Church of Chriſt. But thro' this whole Epiſtle wherein the *Gifts* of the *Holy Ghoſt* are particularly enumerated, We cannot find the leaſt Mention of the *Gifts of Canting*, *Extemporary Prayer*, of *Rebellion*, *Sacriledge*, *Timeſerving*, and *Occaſional Communion.* But theſe things *forſooth* the Diſſenters are no ways *conſcious of*, if we can believe this Author. They *Wipe their Mouth* (like *Solomon*'s Strumpet) and cry, *God who has the only Prerogative of Judging their Hearts, knows their Conſciences; and what Evil have they done?* Doubtleſs *God* knows their Hearts, and *Men* too may make not an *Uncharitable* Gueſs at 'em from their apparent *Actions*, without the Neceſſity of *That Glaſs by which they wiſh'd poor King* James *to look into their Breaſts, to diſcover the* SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS *of their Occaſional Conformiſts: and the* MUTUAL CONSCIOUSNESS *of their Diſſenting Brethren.* But our Author will not relinquiſh this Argument of *Charity* to excuſe his *Schiſm*, without wreſting ſeveral Paſſages of the Scripture to ſupport it. Three whereof are evident Confutations of what he advances, that *Schiſm*, ſo much inveigh'd againſt, by the Holy Penmen, is *Uncharitableneſs only*, and manifeſtly prove, that Schiſm may conſiſt as well in the Miſtakes of Chriſtians, as their Diſaffection to one another. Thoſe Words in the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, Chap. 16. Verſ. 17, 18. *Mark them which Cauſe Diviſions and Offences, contrary to the Doctrine which you have Learned, and avoid them: For they that are ſuch, ſerve not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, but their own Belly, and by good Words and fair Speeches deceive the Hearts of the Simple* (which, by the way

way is the most exact Pourtraiture of our *Schismatical* Preachers and their Congregations) relate to those Differences betwixt Christians, which arose from their *Errors*, grounded on the plausible Insinuations of *Hereticks*, and the Credulity of weak, unstable and silly People: That Passage of St. *Paul*, *Rom.* 12. 3. *Not to think of our selves more highly than we ought to think, but to think soberly*, was doubtless intended to regulate Men's *Opinions* of themselves; whatever Instance therefore of *Schism* it's directed against, it consists in the irregular Acts of the *Understanding*: Lastly, that Exhortation of the Apostle, 1 *Cor.* Chap. 1 Vers. 10. *I beseech you Brethren by the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye shall speak the same thing, and that there be no Schism among you, but that ye be perfectly join'd together in the same Mind, and in the same Judgment*, is a manifest Recommendation, not of Unity of Inclination, but of Doctrine, Faith, and Sentiment, and very plainly imply that the *Guilt of Schism* is incurr'd by *Heterodoxy*, and not only by want of *Charity*. But supposing that there was no other kind of *Schism* but *Uncharitableness*; how does it appear that the Dissenters are not guilty of *Schism*? For to run over the chief Properties of Charity, and apply them to the Dissenters, since they are so fond of odd-Application of Scripture: Are they not *puft up* with their *imaginary Gifts* of the Spirit, and their greater Edification, and the Rights they dream of in their Toleration? Do they not *envy* the Church her Dignities and Offices, desire to see her stript of these *Eye-sores*, (as they call 'em) P. 9. and to make her naked by a *Reformation* of her Lands and Revenues into their Pockets, and do they not rather than lose the Enjoyment of 'em, even turn Apostates to their own Principles to gain 'em? Do they not *behave themselves unseemly* in God's Worship? Are they not *easily provok'd* by the Occasional Bill, and every thing that seems to restrain an unbounded Liberty of Thinking, Speaking and Acting as they will? They are apt indeed to *hope* any thing, and *believe* every thing but what the Church enjoins, but are so far from being willing to *bear*, or *endure* all things, that they cry out *Persecution* or *Murder*, if they are not only Trusted, but Preferr'd. It is true in this they *seek not their Own*, but the *Rights* of the Church: They *Think no Evil* in Sedition or Regicide, but allow every thing Just and Lawful, which is for their Interest: Nay they *cannot forbear* THINKING so, and therefore they *Rejoice not in Truth*, but *in Iniquity*, in Propagating *Error*, *Schism*, and *Infidelity*: So that we may conclude in the words of the Apostle, that they have no more *Charity* than *the Gift of Prophecy, or the Understanding of Mysteries and Knowledge*; and tho' they pretend to *speak with the Tongues* and Sincerity of Saints and *Angels*, they are meer *sounding Brass*, and *tinkling Symbals*, all Noise, Impertinence and Emptiness; and consequently, upon their own Principles, being thus undeniably Defective in *Charity*, cannot but acknowledge the Charge of *Schism*. Which (in our Author's words) is always attended with *Pronenss to Strife, with Selfish Designs, with Pride and Insolence, with a partial Fondness of some Men, and an unreasonable Slight and Hatred of others*, as it is necessary Effects and Consequences. Not but that these Vices may be doubtless found *without Schism*,

Schiſm, but on the other Hand *Schiſm* is never found *without them*: So that *Uncharitableneſs* can't be ſaid to be the *Formal Reaſon of Schiſm*; as if *Schiſm* conſiſted in *nothing* elſe, but to be one of thoſe many ill Products that flow from it. For certainly *Schiſm* is contracted by all Violations of *Church Unity*, whatſoever, by diſſolving any of thoſe ſacred Tyes, which are the Bands of Communion and join us to Chriſt and one another, either by *Renouncing* that *One Hope* in which we are *All* call'd, or that *One Faith* which we are *All* oblig'd to *profeſs*, by deſpiſing and deſerting thoſe *Sacraments* of which we are all bound to partake, and the Efficacy of which is then only certain, when adminiſter'd by thoſe Perſons whom Chriſt has authoriz'd, or, Laſtly, by *forſaking* the *Communion* of the *Church* and its conſtant Aſſemblies, and by Conſequence not *Glorifying God, with one Mind and one Mouth*, as he commanded us. Since therefore all our *Proteſtant Diſſenters* demand a REFORMATION *of the* FAITH *once de ivered to the Saints*, and have relinquiſh'd a ſound Part of the Chriſtian Church; ſince many of them contemn thoſe holy Elements, by partaking of which, we become One Body, or never receive them, but to ſerve their Worldly Intereſt, and *renounce* even that Baptiſm without which we cannot be Members of the Church; ſince they condemn that Order of Men, as *Anti-Chriſtian*, or reject it as ſuperfluous, without whoſe Commiſſion, when it may be had, and that innocently, none can derive a Right from Chriſt to exerciſe the Prieſtly Office, and adminiſter the Sacraments; upon all theſe Accounts, the *whole Body of the Diſſenters* are *Schiſmaticks from the Catholick Church*.

P. 54. Yet our ſagacious Author, out of his great Skill and deep Learning in *Antiquity* and *Chronology*, is pleas'd to oblige the World with a very ſurprizing Diſcovery, that *this Notion of Schiſm* is altogether a *New Notion*, invented *very lately*, within theſe 15 or 16 Hundred Years by the *Ancient Fathers*, and the *Modern Divines*. But whether the ſound Part of the Catholick Church, *Ancient* and *Modern*, have not agreed in this Notion of *Schiſm*, which we have laid down as deducible from Scripture, conſonant to the Apoſtolical Doctrine and Declaration of the Church, becauſe we would not trouble *the Reader* with a tedious Repetition of what has been ſo often and fully ſtated in other *Writers*, we ſhall refer him to that Learned, Judicious, and Elaborate Treatiſe of Dr. *Maurice* againſt *Baxter* and *Clarkſon*, intituled a *Vindication of the Primitive Church*, wherein the Point of *Congregational Epiſcopacy* is moſt inconſtably diſprov'd. But to convince our Author, that he as well underſtands his own, as that excellent Writer's Arguments, may it not be here ſeaſonably remark'd, that even upon what he himſelf advances, the Diſſenters are Guilty of *Schiſm*, in a *Seperation from a Lawful Biſhop, that is Guilty neither of Hereſy, Apoſtacy, or Immorality*, (admitting this abſurd Poſition, *That a Biſhop is only Paſtor of one Congregation.*) From whence a very ſtrange Argument is drawn, to prove the Diſſenters not Guilty of *Schiſm*, *becauſe they did not Deſert their Paſtors Ejected in* 62, proved Guilty, both by the Laws of GOD and
R 55. Man, of *Hereſy*, *Apoſtacy*, and the moſt ſcandalous *Immorality*. That

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is, in plain Words, they were *not Schiſmaticks, because they continued to be Schiſmaticks*, and do ſtill perſevere in their Schiſm, by Deſerting their *Lawful Parochial Paſtor*. But let us by the way obſerve this *new* Kind of *Occaſional Conformity*: Our Author can, to ſerve a Turn, *Degrade* a *Biſhop* into a *Presbyter*; and for another, Exalt a *Meer Preſbyter* into the *Character* of a *Biſhop*, which can Occaſionally Loſe its Odious Anti-chriſtian Malignity upon the additional advantage of a Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*: But no wonder he thus *confounds Orders*, who ſo often *confounds himſelf*.

P. 55. Yet our Author is reſolv'd, having Confuted the *Ancient Fathers*, in their *Novel Notions*, without Quoting one of them, to beſtow an equal Share of his Learned Civility on our *Modern Engliſh Divines*, whoſe Divinity he is pleas'd to Cenſure, as *being any thing elſe beſides Scripture*. He repreſents 'em, *P.* 56. as *ſetting up a Theological Scare-crow* in their Definition of *Schiſm*, *That it is an Unneceſſary Seperation from a Lawful Eſtabliſh'd Church*. They have indeed Unanimouſly Determin'd this to be a great and ſignal *Inſtance* of *Schiſm*, that the Diſſenters ſtand Chargeable with it, on a double account, who *cauſeleſly* Separate from a Church, that is *allow'd* by them *a True Church*, and which is alſo Eſtabliſh'd by the Laws of their Country. But certainly no Man, that is not equally a Stranger, both to their Writings and the Truth, could affirm, that the Generality of the *Engliſh Divines* think the *Eſtabliſhment* of a Church, neceſſary to make Separation from it, *a Schiſm*: For they all Unanimouſly hold (what we obſerv'd before) that if *Presbytery*, *Independency*, *Quakeriſm*, or any other Sect of our Proteſtant Diſſenters, enjoy'd the ſame Favour and Protection that our Laws give the Church, yet that all Separatiſts from our Church, would be as Truly Guilty of *Schiſm*, as they are now, tho' not of *Schiſm* under the ſame *Aggravations*. But ſuppoſing our Author had fairly repreſented their Opinion, let us ſee how well he has confuted it: Becauſe St. *Paul* ſtiles the *Contention* of the *Corinthians, who did not forſake their Aſſembling themſelves together, Schiſm*, our Author therefore denies, that a much *greater Breach* between Chriſtians is a Schiſm, according to the *Scripture Notion* of it. Had this *ſhallow Reaſoner* underſtood, but the moſt *common Rules and Maxims* of *Logick*, it is impoſſible he ſhould have Argued thus Ridiculouſly, and drawn ſuch a Concluſion, that ſo evidently contradicts 'em, and can't but ſhock a Man's Underſtanding at the firſt Propoſal. To turn it in an Inſtance which he is well acquainted with, and to ſhew him the Conſequence: Becauſe Taking Arms againſt the *King's Perſon*, and *Impriſoning* him was, *Sin*, therefore *Depoſing* and *Murdering* him was *no Sin* at all. It is hard to ſay, which is a greater Offence againſt *Reaſon*, theſe Mens *Practices*, or the *Arguments* they Defend them by. Our Author to ſhew, that the Diſſenters are not included in this Definition of *Schiſm*, attempts to prove, *That Separation, when not reſtrain'd to an unneceſſary Separation from a Lawful Eſtabliſh'd Church, does not include the Schiſm of our Separatiſts that no general Sence of that Word can be aſſign'd, whereby many conſtant Members of our Church*, may not be prov'd equally *Schiſmaticks, as well as they*.

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This is a way of arguing, just as concluſive, as if to diſprove the ordinary Definition of a *Square*, we ſhould ſay, that its *entire Notion* is not comprehended in the *general Idea* of *Figure*; and that no *univerſal* Senſe of that Word can be aſſign'd, in which it does not *equally* agree to a *Square* or a *Triangle*. But to examine our Author a little in his *Logick*, does any *part* of a juſt and adequate Definition expreſs the *whole* Nature of the *Thing Defined*? Are not Terms us'd in all ſuch Definitions, to ſignify, as well in what the *Definitum agrees* with, as in what it *differs* from other things? They who deſcribe *Schiſm to be a Separation from a Lawful Eſtabliſh'd Church*, don't (as our Author argues) conceive it to be a *bare Separation*, but Separation, with ſeveral additional *Ideas* annext to it. None therefore can, in Conſequence of this Definition, be accus'd of Schiſm, for ſome Differences between 'em in the Modes and Circumſtances of their Worſhip, and the Juriſdiction they are under, which are either allow'd or enjoin'd by the Laws of their Country, ſuch as are all Differences between Conformiſts here enumerated by our Author.

P. 57. Our Author's only Proof, that *the Separation of the Diſſenters is not unneceſſary*, amounting only to this, that they don't THINK it to be ſo, (the general Argument of this empty Treatiſe) can be of no Force with any Man, who diſowns their *Infallibility*. A *needleſs* thing no more becomes *neceſſary*, than a *ſinful* one, becauſe ſome Men *think* it ſo; becauſe they are under no Neceſſity of being miſtaken; for ſuch a right Application of their Faculties, as they are oblig'd to, had prevented, and would have inſtantly remov'd their Error: But this Matter has been fully ſtated before, and we ſhall not follow this Writers Example, in nauſeating our Reader with impertinent Tautologies.

P. 58. Our Author's next Exception againſt the foreſaid Account of *Schiſm*, is, that *it is a Contradiction to it ſelf*, which he undertakes to prove, becauſe there may be a *Separation from a Lawful Church, for the ſake of better Edification, which is not Schiſm*. Whereby if he ſhews any thing beſides his own *Confidence*, it is at the moſt, that this Definition of *Schiſm* is contrary to that *Aſſertion*, and therefore Falſe, upon Suppoſition that it is true; but not that it is a Contradiction to it ſelf. This can appear only by ſhewing, that the Terms of it deſtroy each other, and the impoſſibility that the ſame Church, ſhould be *Lawful, Eſtabliſh'd*, and *cauſeleſly Separated* from. But was *better Edification a ſufficient Rule for ſeparating from a Lawful Church* (which we have before diſprov'd) it would not therefore juſtify Separation from a *Lawful Eſtabliſh'd Church*: nor, conſequently vindicate our Separatiſts from the Charge of *Schiſm*, according to the Definition before. Our Author's Method of Invalidating this, is by ſhewing, that the ſeveral *Parts* of it, *taken a ſunder*, don't explain the Nature of the *whole* thing defined. Before he told us, that *Separation may not be Schiſm*, here he ſays, that *Separation from a Lawful Church may not be Schiſm*; in the next Paragraph he tells us, that *Separation from an Eſtabliſh'd Church may not be Schiſm*, from whence he infers, that *Schiſm does not conſiſt in Separation from a Lawful Eſtabliſh'd Church.*

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This Fallacy is ſo palpably Groſs, that it is impoſſible it ſhould paſs, even on the prejudiced and benighted Underſtanding of a Diſſenter. By Parity of Reaſon we may argue, that a *Figure* may not be a *Square*, that *Quadrilateral*, *Æquilateral*, and *Æquiangular Figures*, ſeverally taken, may not be Squares; and thence gather, that *Figure*, with all theſe Properties in Conjunction, is not the *Adequate* Notion of a *Square*, and by the ſame Sophiſtical Reaſoning, overturn all the Definitions in the World: Which being Enumerations of the *Simple Idea's*, contain'd in the *Complex* Notion of the Thing *Defin'd*, this plainly can never be fully deſcrib'd by leſs than *all* the Parts of it taken together, ſince leſs than all theſe *united* don't make up the *whole*. Neither will *better Edification* be found a Reaſon of any Weight, to juſtifie this *Schiſm from a Lawful Church*: For as the Edification refers to the *whole Myſtical Body* of Chriſt, conſider'd under the Apoſtolical Analogy of *God's Building*, ſo it can be no more promoted by Diviſions among its Members, than an Houſe can be *erected*, by *ſcattering* its Materials, or ſtrengthen'd by being pull'd in Pieces. And as it denotes the *Spiritual Improvement* of *Particular Chriſtians*, that can as little be advanc'd, by deſerting any ſound Part of the Catholick Church, ſince that can never advance their Growth in Holineſs, which is forbid in Scripture, as deſtructive of their Spiritual Life. LXX

P. 58. §. 3. But our Author ſays, that the Word *Eſtabliſh'd*, is ſuperfluous in this Definition of *Schiſm, and makes it redundant*: By an *Eſtabliſh'd Church*, is meant a Church, to which the Laws of any particular Nation require Conformity, whether theſe Laws give any Privilege to its Members, or not: And tho' ſuch *Eſtabliſhment* does not infallibly argue the *Good Conſtitution* of any Church, yet that being *preſuppos'd*, it lays an *Additional Obligation* on Men to Communicate with it; and makes Separation from it, which before was criminal, become more *exceedingly ſinful*. The Authority of the Magiſtrate and Church, to make Laws about Spiritual Matters, being here only deny'd, in bold and precarious Aſſertions (our Author's only Arguments) we refer the Reader to what is already ſaid on that Subject.

P. 59. The *Engliſh Divines*, as we before obſerv'd, don't hold *All Schiſm to be a Separation from a Lawful Eſtabliſh'd Church*; but only, that all Separation from *ſuch a Church*, is *Schiſm*. They indeed derive Men's Obligation to Communicate with the *Church of England*, as well from the *Divine* Law, which equally binds in all States of it, as *Humane*: So that this Writer is very Inconſiſtent with their Notions of Schiſm, in aſſerting, that Men might be Guilty of it, in *the more Primitive Ages of Chriſtianity, before any part of the Church was ſo much as Tolerated by the Magiſtrate*. But our Author thinks he has carry'd his Point, in confidently affirming, that this *Charge of Schiſm is entirely taken off by the Act of Toleration, which has diſpens'd with the Penal Laws, and made the Diſſenters as much Eſtabliſh'd, as the Church of England*. Certainly, no two things in the World can be ſeparated by clearer Marks of Diſtinction, than thoſe which are here ſo groſsly confounded, *Toleration*, and *Eſtabliſhment*. The Magiſtrate may indeed diſpenſe with the *Penalty* due to Diſobedience, but that *Diſpenſation* is ſo far from *taking away*, that it does not ſo much as *alter*, the *Nature* of *Schiſm*, which no Eſtabliſhment, no Privileges, or Immunities whatſoever, can XL

Legitimate. But, does our Author believe, that the Act of Toleration has Repeal'd or Abrogated the Act of Uniformity? This Matter has been ſo fully and clearly ſettled by the ingenious Mr. *Norris*, in *His Charge of Schiſm continued*, that it admits not of any further Diſpute, or Reply. But here let us obſerve, what an unexpected Uſe the Diſſenters make of their *Toleration*, or indeed any Favour, which they always magnify and extend, not only beyond the Grant, but to the utmoſt Prejudice and Diſadvantage of their Benefactors: For certainly nothing, but the moſt aſtoniſhing Inſolence in the World, cou'd induce any Man to maintain ſo bold and preſumptuous an Aſſertion as this of our Author's, *That the Churches of the Diſſenters are as much* ESTABLISH'D *by the Act of Toleration, as the* CHURCH OF ENGLAND *by the Act of Uniformity.* The next RIGHT they will claim, will be the *Eſtates* and *Revenues* of the Church, which they will demand as an *equal Property* and Endowment of their Conventicles. Are theſe the *Godly Trumpeters* againſt *Uſurpation, Impoſitions* and *Encroachments?* Does their *Chriſtian Liberty* authorize them to ſeize the *Legal Privileges* of the Church? Let 'em *Cant* as long as they can find *Fools* enough to believe 'em, yet this will be found infallibly true, that the *quiet Enjoyment* of their *Opinions* under the Protection of the Government, will not ſatisfy their *craving and ſwallowing* Conſciences, without a powerful *Competition* with, if not a *Superiority* over the *Eſtabliſh'd Church.* Do not theſe overbearing Malecontents bid their Legiſlators Defiance, and, in plain Terms, tell 'em they *ſtand upon as good a Foundation as themſelves?* When a *Faction* thus dares to diſpute it with their *Superiors*, it is high time for them to look about them; to prevent *Their own ſtanding in need of that Toleration*, they have granted to *Others.*

P. 60. By this time, I hope the Weakneſs of our Author's Reaſoning is ſufficiently underſtood, that he falſly aſcribes the Definition he has given of Schiſm to the *Engliſh Divines*, and that ſuppoſing it true, it is however applicable to the Diſſenters, that their Separation is, even in their own Opinion, *unneceſſary*, and allowing, that tho' *Schiſm* is not contain'd in the general Idea of Separation, and that Separation from a Lawful, or from an Eſtabliſh'd Church, were not Schiſm, yet that all Separation from a Church, both Lawful and Eſtabliſh'd, is always a *Schiſm.*

P. 60, §. 2. But our Author, finding that none of all theſe Reaſons will bear the Weight he would lay upon them, has one laſt Retreat to ſecure the Diſſenters from this unavoidable Charge of Schiſm: and that is, the poor Aſſiſtance of this ſilly Diſtinction, by which he thinks his Adverſary's Argument, not only put by, but retorted upon him, *That they are the Separatiſts, who force 'em to ſeparate, by their unlawful Impoſitions, that they don't exclude themſelves, but are excluded by the Church.* To which we Reply, that as to the Matter of Impoſitions, it is already anſwer'd. And it may be ſufficient here to add, that they who ſeparate from a Lawful Eſtabliſh'd Church, thro' an erroneous Belief that Conformity to it is ſinful, deprive themſelves of the Benefit of its Communion: did they but impartially conſider the Terms upon which they might enjoy it, they cou'd not but diſcern the Lawfulneſs and Expediency of them. Such therefore are not *excluded* from the Communion of their Brethren, by their *Governours*, but by their own voluntary Prejudices, and fantaſtical Obſtinacy, they are ſo far from being

being *driven* from it, that they as properly *deſert* it, as *Apoſtates* the Chriſtian Religion, who renounce the Faith for the ſake of ſome Articles, which our Saviour obliges 'em to *profeſs*, and to which they will not reconcile their *Reaſon*. Our Author is pleas'd here to make uſe of an Inſtance to illuſtrate his falſe Argument, about *Fixing unneceſſary Rules in Converſation*, which he ſays he *is as much averſe to*, as *impoſing any Rules to be obſerv'd in Divine Worſhip*, and wou'd have *both* left *at large*, to the moſt diſſolute Latitude and profligate Licentiouſneſs. Shou'd a Man place *Religion* or *Prudence* in *Singularity* and *Moroſeneſs*, in deteſting the moſt common and innocent Decencies, and acting in Defiance of Cuſtom, I might, without the groſs Imputation of a *Mad-man*, fix ſuch Rules of Converſation, to which this Author wou'd not ſubmit. But wou'd not he deſerve that odious Character, who thus, without the leaſt Pretence of Reaſon, denounc'd War againſt all Mankind and their Manners?

P. 61. But, to ſhut up this Argument about *Schiſm*, this Author propoſes a very *Important Queſtion*, which ought, by no means, to be paſs'd by without an Anſwer; namely, *From what Church in* England *they eſteem Separation to be Schiſm, who define it to be a Separation from a Lawful Eſtabliſh'd Church?* Which very nice and profound Difficulty we ſhall ſolve with another as intricate a Queſtion. Is there any other *Church of England*, but that which our Laws have eſtabliſh'd, and require Conformity to? or can our Author be ſo weak as to imagine, that the *Jacobites* and *Non-jurors* think, that thoſe Laws enjoin Communion with their ſeparate Aſſemblies? But the *Non-jurors* are here fetch'd in by head and ſhoulders, not ſo much from any Offence to the Government as to the Diſſenters; becauſe ſome of their learned Writers have appear'd, with ſo much Reaſon, Strength, and efficacious Eloquence in this Controverſy againſt Occaſional Conformity. Certainly Truth and Argument are the ſame, and are no leſs valuable, let them come from what Quarter they will; but more fully to anſwer this Objection, we deſire our Author to remember what he ſays in the laſt page of his Book, That *he ought induſtriouſly to have avoided mixing Perſonal Matters with his Diſpute, it being of no importance* who *writes, but* what *is written*. And certainly it can never be thought any more a *Prejudice* to the *Church of England*, that the *Non-jurors* ſhould have ſhewn an hearty and zealous Concern for its Eſtabliſhment, in confuting a Practice, which viſibly endanger'd it; than it can be ſuppos'd for the *Advantage* of the Diſſenters, that *Deiſts*, *Atheiſts* and *Socinians* have appear'd in the Defence of Occaſional Conformity; whoſe *profeſs'd Hatred* to all True Religion, muſt doubtleſs be always more offenſive to all good Chriſtians, than the Other's *Unfortunate Non-compliance* with the Government. P. 70.

Thus we have prov'd the *Charge of Schiſm* on the Diſſenters, *according to what Notion ſoever it is laid, whether of the Scriptures, the Fathers, or the Modern Divines*. And we need only refer the Reader to the *Remarks on this Author's Dedication to the Queen*, to ſhew, that the Diſſenters cannot (as this Writer affirms) lay claim to the Character of *Good Subjects*, any more than they can to that of being *Good Churchmen*, and that, as their *Schiſm* has more than once led 'em into Rebellion, ſo it may do again, when they have *that unlimited Toleration* they plead for, or are not reſtrain'd by ſuch a neceſſary Law, as this *Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity*. Theſe Separatiſts muſt de-

ſerve as ill from the State, as they do from the Church, who dare defend their *Schiſm* by ſuch Arguments, as will equally ſerve to juſtify Rebellion, by extending *Chriſtian Liberty* ſo far, as to deprive the Magiſtrate of all *Civil*, as well as *Eccleſiaſtical* Authority, all Right to command Men's Obedience in any caſe, which God has not expreſly required it in. Such a Plea for their Separation as this, is deſtructive of all *Sovereignty*, or *Supremacy*, with Relation either to our *Laws*, or *Canons*; and is, in the laſt Reſult of it, coincident with the Traiterous Principles of thoſe Puritanical Rebels the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*. Nor are they leſs diſpos'd to Sedition, who found their *Claim to Toleration* upon ſuch an inſolent *Maxim* as this, that *a Subject's Obedience is only due to the Laws, when they appear to command*, not *ſolely* Juſta, but Utilia, that is, what he THINKS *expedient* to be done, as well as what he may *lawfully* do. But, ſuppoſing that *Schiſmaticks, as ſuch*, may be innocent Members of the State, yet can thoſe ever be call'd ſo, who profeſs and propagate theſe mutinous Opinions, and found their Claim to a Toleration upon what cannot but render 'em dangerous to be tolerated? If ſevere Penalties are due to thoſe Subjects who acknowledge a Foreign Power (tho' that Acknowledgment may proceed from the almoſt irreſiſtible Force of Prejudice and Education) doubtleſs thoſe who *diſown all Power* whatſoever in the State, ought not to be intitled to its Places of Honour and Profit, Encouragements only due to the *beſt*, and not to the *worſt* of Subjects, if they can be intitl'd ſo much as to the Name of a Subject, who are ever inclinable to *rebel*.

p. 27.

P. 62. Having thus confuted our Author's Pleas, *1ſt*, For *the Diſſenters ſtated Diſſent from the Church*. *2ly*, For *their Occaſional Conformity to it*. *3ly*, For *the Right they pretend to an abſolute Toleration*. We come in the laſt Place to conſider, *How far it is the Intereſt of the Government to grant them this Unlimited Indulgence*. What has been already ſaid, abundantly proves, that to grant the Diſſenters, that *Unlimited Toleration* which they claim, is againſt the *Intereſt of the Government, if*, as our Author here allows, *the Duty and Intereſt of it mutually ſuppoſe and infer each other*. This Writer is pleas'd, out of his uſual good Manners, in very magiſterial Terms, to tell *Her Majeſty, that it is her Duty* to give them this Toleration, a very *ſawcy* way of asking ſo mighty a Favour, eſpecially conſidering how ill-qualify'd his Faction is to talk of their *Prince's Duty*, who ſcarce ever remember'd *their own*? Our Author had laid it before down, as their *Grand Maxim*, that *Governours, by commanding what God has not enjoin'd, entrench upon the Legiſlative Power of our Saviour*; by which, as they have rendred all Obedience to Government, Precarious, as being founded upon Uſurpation, does it not highly concern the Legiſlature to tie up ſuch Men, who aſſert this Univerſal Liberty from their Power, by ſome *particular Law*, that may reſtrain this wild Rebellious Licentiouſneſs, which they impiouſly pretend to eſtabliſh upon the Scripture, in Oppoſition to all Civil Injunctions? But they tell *Her Majeſty* that the enacting any ſuch Law *is to weaken the Government, by diſcouraging, and diſobliging Sober, Induſtrious, Wealthy and Frugal Men, and would deprive the Nation of their Service in all publick Employments in the Camp, Fleet, and Senate*. In anſwer to which we may remember, that this very Author, in his *Dedication to the Queen*, in the name of the Proteſtant Diſſenters, told Her, that *publick Diſaſters are their greateſt Security, and publick Mercies their greateſt Dangers*: and can She expect any faithful Aſſiſtance from ſuch Men's

p. 8.

p. 8.

Courage

Courage in our *Fleets* and *Armies*, or their Policy in Civil Employments, or their Wisdom in Parliament? if they are *true* to their *suppos'd Interest* (and the World could never yet accuse them of the contrary) their unanimous Endeavours must be, to prolong the present bloody and expensive War. Their serious, tho' groundless Perswasion, that a speedy and prosperous Conclusion of it, would be followed by the *Ruine* of their *Party*, must determine those, who have always shewn such a restless and bitter Zeal in the Support of it, to check and retard, as they have Opportunity, the Success of our Arms, and put the Nation off with *Sieges* instead of *Victories*, to *starve* the *glorious Cause* we are engag'd in, with niggardly Supplies, and to *intercept* and *misapply* as much, even of these, as they can. And if we are to guess what further Advantages the Kingdom will receive from these Men, by what it has gain'd already; how serviceable they have been to it, by their *Wealth* and *Frugality*, by their *Loans* and *Informations*, by their prudent *Discharge of their Commissions of the Taxes and the Peace*, and in the *Bench of Aldermen, Common-Council-men and Assistants*, let the *Deficiences of the Funds*, the *Heavy Debts of the Nation*, the *Animosities and Quarrels* they have rais'd throughout it, in all *Elections*, and the *unhappy Miscarriages* in the late Reign, be as convincing, as they are deplorable Instances. And whether the unlimited Indulgence of such *Catilines* in the State, that are for ever projecting its Ruin, be not the most effectual way, not only to *sap its Strength*, but overturn its very Foundation, and whether the Safety of the Publick does not absolutely require to have 'em *cashier'd out of* all its Offices and Employments, we appeal to the Experience of former times to determine, and the common Reason of Mankind to judge. But if this will not convince the Nation of the great Necessity of the *Occasional Bill*, these Men are resolv'd to give us a Reason that shall either open our Eyes, or shut them for ever. For, *P.* 63. our Author speaks out the Sense of his whole Party in plain Terms, telling *Her Majesty*, That *if this Bill should pass into a Law, it would first tempt 'em to be discontented and uneasy, and then to spread these Discontents among their Fellow-Citizens, in the next place to betray us to Foreigners, by revealing the Counsels of the Government, and retarding its Business, till at last they combine together, enter into* CONSPIRACIES, *and don't stop at* OPEN INSURRECTIONS. Let the most prejudic'd Reader judge, by the Character here drawn, by this Author himself, of the Dissenters, how much they *disown the Principles and Practices of their Forefathers.* But he adds, That *passing the Occasional Bill will destroy the Balance betwixt the several Parties in* England, *break in upon the Prerogative, and ruine the Constitution it self.* Now what can be the Author's Design in all this, but plainly to endeavour to *intimidate* the QUEEN and PARLIAMENT, to acquaint them, that the Dissenters, unless their insolent and unreasonable Demands be comply'd with, are already prepar'd and resolv'd to undertake and execute the most flagrant and abominable Crimes, to reveal the most important Secrets of State to our Enemies, to assist, by *Privy Conspiracies*, or *Open* REBELLION, that exorbitant Power, we have labour'd, at the Expence of so much Blood and Money, to reduce. Was there ever any Government in the World thus impudently huff'd and *bully'd* to its Face, or that wou'd put up such provoking Affronts and Reproaches without Resentment, and just Vengeance? If these Menaces have their designed Influence upon our *Sovereign*

p. 16. of the Ded.

and

and *Senate*, the *Balance betwixt the ſeveral Parties in* England is *actually* deſtroy'd. They whoſe Loyal Principles will never ſuffer 'em to make ſuch *ſeditious Applications* to their Legiſlators, will be found even inſlav'd to thoſe, whoſe Rebellious Diſpoſitions will as conſtantly prompt 'em to do it, as they have any Turn to be ſerv'd or *Plot* to be brought forth: The Succeſs of theſe *Threats* in obſtructing the *Occaſional Bill*, will ever embolden them to dictate thus inſolently to our *Parliament*, upon the *Freedom* of whoſe Debates, the making good and juſt Laws depends, and the whole Safety of that Kingdom, which theſe *Turbulent Schiſmaticks* promiſe to betray: Prerogative and Liberty muſt give way to this *Rampant*, *Over-grown Faction*, whoſe arbitrary diſcontented Phrenzy muſt controul, not only the Sovereign Power, but that of the whole Legiſlature. But for fear theſe Inconveniencies, which they pretend would follow the *Paſſing the Bill* at *Home*, ſhould not prove true, we are to be terrify'd with the Misfortunes that it might produce in *Our Affairs abroad*, that it will diſoblige the *Scotch*, *Dutch*, and the reſt of our Confederate Allies. But on the contrary, is it not certain that it cannot give the leaſt Offence to the *Scotch Presbyterians*? For it only reſtrains a Practice which they moſt abhor, who not only deteſt *Occaſional*, but *Conſtant Communion* with an *Epiſcopal* Church. Neither can it be ſuppos'd to weaken the Confidence which our *Proteſtant Allies* repoſe in us, becauſe 'tis only putting a Law in execution, which ſeveral of them ſtrictly obſerve; nor wou'd it deprive our Diſſenters of any Advantages, which *Tolerated Proteſtants* in *other* Dominions enjoy, without being admitted into Offices of State, neither wou'd it expoſe them to any ſuch Penalties as our *Roman Catholicks* ſuffer, and therefore could beget no Jealouſies in our *Popiſh Confederates*, who muſt be content to ſee the Enemies of our Religion, as well as thoſe of *their Perſwaſion*, equally excluded the Government. But, by the way, I wou'd ask our Author a Queſtion, What *Foreign States and Kingdoms* have to do with our enacting Laws, relating only to our own Nation? Did the *Treaty of Partition* oblige us to conſult their Approbation and Conſent, in ſecuring our *Church* and *Eſtabliſhment*? Or are we *ſtill* to be govern'd by *Foreign Junto's*, and *Cabals of Fanaticks* harbour'd in *Republicks*?

P. 64. §. 1. But our Author ſtill urges, that if the *Occaſional Bill ſhould paſs, the Church would be ruin'd, by weakning the State, whereon it depends.* But is there the leaſt Shadow of Truth in this Pretence? If the Bill paſs into a Law, by the Intereſt of the *Church of England*, would not the *Civil Power* be plac'd in *their* Hands, who alone will uſe it for her Support? A Practice would be diſcontinued, which is the moſt odious Reproach to the Proteſtant Religion in the World; and affords ſuch juſt Matter of Offence, not only to all good Chriſtians, but to *Papiſts* and *Infidels*, and has been ſo great a Means of augmenting their Number. By this, the Reputation our Church has ſo juſtly Abroad, for her ſingular *Veracity* and *Temper*, would be very much Eſtabliſh'd, as concurring in a Law, which all the *Moderate Reform'd Churches* Practice.

§. 2. *Ibid.* Our Author's laſt Argument, for *ſuppreſſing the Occaſional Bill, is, its Unſeaſonableneſs at preſent, from the Danger that we lye under of a potent Enemy Abroad, and the Neceſſity of an Unanimity, Secrecy, and Vigour in our Counſels and Enterprizes at Home.* Now if our preſent Danger is from a foreign

reign Enemy, whose Counsels are more Unanimous and Secret, and his Enterprizes more Vigorous than Ours, this is doubtless an invincible Reason, for the immediate Passing this Bill: Since no *Unanimity* in our *Councils* can be expected, whilst compos'd of Men of Opposite Opinions and Interests; no *Privacy*, whilst such are admitted to them, who had rather *reveal*, if they can *ruin* the *Best-laid-Designs*, than the Reputation of its *Success*, should be *ascrib'd* to this or that particular *Minister*, *Commander*, or *Admiral*: Neither can we hope for any vigorous Execution of our Policies, whilst it is committed to such as are more dispos'd to *thwart* and *frustrate* each other, than to resist the *Common Enemy*. The *Occasional Bill* therefore that places the *Administration* in the Hands of One *Unanimous Sett of Men*, can never be more SEASONABLY propos'd than in the present Juncture. The *Passing* it after our great late Success (which has so strangely alter'd the whole Affairs of *Europe*, and reduc'd the dangerous Power of *France*) wou'd either produce a *Glorious Peace*, or enable us to improve the Advantages we have obtain'd over our Enemies, with the utmost Steadiness and Vigour. But that no Argument may be wanting, our Author is pleas'd to turn his Style, and for once bestow a *Complement* on our Church (which before he omitted no Opportunity of loading with the most bitter Scandal and Reproach) and this is indeed so *awkwardly* manag'd, that it discovers, as much the Want of *Sincerity* in the Proposal, as of its *Force* in the Conclusion. He tells us, *our Church* wou'd receive a strange imaginary Advantage, in *calling in the Aid of the Dissenters against* Atheists, Deists *and* Socinians, *if she wou'd not contend for this Bill*: Truly we are wonderfully oblig'd to our Author for this Favour, by saying, that *this Controversy is still depending*, he supposes, that for want of the *Dissenters Assistance*, *the Church* has not yet gain'd any considerable Advantages over them in the Dispute; and that her Sons, after their long Contests with these Infidels, have not given a decisive Blow to their Cause; and that unless we can secure our *Common Religion* against their Attempts, by joining the Dissenters for our *Confederates*, 'twill remain doubtful, whether those are victorious, who have *defended*, or *those* who have *oppos'd* the Being of a God, the Authority of Scripture, and the Fundamentals of Christianity. But supposing, (which wretched Condescension, the Church must be reduc'd to the very lowest Ebb, to stoop to) that her Asserters of these Truths stood in such need of Assistance, yet the Aid afforded her by the Dissenters, in her last Controversy betwixt her and the Church of *Rome*, shews what powerful Succours she may expect from them in her Disputes with any of her Enemies. Our Quarrel with *Infidels* and *Socinians* wou'd probably be at an End, was that *Reformation of Faith*, which the Separatists so much insist on, compleated. Wou'd the Church comply with them, in this Demand, she wou'd, in all likelihood, silence *Socinians* and *Deists*, not by her *Arguments*, but *Concessions*.

Thus have we Trac'd this *Serpentine Author*, thro' all the various Folds, and intricate Windings of his Subtle and Sophistical Reasoning; and have, we hope, Demonstrated the Absurdity of the Sectarists *Stated Dissent*, and *Occasional Conformity*, *the great Guilt of their Hypocrisy and Schism*, *the Unreasonableness of their Pretended Right to an Unlimited Toleration*, *and the Vast Dis-service such a Toleration wou'd be to the Government*, *in Church and State*; and, in a word, that this whole Treatise is nothing but Falshood in

Fact,

Fact, and Fallacy in Argument. If this Writer ſhall think fit to Reply, with any more tolerable Sence, Sincerity or Reaſon, he ſhall not fail to find the ſame Juſt Animadverſion, as we have given him already in this Diſcourſe.

In the mean time, if the Church ſhou'd have this Misfortune, that the *Paſſing the Occaſional Bill*, ſhou'd, in Defiance of all *Demonſtration* to the contrary, be thought ſtill *Unſeaſonable*, we cannot, but with the greateſt Concern for *Chriſtianity* in General, and the Honour and Safety of our Church in particular, earneſtly Entreat *thoſe Few of Her Sons*, who have been ſo far *miſ-led*, or *terrify'd*, as to admit any *Schiſmatical Diſſenters Occaſionally* to Join with us, in the *Bleſſed Euchariſt*, to call to mind that Excellent *Canon* of our Church, which they are *Bound* and *Sworn* to Obey. And we humbly hope, that whatever may be the *Succeſs* of the *Bill*, on its *Repropoſal*, that thoſe *Biſhops*, who, in Their *Political Capacities* as Legiſlators, cou'd not conceive it *Seaſonable*, to give a Suffrage for *That Bill*, will at leaſt, in their *Spiritual* Function, ſtrictly Enjoin Their *Clergy*, in this Thing of ſo vaſt Importance to the Church, to Obſerve their Canonical Obedience Inviolable.

Canon 37th, among the *Canons* made in the Year 1603. In the Firſt Year of King *James* the Firſt.

Schiſmaticks not to be Admitted to the Communion.

" NO Miniſter, when he celebrateth the Communion, ſhall wittingly " Adminiſter the ſame to any, but to ſuch as Kneel, under pain of " Suſpenſion; nor, under the like pain, to any that refuſe to be preſent at " Publick Prayers, according to the Orders of the *Church of England*; nor, " to any that are common and notorious Depravers of the Book of Com- " mon Prayer, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and of the Orders, " Rites, and Ceremonies therein preſcribed; or of any thing that is con- " tain'd in any of the Articles agreed upon in Convocation 1562. or of any " thing contained in the Book of ordering Prieſts and Biſhops; or to any " that have ſpoken againſt, and depraved his Majeſty's Sovereign Authority " in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical: Except every ſuch perſon ſhall firſt acknowledge " to the Miniſter, before the Church-Wardens, his Repentance for the ſame, " and promiſe by Word (if he cannot Write) that he will do ſo no more: " And except (if he can Write) he ſhall firſt do the ſame under his Hand- " writing, to be deliver'd to the Miniſter, and by him ſent to the Biſhop of " the Dioceſe, or Ordinary of the Place. Provided, that every Miniſter ſo " repelling any (as is ſpecify'd either in this, or the next precedent Conſti- " tution) ſhall upon complaint, or being required by the Ordinary, ſignifie " the cauſe thereof unto him, and therein obey his Order and Direction.

6 AP 38

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

A ſhort Specimen of ſome *Scandalous Books* and *Libels*, collected out of that infinite Number of them, written lately againſt the *Church of England* by the *Presbyterians*, annex'd here to ſhew the *Falſhood* of this Author, in ſo confidently affirming, *pag.* 1. That the *Diſſenters* have been *hitherto Silent*, and *are brought now with Reluctancy* to Plague the Eſtabliſh'd Church and Government, with their ſeditious Demands, and ſcurrilous Controverſies.

THE True Nature of the Goſpel Church and Its Government.
Clarkſon of Liturgies.
——— of Epiſcopacy.
Rational Defence of Non-Conformity in *Rule*'s Anſwer to Bp. *Stillingfleet*.
The Nature of Church Government freely Diſcuſs'd, and ſet out in 3 Letters.
Brief Enquiry into the Nature of Schiſm.
Vindication of it.
Defence of it.
Baxter's Life.
Reprimand to Bigotiſm.
The Apology for the *Engliſh Presbyterians*.
A Letter of Advice to the Churches of the Non-conformiſts in *England*.
A Letter to Mr. *Burſcough*.
Animadverſions on *Calamy*'s Diſcourſe of a Scrupulous Conſcience.
Anſwer to Dr. *Scot*'s Caſes concerning Forms of Prayer.
Examination of Dr. *Haſcard*'s Caſe about Edification.
Taylor's Conſideration of Dr. *Sherlock*'s Caſes.
The State of the Caſe of Mixt Communion in a Friendly Diſcourſe betwixt a Miniſter and a Non-Conforming Pariſhioner.
Diſcourſe concerning Schiſm, deſign'd for the Satisfaction of Conſcientious and Peaceable Diſſenters.
Moderation a Virtue.
Moderation ſtill a Virtue, with Remarks on Mr. *Sacheverel*.
A Short Way with the Diſſenters.
More Short Ways.
The Teſt of the *Ch. of England*'s Loyalty.
The Teſt of the *Ch. of England*'s Honeſty.
Antidote againſt Rebellion.
Calamy's Moderate Non-conformity.
All *Tutchin*'s Obſervators, and *De Foe*'s Impudent Trumpery; the 2 Foul Mouths of the Party.

All which Scandalous and Rebellious Libels, with a Thouſand more of their Godly Works of the ſame ſtamp, wou'd diſgrace even the Hands of the Common Hang-man, *to commit to thoſe Flames, which they ſo highly Deſerve.*

POSTSCRIPT.

THere being juſt Publiſh'd, ſince the Printing of this Diſcourſe, A *Second Part of our Author's Rights of Proteſtant Diſſenters, being a Vindication of their Right to an Abſolute Toleration, from the Objections of Sir* H. Mackworth *in his Treatiſe intitl'd, PEACE at HOME*, we thought fit to acquaint the Reader, that he may expect a full Anſwer to every Argument therein contain'd, that is not ſufficiently Anſwer'd in this Diſcourſe already; this Author's Second Performance being, in the main, nothing but Nauſeous Tautology of what is even frequently Repeated in the Firſt Part, and which we preſume, is effectually Confuted. But becauſe this Writer, for want of *timely Chaſtiſement*, has not only Renew'd, but Improv'd his Inſolence to the *Church of England* in general, and that Excellent Member and Defender of it, Sir *H. Mackworth* in particular, we ſhall give our ſelves the Trouble, and this Author the Juſtice of a little *farther Correction.*

6 AP 58

The CASE of the *Church of England's* Memorial FAIRLY STATED, &c.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE Pamphlet that falls under our Conſideration, has made ſuch a Noiſe in the World, met with ſuch a different Reception from Church-men and Diſſenters, and the Contents of it have been ſo warmly Canvas'd on both ſides, that I cannot but think it material to Undeceive ſome, who are too haſty in their Opinion concerning it, and inform others, who are too ſlow to come up to any Determination whatſoever. Not that I would incur thoſe great Men's Diſpleaſure, who conceive their Reputations highly injur'd in this Book, or am not wholly averſe to Perſonal Reflections, ſince Gentlemen of their Qualities and Circumſtances are not to be nam'd without the profoundeſt Reſpect, but have ſuch a Regard to the Government and Church Eſtabliſh'd (for they are reciprocally upon the ſame Baſis) as to make it my endeavour to Support the one by the Defence of the other; and as their Intereſts are inſeparable, ſo to blend together their dependance upon each others Proſperity, as to be neither againſt the State while I ſtand up in Vindication of the Church, or againſt the Church, whilſt in her Vindication, I eſpouſe the Cauſe of the State.

In order to this, it concerns me in my preſent Undertaking, to apply my ſelf to Matter of Fact, and reduce the compaſs of my Diſcourſe, to theſe Three following Enquiries.

I. Whether the Church of *England* labour's under any Diſadvantages, to give occaſion for this Memorial?

II. Whether the Memorial it ſelf is ſo Criminal as it is repreſented?

III. Whether if it be not ſo Criminal, ſomething of the Rigour that is us'd towards the Perſons ſuppos'd to be concern'd in it, might not be abated?

To begin with the *Firſt*. Though the Church, at her Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Throne, fell under the more immediate Protection of a Princeſs that was a Queen of her *Vows* and *Wiſhes*; yet her Enemies, the Diſſenters from her Communion, had ſo Strengthen'd themſelves in the late Reign, and arriv'd at ſuch an extravagancy of Power, that they ſeem'd rather *Eſtabliſh'd*, than *Tolerated*. A *Thirteen Years Diſſimulation* had render'd 'em ſuch perfect Artiſts in the Trade of *Hypocriſie*, that as our Mayors and Great Officers of our Capital City, were choſen from among them, our Country Lieutenancy and Garriſon'd Towns fill'd with them, and their Croakings heard in our Royal Chambers; ſo the Wealth they had attain'd to by the means of this long Prevarication; through the Practice of *Occaſional Conformity*, could not but awaken the true Sons of the Eſtabliſh'd Church into a ſenſe of the Danger might enſue from the continuance of that Abominable Practice.

And where would they hope for redreſs of their Grievances, but from a Queen, who from her Infancy had not only been bred up in the Eſtabliſh'd Communion, but had ſhewn an inimitable Zeal from her Youth upwards for the maintenance of its Doctrines? From whence could they expect an Opportunity ſhould offer it ſelf for the recovery of their loſt Rights and Immunities, if they neglected the Succeſſion of a Monarch to the Throne, who ſeem'd to invite them to the Church's Security, ev'n in her firſt Speech; wherein Her Majeſty was pleas'd to declare the utmoſt regard for a Faith which ſhe was then

then come to be the Defenders, as before ſhe was the Ornament of?

Her publick Speaches, as well as private Diſcourſe, were indeed full of Tenderneſs for her Diſſenting Subjects; and like a ture Mother of her Country, ſhe pity'd the Misfortunes of ſuch as could not agree with her in Points of Worſhip, and gave them repeated Aſſurences of her Royal protection. But her Looks towards thoſe of her own Perſwaſion were of a more Amible Complexion, ſhe not only promis'd them a particular Eſteem, but made thoſe Promiſes good by immediate Performances, and the advancement of ſuch Gentlemen to Places of Profit and Truſt, who for want of Countenance in the late Reign, were excluded from the Adminiſtration, and debarr'd from giving us their Aſſiſtance by their Counſel.

In anſwer to theſe Gracious Aſſurances, her Majeſty had been pleas'd to diſpenſe from the Throne to the Diſſenters, ſhe no ſooner gave date to the Bleſſed *Æra* from whence ſhe commenc'd her Reign, but Pamphlets were iſſu'd out in contempt of her Royal Authority; and Libels came forth, which not only point at her Majeſty's Conduct, but that of her *New Miniſtry*, not without Threats, that if ſhe continu'd the Removals, ſhe out of her Great Wiſdom had been pleas'd to make, ſhe ſhould find her ſelf under as unhappy Circumſtances as her deceas'd Father.

Among the reſt, a weekly Paper, call'd the *Obſervator* was almoſt ready to get the ſtart of her, and was ſet on Foot by the Party before ſhe was Crown'd, which not only ſtruck at the Root of Kingly Power, ſounded the Trumpet of Sedition, and cry'd *to your Tents O Iſrael*, but advanc'd ſuch Principles as were deſtructive of all Civil Government, and of the greateſt Diſcouragement to every thing that had the leaſt appearance of Religion and Loyalty, or was any ways allied to what was Praiſeworthy.

The *Queen*, the *Prince*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, My Lord *Godolphin*, and the reſt of the New Miniſtry, were openly traduc'd, and that without Puniſhment of the Authors; and her Majeſty could

could not grant the Dutcheſs of *Tyrconnel*, the Dutcheſs of *Marlborough*'s Siſter (a diſarm'd Woman, who came over to reconcile her ſelf to the Government, and look after her private Affairs) a Paſs, but ſhe was ſaid to be in a Plot againſt her ſelf, as *Oates* would have had her Uncle King *Charles* the Second: And honeſt Mr. *John Tutchin* was order'd by thoſe that pay'd him his Wages of Unrighteouſneſs, to *cry aloud and ſpare not*, and *tell the People of* England *Her ſins*; to call upon the Parliament for their Animadverſions on their Sovereign's Conduct, and to examine into her Royal Proceedings.

But the Parliament was inſpir'd with other Sentiments, and foreſeeing that her Majeſty was Mortal, and that Occaſions once ſlipp'd, might never return again, ſet themſelves in good Earneſt to Work for the farther Security of the Church Eſtabliſh'd. The Old Laws might have been thought ſufficient to defeat the Deſigns of her Enemies, but the Diſſenters had ſo eluded the force of them by their pretended Conformity, for Places of Profit and Honours, that it was altogether thought neceſſary to provide ſuch a New one as ſhould cramp their future Attempts to make any Breach whatſoever in the Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution, and circumſcribe them within ſuch Bounds as they ſhould no more make their Eſcape from.

Toleration was the only thing deſir'd by the Diſſenters at the late King and Queen's Acceſſion to the Throne; and accordingly an Act was made in their Favour. But this did not ſerve their turns, they were for the Exerciſe of the Supream Power, as well as that of their Religion, and accordingly had ſo Inſinuated themſelves by complying *pro Tempore* with the Church Ceremonies, that they had not only made themſelves Maſters of vaſt Sums by Depredations upon the Publick, but were look'd upon in the late Reign (I do not ſay in this) as the only Men to be apply'd to in Caſes of Emergency, and the Spring-Tides to ſupply the Deficiences of an Ebbing Treaſury with.

Theſe were Motives to induce the Members of the National Church to look about them for Expedients, to wreſt that Uſurp'd Power out of the Diſſenters Hands, and either make them altogether Members of their Communion, or not at all. For this

this end a Bill was brought in, *To prevent Occaſional Conformity*. Which Bill was Penn'd with ſuch a compaſſionate ſenſe of the Diſſenters Infirmities, and ſuch a deference to tender Conſciences, that it was no ways invaſive of the Act of *Toleration*, or aim'd at the diminution of thoſe Liberties they were poſſeſs'd of from any Parliamentary Conceſſions. It had nothing in it that bore the face of any Hardſhip, for they were left to their own Pleaſures, either to ſerve God or *Baal*; either to be admitted for ever within the Pale of the Church, or keep themſelves as long as they thought fit without its Incloſures. Only the Faction was reſolv'd to make a perſecuting Clauſe where they found none, and gave out that the Penalties annex'd to the Tranſgreſſions (without which, the Bill it ſelf would have been to no manner of purpoſe) were ſo very Exorbitant, that nothing leſs than Fire and Faggot, and *Smithfield* Executions, could be ſubſequent to them.

To propagate theſe wicked Suggeſtions, and gain them a popular Reception, the Mob's Favourite and Solicitor General Mr. *Foe*, took his Clamorous Pen in Hand, which Spawn'd *The Shorteſt Way with the Diſſenters*, and the Weekly Buffoon *John Tutchin* with his Country-Man *Roger* kept a horrid Pother about Martyrdom, Liberty and Property, Arbitrary Power, *Magna Charta*, and all the Terrible Names he could think of to amuſe the Vulgar with, though to no purpoſe at that time, for the Government was then pleas'd to think the laſt of theſe Arrogant Scribes beneath their Cognizance, and only took Notice of the Firſt, who was made an Example of, to deter others from the like Inſolence, and Fin'd, Pillory'd, and Bound over to his good Behaviour for ſeven Years; though how he has kept up to the Tenour of his Bonds, what I have to ſay in another place will more opportunely ſhew.

Yet notwithſtanding all the Peſtilent Invectives that clog'd the Preſs, and were a Nuiſance to the Eyes of good Men upon Bookſellers Stalls, the Commons went on with their Bill, and having Read it a third Time, reſolv'd it ſhould Paſs, and be carry'd up to the Lords for their Lordſhips Concurrence, where it was to be obſerv'd, that the *Prince* (though bred up in another

ther Communion himſelf) and moſt of the Great Officers at Court, ſome few excepted who belong'd to the Old Miniſtry, were for the Bill, while a Majority of the B---p's, when its very Foundation was grounded upon a farther Security for the Epiſcopal Government of the Church, were violently, *by way of Moderation*, againſt it, and it was thrown out of the Upper Houſe of Parliament by a Majority, when it had made its way through the lower Houſe almoſt *Nemine Condradicente*.

This overthrow given to their ſuppos'd Enemies, who were in reality their Friends, gave Birth to abundance of Lampoons and Stayrs upon the Church Party, and the Whigs were not backward in the multiplying the Advantages they pretended to have gain'd by a Mighty Majority. Black Liſts were diſpers'd about, of ſuch as were for Perſecuting Principles, as they call'd them, and Panegyricks flew as thick as Hail in Praiſe of the Noble Patriots that ſtood up for Liberty and Property, and a Permiſſion for them to Sin on in the Practice of Hypocriſy, which cou'd terminate in nothing elſe but their Eternal Damnation. The Proto P---- who pinn'd his Faith upon the Laity's Sleeve, and ſaid, *It could not be a good Bill, becauſe the L---S--- declar'd his Opinion that it was a bad one*, was more valuable ſpoken of than their own Preſident of their Presbyterian Synods, Mr. *How*; and a certain Powerful Divine who had more eſteem for the Revenues of the Hierarchy, than the Function, and argued for the *Legality of Occaſional Conformity from his own Practice*, was a Second *Demetrius* with them.

However another Seſſion enſued, and the Bill was introduc'd into the Houſe of Commons again, who receiv'd and paſs'd it as before, and left it to their Lordſhips Conſideration once more; Her Majeſty, previous to this Seſſion (we are not to queſtion but for the Churches Advancement ſince they were eminent in their Zeal for the Religion Eſtabliſh'd) had by Her Royal Creation made ſeveral New Peers, which made it beyond a doubt, that the Bill would have its intended effect. But it happen'd otherwiſe, for notwithſtanding this was a new Acceſſion of ſtrength to thoſe that were Zealous againſt *Occaſional Conformity*, to the Church's great diſappointment, after ſeveral Conferences,

ferences and Amendments, we saw the Bill return'd to the Commons again by a far greater Majority than before.

Who were at the bottom of these Transactions, is above our Sphere to inquire; only it was to be suppos'd, and that not without Reason, that all those Gentlemen that would have been thought to have espous'd the Cause of the Church, did not act under hand in Favour of Her, as might have been expected from Persons whose Education promis'd otherwise, and whose Abilities were of such a prevailing Influence, as to have fix'd Her upon such a lasting Foundation, that all our *S——rs*, *W——ns* and *H——s*, all our Whigs, Atheists and Deists, our Adulterers, Whoremongers, and Kit-cats, no not even the Gates of Hell should have prevail'd against Her! But the Fathers of the Church were against the Precautions taken by the Sons of it, and even this Session concluded *Re-Infecta* as to matters for the farther Security of the Establish'd Religion.

One or two Disappointments were not of force enough to discourage Gentlemen of such immoveable Resolutions as the last House of Commons, wherefore they push'd forward the Third Time, to bring what they aim'd at to its desir'd Conclusion, since the Well-being of the Church of *England* depended only upon the single Thread of the Queen's Life. They had attempted all the common Methods, which had been us'd to be put in Practice, and were of no manner of force with their Lordships, (not that Tacking was a new way of proceeding, since it was upward of 500 Years standing) wherefore they were fully bent to deviate from the Paths they had trod in during the Reign of Her present Majesty, and make use of means, which Recourse had been had to in those of Her Royal Predecessors.

But that it might seem of as little Force as possible upon their Lordship's Concurrence, before they joyn'd it as a Clause to the Land Tax, they alter'd it so as to bring it to the Conditions, it was offer'd by them to be pass'd by; and that they might see the regard which was had to the Act of Toleration, offer'd such a Security for the perpetuity of it, which might have been allow'd by those that have any Reverence for Queen,

Lords or Commons, (*vide* Preamble of the Bill Printed for *Edward Jones*) who had thereby paſs'd their words, and become Guarrantees for the continuance of it.

What Security after this will ſatisfy ſome Gentlemen it is hard to determin, ſince they were offer'd the beſt that could be given (the ſame upon which we lend our Money, and hold onr Eſtates, Liberties and Lives, and whatſoever elſe we have the Enjoyment of) the *Law*, which nothing can tranſcend, except it be a Power above *Law*, which was the very and only thing this Bill was fram'd to take away from ſome People, who ſeem very reſolute not to part with their Diſſenting Power.

The Law had in the Corporation and Teſt Acts declar'd, that Diſſenters ſhould have no Civil or Millitary Offices, and has therefore appointed a way which the wiſdom of the Nation thought ſufficient then to keep them out. The *Dſſenters* reſol'd notwithſtanding to diſpenſe with the Law, and have ſuch Offices and Places; and in their Wiſdom contriv'd a way to baffle the *Law*, and to get into thoſe Places in defiance of it. They did ſo, and how they did it we all know. But the Wiſdom of the Nation obſerving that Judgment in another World, and the expectation of a Reward after this Life, did not operate ſo powerfully upon the Conſciences of the Saints, as to bilk them of any Secular Advantages, the Senate reſolv'd to enforce their Laws, and to the Terrors of the *next World*, to add a little to the Awe of *this*, and to inflict ſome of the Pains and Penalties of it upon ſuch groſs Prevaricators; which pains and penalties therein ſpecified make the whole and ſole difference between the intended Act *to prevent Occaſional Conformity*, and the Teſt-Act already and yet in Force.

Now the manner in which both the Honourable Houſe of Commons and their Bill had been treated the Seſſion before, gave them little hopes of ſo fair a Correſpondence, as might produce any ſatisfaction to them on that Head by the ordinary Methods. Beſides what had paſs'd within Doors, which they had no great Reaſon to be pleas'd with, they had ſeen themſelves inſulted publickly, and they and their Bill made the Scorn and Sport of a Play-Houſe Rabble, and this begun, and

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promoted by ſome, who ſhould have had more reſpect to them as a Houſe of Parliament, whatever private Pique or Malice they might bear to the Perſons of any particular Members.

Theſe, with ſome former Indignities for which no Reparation had ever been offer'd, gave them Reaſon to think, that not only the Church of *England*, but the Honour and Authority of the Houſe of Commons, was in danger of being for ever loſt, if they had ſuffer'd themſelves to be baffled with ſo much Contempt, in ſo Important a Point; and therefore they conſider'd whether there were not yet left ſome Parliamentary Method of doing Themſelves and the Nation Juſtice. And as they were Repreſentatives of the People, and a *Third Eſtate* of the Realm, they believ'd they ſhould be guilty of a Breach of Truſt, little inferior to Treaſon, if they ſuffer'd the Authority committed to them to be trampled upon; and therefore they concluded to Tack that neceſſary Bill, which had been the occaſion of theſe Inſults, to the Land Tax; an Attempt worthy the Nobleſt Spirits, and becoming true *Patriots*, whatever the Succeſs was (*vide Mercurium Politicum*, *Num.* 11.)

As their Lordſhips were not without their Correſpondents in the Lower-Houſe, ſo to prevent what was coming upon them, they enter'd a Proteſtation in the Journals of their Houſe that they would receive no Bill whatſoever that came up to them after that Faſhion; but their Lordſhips might have ſpar'd themſelves the trouble, ſince what through the weakneſs of ſome, and the Timorous Diſpoſition of others, thoſe worthy Patriots that contended for the Church, could not get it through their own Houſe by that Brave Expedient. Wherefore it was ſent up to them once more Naked, and without any other Recommendation than the Righteouſneſs of its Deſign, to be kick'd out of Doors again.

Soon after this both Houſes of Parliament were prorogued, and Liſts were diſpers'd abroad of the 134 Patriots that were for Tacking the Bill, the *Obſervator*, *Review*, and other Hireling Pamphleteers had their Orders to blacken them as much as poſſible to their ſeveral Countries and Corporations to render them odious to their Electors, nay even to ſubject them to the Fury

of the Mob, under the Notion of being Traytors to their Country and in a *French* Intereſt, even when they were Men of the greateſt Eſtates in the Nation, and who had thoſe Eſtates to loſe on occaſion of the *French* getting the better of us.

But no Conſideration could move the mercinary Scribes from perſuing them even to the loſs of their Reputations, and Lives too, could they have ſo brought it about; neither their vigorous Oppoſition to Popery and Arbitrary Power (ſince the greateſt part of them were Gentlemen who came early into the Meaſures of the late Revolution) nor their deep concern for the welfare of their Native Country, made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the Minds of ſome People, as might have been expected from Men of grateful Diſpoſitions. 'Twas enough to cancel all Obligations that they were for the *Tack*, even when the Diſſenting Party themſelves had ſo obſtinately made uſe of it in the Times of King *Charles* the Firſt and Second, in ſuch a manner, that neither of them ſcarce ever receiv'd a Subſidy, but they were forced to part with one of their Prerogatives in exchange for it, and they muſt be conſider'd as Enemies to the Queen, becauſe they were ſuch zealous Aſſerters of the Rights of the Church, which is a downright Contradiction.

To ſpeak of the many Inſults theſe worthy Gentlemen have receiv'd, and to inſtanee in the Rudeneſs and Barbarity they have been treated with on the foregoing Account, at the ſeveral Places of Election (in particular that for the County of *Cheſter*) would ſwell my Deſign to a Bulk beyond its intended Proportion; wherefore I ſhall paſs them by, as fit to be laid before a Committee of Privileges and Elections, under whoſe Cognizance they directly fall, and take my leave of this Head, with a brief Account of the Proceedings of one of theſe *Horrible Tackers*, who tho' he may not have made ſuch a Figure in the World as a Man of his Merit, has ſhewn even the moſt Conſcientious of the Adverſe Party ſuch an Example, as their ſelfiſh Regards to their own Profits and other worldly Emoluments have render'd Impracticable to their Imitation.

Ab uno diſce omnes. From one of theſe Gentlemen's Illuſtrious Actions, you may learn thoſe of the reſt; and though our *Seymours*, our *Bromley's*, our *Mackworths*, &c. have ſupply'd the *Britiſh* Annals with Matter for their Hiſtories, there is room to be made for one, who has not as yet employ'd the Mouth of Fame, but has equal Capacities and Deſerts to recommend him to the Eſteem of Future Ages: And this is Mr. *Fox*, who has been diveſted of his Place as Paymaſter of the Army, three ſeveral times. The Reader is to be left to judge upon what Occaſions.

In King *James* the Second's Time, when that unfortunate Prince was making what Intereſt he could in Parliament, to capacitate Gentlemen of his own Religion for Offices and Places of Truſt, which could not be effected without Repealing the Teſt Act: This worthy Gentleman was adviſ'd by his Friends, who knew the Value his Majeſty had for him, to abſent himſelf from Parliament till the Debates were over upon the Bill for that purpoſe; which he did for ſome time. But the day being come on which the Queſtion was to be put, he found ſuch a Concern growing upon him for the Cauſe of the Church, which would have been endanger'd by ſuch an Act, that mov'd by the Impulſe of his Conſcience, he could not be eaſie till he went to the Speaker's Chamber. His coming there occaſion'd his Friends to be importunate with him again to withdraw himſelf; which he ſeemingly promis'd: But hearing the Debates ariſing in the Houſe, he could no longer contain himſelf, but went into the Houſe, even after the Queſtion was put, a thing that was unſual, but then allow'd, and carry'd it againſt the Bill in the Negative by his ſingle Vote; for which he was Reprimanded by King *James*, and diſmiſs'd from his valuable Employ.

At the coming in of King *William*, he was inveſted in his Poſt again, and continued in it without any exceptions againſt his Conduct, till a Bill for a Standing Army was ſetting on Foot, which he ſtrenuouſly Oppos'd, and by theſe Means forfeited the good Opinion of that Prince, who likewiſe remov'd him from Court, and gave him his *Quietus eſt*, becauſe he could

not

not violate his Conſcience, or act Counter to the Principles he had entertain'd for the good of his Country.

Her preſent Majeſty had no ſooner fill'd the Throne of her Anceſtors, but this Worthy Gentleman was admitted into the Court again, with ſeveral others, who had no benefit of its Sun-ſhine during the paſt Adminiſtration, where he continu'd, in the exerciſe of his Truſt without Exception, till after the *Tacing Concern*, when he retreated again to his own Privacy, whether Voluntarily or Coercively, we are not to determin, ſince the proceedings of living Princes are not to be ſcan'd otherwiſe than in favour of their Proceedings.

The thoughts of ſuch a Gentleman's removal from the Court, with the Noble Patriot's as well belonging to the Houſe of Lords, as that of the Commons, could not but produce melancholy Reflections; and ſince what the Whiggs all along aim'd at, was to Elbow them out from the Power and the ſhare of the Adminſtration, it could not but occaſion the deepeſt Sorrow in all true Church-men, to ſee their Deſigns ſucceſful. Not that the Queen was guided by them, but upon I know not what Fatility Matters ſo fell out, as to give us cauſe to Remonſtrate to the Royal Ear, that the Church's beſt Frinds are conſequently thoſe of her Majeſty, which may be an Excuſe ſufficient to account for the ſeaſonableneſs of the MEMORIAL.

The next thing that falls under our Conſideration, is the *Memorial* it ſelf, purſuant to our Second Enquiry; which is, whether the *Memorial* it ſelf is ſo Criminal as it is repreſented?

In anſwer to this, we ſhould have no farther to ask, were we to give as implicit Credit to the Generality of the weekly Papers and Pamphlets (I mean thoſe of the Whiggs) as the generality of their Readers, which are the moſt unthinking part of Mankind, do. The *Review*, *Moderator*, *Obſervator*, and High-Church Legion, all agree that it's a Scandalous Libel; and tho' they frequently fell out with one another, they joyn hands in this, accord-

according to the Maxim of, *Qui non conveniunt inter ſe, conveniunt in aliquo Terno*: That it is of the moſt pernicious Conſequences. Says the Firſt, *Numb.* 56. Vol. 2. 'I confeſs, I believe 'no Man that has a reſpect for the Church of *England*, or the 'Conſtitution of the Engliſh Government, can read it with-'out Horror. And in *Numb.* 57. Vol. the ſame, goes on after this manner: 'I could fill a large Book with the Belchings out 'of theſe Helliſh *Vulcano*'s, theſe Members of Mount *Ætna*, 'whoſe Threats are a burning Abyſs, a center of Envious Ex-'halations, ſet on fire of Hell, which break out in horrible 'Execrations againſt their Neighbours, but will at laſt end in 'Burning and Deſtroying themſelves, and their Malice will 'go out with a Stench.

'Amongſt the reſt, (and more Pernicious than all) ſays the 'Peaceable *Moderator* Numb. 11. is a wicked Book lately Pub-'liſh'd, call'd the *Memorial*, &c. I had thoughts of ſpeaking to 'ſome particular Paſſages of it, but upon Conſideration, I re-'ſolv'd to let it alone, not knowing but even Citations from 'it, tho' Animadverted on and Expos'd, might prove Miſ-'chievous; for indeed the whole of it is ſo Black and Abomi-'nable, that it ought not to be Read by any *Engliſhman*, but ra-'ther burnt by the Common Hangman.

Cry's the Modeſt *Obſervator*, Vol. 4. *Numb.* 33. by way of Reply to it at his *Countryman*'s Requeſt, 'I ſhall ſay ſomething 'in General of this Book, but ſhould I enter in Particulars, 'I ſhould oblige the Queen's and the Nation's Enemies, by 'Publiſhing a Libel which is wiſely Suppreſt by the Govern-'ment: 'Tis true, where Poiſon is diſpers'd in a Kingdom, 'Antidotes ought to be Publiſh'd; and whilſt I live, none of 'the Enemies of our Peace ſhall fix a ſpeck of Dirt on her 'Majeſty and Government (*except my ſelf*) but I'll take care 'to wipe it off, which I can do through every Paragraph of this 'Book, and would do it, did I not conſider that a Man many 'times, a true Zealot for his Queen and Country, may do what 'may tend to its Diſſervice. Let it reſt here; to tell the 'World, that there is a Villainous Libel Written and Printed 'againſt her Majeſty and Government, *&c.*

Fourthly

Fourthly and Lastly, the Author of the High Church Legion in his *Catch-Penny* Dedication to the Lord *Godolphin* (as the *Observator* calls it) speaking of the Party that were Authors and Publishers of this *Memorial*, lays it down for an undeniable Position, that "Her Majesty has a double Portion of the Rage "of this Party thrown upon her Royal Conduct. The Mode- "ration of the Queen is first Ridicul'd and Abus'd, and Her "Majesty is then said, with an unparallell'd Insolence, to be "Sworn'd from the Church, and that the Church does not "stand in the same Rank in her esteem as it formerly did. "The Bishops are charg'd with being Traytors to the Church "and the Sacred Office, discharg'd from a signature of a True "Church-Man. The whole House of Lords are said to Bully "the Commons with things which they have nothing to do "with. All the Loyal Church of *England* Men in the Nation, "that are not for the shortest Way with the Dissenters in the "literal Sense, are Abettors of a Faction, *&c.*

I could produce many other horrid Suggestions against this poor Pamphlet, and the Persons suppos'd to set it a Foot, but shall only instance in another *Review* of a Later Date, wherein he fairly pulls of the Mask of Moderation, and proposes a downright Massacre of the Church Party, by advising the Government to Order 100000 *of the Memorials to be Printed, and sent into all the Counties of* England, *as the* Levite, *that cut his Concubine into Pieces and sent her to all the Tribes of* Israel. *The Lyes, the Absurdities, the Contradictions, and Ill-Manners of this Book; like the Limbs of the Murthered Harlot, must fill all the People with Indignation at the Hellish Design, and turning the Tables upon themselves, bring the Just Resentment of the Nation upon them, and at last endanger their own Party to bear their Insolences to the Queen, their most abusive Scoundrel Treatment of Her Majesty, how can it be born with* Patience, *and without a Just Revenge.* Numb. 64. Vol. II.

These are dangerous Imputations, and to be against the Queen and Government, to traduce the Ministry, and revile those that are set over us by God's Anointed, is of such mischievous Consequence as deserves *to be punish'd by the Judge.*

But

But hold, Gentlemen, the Proverb ſays, *One Man's Story is good till another's is told.* Let us enquire into the *Memorial* it ſelf, and that will ſhew us whether things are fairly Repreſented; and if Expreſſions and Sentences therein, are not wreſted to ſerve the Deſigns of a Party that are for Embroiling the State, and bringing us into the Confuſion we have ſeverely ſmarted for within ſome of our Remembrances.

That we may take a full View of the ſcurrilous Language is pretended to be given to the Q. and her Miniſtry, it may not be improper to give the ſubſtance of this Deteſtable *Memorial*, that calls for ſuch Temporal Diſpleaſure on the Church Eſtabliſh'd, in the Opinion of the Scriblers above mentioned; and here we ſhall find, 'That tho' the Church ſeems under the Patronage 'of the Queen, to be in a very flouriſhing Condition, it has 'a *Hectick Fever* lurking in the Bowels of it. That in the pre-'ceding Century the Church and State was violently over-'turn'd by the Sectaries of the ſame Principles of thoſe now 'Tolerated in Places of Truſt; that the Sons of thoſe Sectaries 'yet remain and inherit many of them their Fathers Principles, 'which were, to purge the Land of what they held in Abomi-'nation, the Diſcipline and Worſhip of the National Church; 'and that their Proceeding in *Scotland*, during the two laſt 'Reigns, ſufficiently ſhew what Treatment we might expect, 'if they had the Power.

'That at her Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, they were 'for preaching *Peace*, *Charity*, *Forgiveneſs* of *Injuries*, &c. as be-'ing apprehenſive of their Carriage towards her and the Mem-'bers of the Church of *England*, in the foregoing Reign; but 'when they met with not ſo much as a Rebuke, but comfortable 'Speeches and Aſſurances from the Q. the Spirit of Humility 'vaniſh'd, and they recover'd themſelves into their former Inſo-'lence and Preſumption. That every thing has paſs'd in *Scotland* 'to the Deſire of the Preſbytery, but nothing here in *England* 'for the ſecurity of the Church. That all attempts to Settle 'it, have been rendered Ineffectual; and that the Staves were 'taken from the E. of *Jerſey* and Sir *Edward Seymour*, the Seals 'from the Earl of *Nottingham*, an able and faithful Miniſter,

'and his high Command from the Earl of *Rocheſter*; all which 'Gentlemen adher'd firmly to the Intereſt of the Church.

'That the Conduct of the L---T---, has been ſomething 'Myſterious; and that even he and the D--- and D--- of '*M*---, have been abus'd by the Artifices of *S*---*d* with his 'New Alliance; that her Majeſty herſelf by the ſame means '(ſince Princes are not Infallible) is ſuſpected to have been Im-'pos'd upon through falſe Miſrepreſentations of the great num-'bers of the Diſſenters; That her Majeſty's Gracious Diſpoſi-'tion and Inclination to render all her People Happy, was laid 'hold of as a Screen for theſe Abuſes, and *Moderation* was the 'Word, the *Paſs par tout* that open'd all the *Place* Doors be-'tween the *Lizard-point in Cornwal*, and the *Town of Berwick* '*upon Tweed*, and that upon the Introduction of this New-'faſhion'd Word, ſome Gentlemen who had made a handſom 'Figure in Parliament, and had render'd themſelves conſpicu-'ous, had abated of their former Zeal, and grew cool in their 'Concerns for the Church here in *England*, while the word '*Moderation* was *Heathen Greek* among the Brethren croſs the '*Tweed*.

'That thoſe of the Church that know the Queen's Piety 'and ſpecial Zeal for the Church of *England*, cannot but think 'ſome late Alterations in the M.....try, ariſe from no ordinary 'Cauſe, or from any thing leſs than a lively Apprehenſion of 'ſome very great Danger, eſpecially when they conſider their 'own firm Adherence to her while Princeſs, and their dutiful 'and affectionate Carriage to her ever ſince, having comply'd 'with all her Deſires only in the Caſe of the D. of *Marlborough*, 'when his Services were in their Infancy, which they have 'made ample Amends for ſince, not only in their Concurrence 'to acknowledge his good Services, but recommending them in 'a moſt Special and Honourable manner to Her Majeſty's fur-'ther Conſideration.

'That the Church-men by the repeated Exhortations from 'the Th..... to Peace and Union, find themſelves almoſt as 'ſenſibly reproach'd with want of Chriſtian Charity, *&c.* as 'by the open Aſperſions of the Diſſenters and their Hire-

'lings,

'lings, who under the Buffoon Names of High-flying, Tantivy, Perkinite, *&c.* are employ'd to traduce and banter all 'Care of the Government, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil. That the '*Independents* and *Preſbyterians* formerly in *England* and *Ireland*, the Kirk of *Scotland* heretofore and at preſent, the *Anabaptiſts* at *Munſter*, the *Lutherans* in divers parts of *Germany*, '*Sweden*, *Denmark*, &c. the *Calviniſts* in *Holland* and at *Geneva*, 'and the *Roman Catholicks* almoſt all the World over, have 'ſhewn they will not endure a Rival Church in their Dominions; and even the *Quakers* themſelves, who never had any 'Dominion any where, and therefore may make the ſtrongeſt 'Pretentions to Moderation, will not ſo much as lay out their 'Money with a Tradeſman of another Perſwaſion, *&c.*

'That the Church of *England* regrets the Loſs of thoſe favourable Regards, which their conſtant, dutiful, and affectionate 'Behaviour might give them a juſt Expectation of. That the 'Reaſons pleaded for clogging and damping the Affairs of 'the Church, are, firſt, the Times will not bear other Meaſures; that its Enemies are numerous and powerful, and 'muſt not be provok'd at this Juncture; the Queen muſt have 'the Hearts of all her People, and give them equal Encouragement, the old ſeditious rebellious Race of Fanaticks and 'Whigs, is extinct, and their Leven worn out, are of the 'ſame Face and Appearance as the Temporizers of all Ages 'have given.

In anſwer to which, the Memorialiſt goes on to ſay, 'That 'in point of Time, in all dangerous Diſtempers, we muſt make 'the earlieſt Applications, as in acute Diſeaſes of the Body, and 'he that defers the Remedy under the Pretence of waiting for 'a Criſis, betrays the Patient to the Danger of being loſt; and 'brings an Inſtance from the redreſſing the Grievances of the 'Coin in the late Reign, when the War was judg'd, by many, 'an inconvenient and hazardous Time to rectify it in, yet notwithſtanding, the Difficulties were ſurmounted, and the E'vent has ſhewn, that the certain Miſchief of the Delay would 'have been much greater than the Hazards from the immediate 'Remedy of Re-coining.

'As for the Diſſenters being too numerous to be diſoblig'd, '(which the Memorialiſt ſuppoſes, but will not grant) he pro-'ceeds to give us Reaſons for no manner of Apprehenſion from the 'Sullenneſs of their Temper on that Head, and makes appear, that 'our Fleets and Armies are mann'd and form'd of ſuch as can con-'form to the Church; and as for their denying us the Aſſiſtance 'of their Purſes, they were never known to be ſo blind to 'their own Advantage, ſince even their ſo much boaſted God-'lineſs is nothing elſe but Gain, as not to cloſe in with good 'Intereſt and prompt Payments. He likewiſe intimates, to 'bring the Pretenders to Moderation, to a true moderate Tem-'per, and by way of Caution, reminds ſome in Authority, that 'though the Principles of the Church of *England* will diſpoſe 'Men to bear a great deal, he's a Mad-man that tries how 'much; for when Men are provok'd, Nature is very apt to 'rebel againſt Principle, and then the Odds are vaſt on Na-'ture's ſide; for tho' the Church cannot be wrought up to 'Rebellion, yet they may be alarm'd ſo as to ſecure themſelves 'at the Peril of thoſe M.....rs who give them the Alarm.

—Which laſt Poſition has rais'd ſuch a Hurricane among the paſſionate Pen-men, ſuch as the *Review* and *Obſervator*, as to be made uſe of by thoſe Incendiaries for an Argument to Impugn the Church of *England*'s Loyalty with; wherefore I ſhall refer the Reader to ſome Remarks upon their baſe and unnatural Interpretation of it, at the cloſe of this ſecond Enquiry, and follow this Author, (who has given ſo much Diſtaſte to ſome People, that he ſtands Convicted before he has put himſelf upon his Tryal) through the reſt of his Remonſtrances that are made ſuch Handles for the G.....ts Offence.

'All Parties ſay, his Adverſaries are to be encourag'd with-'out Diſtinction, which he can by no means allow of, ſince 'Friends and Enemies, Affectionate and Diſaffected, Truſty 'and Treacherous, would from hence be equally Eſteem'd, 'which would be the bane of the Government it ſelf, and leave 'ſome Gentlemen leſs certainty of continuing in their Poſts, 'than if none but true Church-men were poſſeſs'd of Offices 'and places of Truſt; and proceeds to inform his Reader far-

ther

'ther by way of Intrerogation, that ſimple and ſudden Conver-
'ſions of the Mind are to be ſuſpected, and that there are ſome
'Reliques of the old Leaven ſtill remaining among ſuch as
'make a ſhew of coming into the Boſom of the Church by ſham
'Conformity, and that it was much to be doubted their Af-
'fection to Her Majeſty was not over ſincere, who ill treated
'and beſpatter'd her when Princeſs.

'From hence he takes Dr. *Davenant*'s perſecuting Argument
'to Taſk, and fully proves, in ſpightof that Trimming Author's
'Eſſay upon *Peace at home and War abroad*, prohibiting Occa-
'ſional Conformity to be no Perſecution, and makes appear,
'that *Civil Truſt* is not any Man's *Birth-right*, (as ſome Advo-
'cates for *Spiritual Jugling* have vainly pretended) but the
'Reſult of *the Confidence* the Government has in our *Merit* and
'*Fidelity*, and that the *Gift* of it is a matter of *Grace*, not *Right*:
'That the Diſſenters always abus'd the Truſt they have been
'admitted to, from the Experience of King *Charles* the Firſt's
'Reign, in which they actully procur'd the Subverſion of
'Church and State againſt the King; and of King *James* the
'*Second's*, wherein they voluntarily offer'd to Sacrifice the
'Laws and Immunities of 'em to him. That the Bill againſt
'Occaſional Conformity, is not only *reaſonable*, but *neceſſary*,
'ſince beſides its Scandalous Equivocation and Jeſuitical ſhifts,
'the Sectarians by the means of it, openly ſtile themſelves the
'Church of *England* by Law Eſtabliſh'd, and ſo pretend to evade
'all the Laws that are or ſhall be enacted in her Favour, but
'lay claim to, and perhaps in Time may arrogate Soberly to
'themſelves the Priviledge, and fix upon the Church the Penal-
'ties of thoſe diſcriminating Acts. That they join with the De-
'iſts, Socinians and Latitudinarians, who by their Means would
'pull down the Chuch, and who are no Friends to the Diſſen-
'ters, yet are embrac'd by them, even while it is againſt all
'the Diſſenters in General to pull it down.

'That though it is againſt their Intereſt, it's their deſign;
'to prevent which, we are caution'd to diſtinguiſh between
'thoſe that are *of* and *for* the Church, and thoſe that are *of* the
'Church only. That the Diviſion of the Church-men into *High*

'and

'and *Low*, is groundleſs and knaviſh, and is a dangerous Di-
'ſtinction ſet afoot by their Enemies; That if the ſtrict Ob-
'ſervation of the Rubrick and Canons, denominates a Man to
'be a High Church Man, every Preſbyter of the Church of
'*England* ought to be a High Church Man; and there is no
'*High Church Man* but the *Pope*, nor no *Low Church Men* but
'the *Fanaticks* and their Abettors, who are prov'd to be dange-
'rous to the Church.

'That tho' the Queen is in her own Perſon zealous for
'the Church, of which ſhe is the viſible Head, and all and
'every individual Miniſter or Perſon in Credit about her, is
'ſolicitous for the ſame good End, yet they are but Men, and
'conſequently fallible. That the Danger of delaying the Bill
'againſt Occaſional Conformity, is very great on Account of
'the Succeſſors to the Crown; and it can't be expected, that
'thoſe who have been educated in the Knowledge of other
'Doctrines, however Good and Gracious they may otherwiſe
'be, will come over with an extraordinary Regard for a Church,
'to the very Principles and Diſcipline of which, they may pro-
'bably be great Strangers; and that the Diſſenters are not con-
'tented with Liberty of Conſcience, but for wreſting the whole
'Power into their Hands, as in King *William*'s Reign.

'That no Reign can be more opportune for this Bill, than
'her Majeſty's, and that whatever Objections or Oppoſition
'may be made to it now, may probably be made then; when
'our Prince, for want of ſufficient Acquaintance with our
'Church and *Us*, ſhall perhaps not be ſo able to diſcern the
'Unreaſonableneſs and Fallaſy of them, as the Queen is; that
'out of 34 P.....rs Sp.....l and T.....l, created in the late Reign,
'ſcarce above five, either in that Reign or this, ever gave a Vote
'for the Intereſt of the C.....h or C.....l C.....n in any Criti-
'cal Queſtion that concern'd them, and what a dangerous Ma-
'jority ſuch Creations may make ſomewhere, we find already
'to our Sorrow; and therefore in this Reign, in which only
'we can hope to do it, ſhould provide againſt ſuch Miſchiefs
'for the Future.

That

'That the deſign of Miniſters are to be jud'gd by their Con-
'duct, and the miſchief of their firſt falſe Steps, who under pre-
'tence of Moderation, and healing our Breeches, and calming
'our Animoſities, have made them ten times wider; and more
'flagrant, is irreparable, ſhould they live up to the Age of
'*Mathuſalah*, and govern as Wiſely and Uprightly for thef u-
'ture as *Numa* or *Lycurgus*.

'That the Trimming of Great Men, though perhaps diſſem-
'bled, ſtrengthens the Whigs, that Friendſhips founded on
'Ambition, are Fallacious and Dangeous, and never Laſting;
'for he that to ſerve a preſent Turn gives up his Old Friends,
'to ſerve a future One, will give up his new Ones to them
'to recover 'em again; and that the Whigs, if they be Wiſe,
'will conſider for what Ends they are at preſent Careſs'd, and
'whether their own Share of the Nuts they are employ'd to
'take out of the Fires, be worth burning their Fingers.

'That it has been the common failing of moſt of our great
'Miniſters to neglect thoſe who have conſtantly, and out of
'Principle or Inclination, been in their or the ſame Intereſt
'with them, to purchaſe thoſe who have been in a contrary,
'and that all Ages and Countries have abounded with the
'Slaves of proſperous Greatneſs, and that all Favourites have
'been equally attended by them during its continuance, and
'alike deſerted by them when that was gone, ſince it was not
'the Man, but his Fortune that they courted.

'That the extraordinary Changes at Court cannot proceed
'from the Sale of Places, and that the Queen ſo far approv'd
'the Service of ſome Great Men of the Church of *England* who
'laid down, as earneſtly to deſire the continuance of it in *the*
'*ſame* or *better Poſt*. That we may juſtly ſuſpect the Grounds
'of *their* Retreating from Court, was their ſeeing ſuch Things
'carrying on as they could neither concur with, nor prevent;
'and therefore conſulted their own Honour by ſo doing, leſt
'by appearing to countenance them, they ſhould ſhare the
'Imputation; and that from the choice of Whigs to ſucceed,
'it looks as if ſome Perſons had a deſign to guard all the Avenues

'to

'to the Q.....n with their own Creatures, and to exclude the 'poor declining C.....h, and its Friends, from all manner of 'Acceſs to her.

'That if while the C.....t was entirely in the Church Inte-'reſt, and both Houſes of Parliament concurr'd with it in ha-'ving the Laws rigorouſly put in Execution on its ſide, the Fa-'naticks encreas'd and multiplied upon us, we have Reaſon to 'be apprehenſive of a much greater encreaſe, when all our 'ſtrength is reduc'd to a Remnant, when 17 of thoſe Heroick 'Prelates that gave Life and Vigour to the Church, are Dead, 'and ſucceeded for the generality by Men of more Moderate 'Principles, who out of Complaiſance to ſome M.....rs, have 'left it, the only Proteſtant Community not ſecur'd by 'Law.

'That the Church's humble Petition to the Biſhops, is, that 'they would encourage the Lower Clergy to exert themſelves 'in defence of that Church from which they receive their Bread, 'and inſtruct their Congregations in the Nature of *true Mode-'ration*, not that which is between Luke-warmneſs in Religion, 'and indifference in every thing that relates to the Service of 'God. That they would admoniſh them to remonſtrate to them 'the Scandal and Sin of *Occaſional Conformity*, and the Heinouſ-'neſs of diſſembling with God in ſo ſolemn an Act of Devotion 'as approaching the Lord's Table, and that they be excited 'and ſtirr'd up to Vindicate thoſe worthy Patriots in both 'Houſes (eſpecially the Houſe of Commons) who are aſpers'd 'for their juſt Endeavours to ſettle and ſecure the Church and 'Civil State, more eſpecially at this time, maliciouſly miſre-'preſented by the Enemies of both.

'That there are three Ways in which the Diſſenters have 'receded from us, *viz. Doctrine*, *Diſcipline*, and *Worſhip*, and 'they will not cloſe with us, or come into a Comprehenſion, 'which ſome of our moderate Men are for, unleſs we grant 'them theſe three Points, that if the Proteſtant Diſſenters, 'as it is generally handed about, agree with us in all the main 'and fundamental Points of the Chriſtian Faith, and differ 'from us in Trifles and Points not Eſſential, they had no Reaſon

'ſeperate

‘ ſeparate from us, and can't excuſe themſelves from the guilt of
‘ obſtinate and unreaſonable Schiſm, if they do not immediately
‘ return into the Boſom of the Church, who, provided this be all
‘ the ground of their Separation, is ready with open Arms to
‘ receive them.

‘ That thoſe Sectaries who have made it High-Treaſon in
‘ *Scotland*, by Preaching or Argument, in Diſcourſe or Wri-
‘ ting, to defend Epiſcopacy, are not like to be very Indulgent
‘ to it here, when ever they ſhall have it in their power to be
‘ Severe; and the whole Nation know's the time, when the
‘ *Saints ſhall inherit the Land*, was thought *Law* ſufficient to
‘ give a Sett of Men who Sainted themſelves, a Title to the
‘ Lands and Poſſeſſions of the *Wicked* and *Malignant*, which
‘ which was every Man whoſe Eſtate they coveted.

‘ That *Dominion is founded in Grace*, is an Error that introduces
‘ tyrannical Uſurpations, and makes Enthuſiaſts and Hypocrites,
‘ and that Epiſcopacy is not to be Moderated to the Diſſenters
‘ Taſte, ſince Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction is ſtrain'd by them far
‘ above above the Practice of the Church, and Synodical Po-
‘ pery is the Foundation of Presbytery. That the *Independents*
‘ carry the Authority of every individual Prieſt, higher than
‘ the *Presbyterians*, and every Paſtor is Arch-Biſhop of his Con-
‘ gregation; that there is no Appeal from his Infallible Judica-
‘ And the difference between the two Sects is, that the firſt
‘ has but one Pope in each Nation, which is the Synod, and
‘ the ſeveral Miniſters of which it is compos'd, are but ſo many
‘ Limbs of Anti-chriſt: Whereas, the laſt has a little Pope in
‘ every Congregation, and every individual Preacher among
‘ them is a whole Petty Anti-chriſt himſelf.

‘ That no terms of Comprehenſion are offer'd by the Diſ-
‘ ſenters, and that by which ſoever way, either the Diſſenters
‘ coming over to the Church, or the Church to them, a Coali-
‘ tion ſhould be effected; the proper Name for it would be Con-
‘ verſion, not Comprehenſion. That the Diſcipline of the Diſ-
‘ ſenters is Arbitrary and Unlimited, and the moſt Reaſonable
‘ of them, have always ſet themſelves above Laws, by pretend-
‘ ing that the Sentencing and Correction of Sinners without

‘ limita-

'limitation of Kind, either of Sin or Puniſhment, belong'd to 'them as Miniſters of Chriſt, by which unbounded Privileges 'they obtain'd an abſolute Sovereignty over all Ranks and 'Conditions of Men, which is a Note above *Ela*, and a Strain 'beyond Popery.

'That the Brethren of the Church of *England*, that pretend 'to more Moderation than the reſt, ought to conſider whither 'the deſigns of theſe Separatiſts tend, and whither they can fol-'low them through all the ſenſeleſs Mazes of Enthuſiaſm, ſince 'if they ſtir a ſtep out of the direct Paths of the Church, their 'leaſt Devotion after them will be call'd a Conviction. That the 'Diſſenters ought to ſtate their Demands, and give us demon-'ſtration, that it is neither an Illuſion, as the Savoy Confe-'rence about ſuch an Union ſoon after the Reſtoration, was, 'nor the preſumption of private Perſons, without the Autho-'ty of the Body in General, which they retain.

'That the Church is complyant in her Offers to them, and 'in her incomparable Preface to the Book of *Common-Prayer*, 'ſpeaks of them in this manner; *Let them therefore ſhew to the 'Right Reverend Fathers of the Church, and thoſe that are in Au-'thority, what Alterations they deſire, and the evident neceſſity or 'expediency of ſuch Alterations, and no doubt but they will meet 'with a cheerful Complyance with them.*

'That the Church does not Perſecute the Diſſenters, nor de-'ſire that they ever ſhould be Perſecuted; that they have 'bound up their Hands from doing that to which their Hearts 'are as averſe as the moſt Moderate of them all, and have 'perpetuated the Toleration to the Diſſenters, and are ready 'to join it at any time to what farther Security they ſhall ask 'for themſelves. Wherefore the Moderate Men are challeng'd 'to Explain their Meaning, what ſort of Moderation they ask, 'otherwiſe the Members of the Church of *England* will have 'juſt reaſon to ſuſpect, that they have confederated with their 'Enemies, and are in a Plot againſt us, as in effect we ſee they 'are, by the Oppoſition, which, in conjunction with them, 'they make to us on all Occaſions.

'That

'That their Clamour is Matter enough to provide our ſelves with Caution againſt them, while they preſs us every Seſſion of Parliament with their Apprehenſion of the Papiſts, who tho' our Enemies, are inconſiderable for Number with the Fanaticks, who are equally inveterate Enemies of the Church, and more of Monarchical Government; and that the Arming of *Scotland*, our Enemies by ancient Averſion, and with whom our Engliſh Fanaticks have more than once Joyn'd, gives us but two lively an appehenſion of our preſent Condition.

'That our only Hope at preſent is in the Queen and the next Parliament, and that if the Miniſters ſhould Miſinform or Miſlead the Q——n, as Miniſters have ſometimes the Opportunity of doing, by very Wiſe Princes, the Queen might want the Power, when ſhe had the Will, to rectify theſe Abuſes. That ſuppoſe we ſhould have a Parliament to our Deſires, we could not be aſſur'd but we ſhould have one three Years after, that might make ſale of our Liberties, ſince if the Sting of Impeachments be ſuffer'd to be taken away, the People muſt be the Sheep, the Aſſes (or what they pleaſe to make of them) of Great Men, and they may Fleece, Ride and Slay us, without being call'd to an Account.

'That falſe Returns and the Rights of Elections, are to be Judg'd by the Houſe of Commons, and that they cannot determine concerning the Election, without judging Sovereignly concerning the Right of the Electors. That the Dueneſs of an Election follows the Right of the Electors, and by the ſame Method that *two* may be forc'd upon them *two hundred* may, or indeed 513. That upon Refuſals, to take undue Polls, if the Mayor or Magiſtrates concern'd to take Votes, ſhould have Actions brought againſt them, and they Caſt the Plaintiff, the Law does not give ſufficient Damages in ſuch Suits, for no Man is to be Oppreſs'd *ultra Tenementum*; and ſo the Fellow that occaſions the Vexatious Suit, goes Unpuniſh'd, and he that has done his Duty, has his Charges for his Pains.

'That Hardships may arise from the precedent of the *Ailsbury* Men to all Officers taking the Poll at Elections, who may be deterr'd thereby from executing their Trusts as the Law directs, and that Freedom it self is impair'd by such Usurpations. That Privileges are the remains and the only Pledges of Natural and Civil Liberty, and that the Body to which they appertain, are and can only be the Keepers or Judges of them, for whensoever they shall trust the Keeping or Judgment of them to any others, they cease to be.

'That had this been rightly consider'd, the Dispute would have been shorten'd last Session of Parliament, between the Lords and Commons, and put an end to the senseless Clamours of some bawling Fellows, that made a Villanous Noise about it. For to judge solely and Sovereignly of all Matters touching Elections for Members to serve in Parliament, appears indisputably to be the Privilege of the House of Commons, as well by the Confession of the House of L——ds themselves in this very Dispute, as from the Nature of such Privileges; and if that be a Privilege of the House of Commons, they and only they ought to Judge when it is Broken.

'That Privileges only receive Limitations from those that give them Being, and that they could not be derived from their Lordships Concessions, since they were antecedent to the Lords themselves, who are the Creatures of them that own'd these Privileges: That some Privileges are provided for by Law, and others not, and that these of Parliament were not so much taken care of, because they were thought more Disputable than any of the rest; but they were express'd in an Act, that Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, who are usually no very nice judges of Privileges of Parliament, might exactly know their Duty, and presume no farther.

'That the only Remedy for the Appellants, if they had been deny'd their Votes by the Constables of *Ailsbury*, was to be had in the House of Commons, and no where else; and that

'their pretending to Appeal to the Houſe of Lords for Damages, 'look'd as if either they had put thoſe Votes to Sale, or the 'Purchaſer came upon them to refund the Mony paid down 'for them. That the Conſequences of the *Ailsbury* Attempt, 'would have been the ſubjecting the Houſe of Commons that 'is Co-ordinate to them, to the Houſe of Lords, had they not 'ſtopp'd its career by a Commitment.

'That the preſent Maxims and Practices of the Whigs are 'contradictory to their Former; and that the Moderniſts are 'ſuch baſe Recreants, as to recant all their old Principles, and 'condemn all that their Predeceſſors or themſelves have done 'for theſe three or fourſcore Years (not excepting what was 'Juſtifiable, and their ſtrict Duty) to ſet up their New Patrons. 'That Right ſuppoſes Law and Power to defend it, and that 'the Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, would have no abi- 'lity to defend the Right of thoſe that are Repreſented by 'them, unleſs they have power to puniſh any Invaſions upon 'them, and open Affronts to their Authority.

'That the Excellency of our Conſtitution conſiſts in its being 'a limited mix'd Monarchy, wherein Stated Rules of Govern- 'ment are contriv'd by the People, and receive their Sanct- 'ion from the King, who having the Executive Power, acts by 'his Miniſtry, who upon any Miſgovernment are Reſponſible 'to the People, and puniſhable for exceeding their Commiſſi- 'on given them by Law, and that the Commons are one of the 'three Eſtates, and their Rights neither precarious nor depen- 'dant on any other.

'That the Diſtinction of the Lords at the Conference, be- 'tween the Merits of the Election, and the Rights of the Electors, 'was without Difference, and that the Right of any Commoner 'qua *Elector*, is upon no pretence whatſoever ſubject to the Judg- 'ment of the Lords, or the Crown. That there lies no dan- 'ger of Oppreſſion from this Power of the Commons, but 'they are fitted for that Power beyond the Lords for Three

'ſeveral

'several Reasons; 1. Because they are but Commoners, and 'themselves lyable to the same Hardships they shall inflict upon others, which the Lords are not. 2. They derive their 'Authority from the People's Choice, which must lay obligations upon them to be very tender of their Interest. 3. That 'this Authority is but of short Duration, three Years at most, 'and their Elections Precarious, which obliges them to behave 'themselves with abundance of Circumspection and Deference 'to their Electors.

'That the Commons are bound in Duty to commit Insults 'upon their Rights and Authority, and that their forbearance 'in the first Attack of *Ashby* was a fault that drew after it the 'rest, and is scarce sufficiently repair'd by their Conduct and 'Vigilance since. That the Commitment of the Five *Ailsbury* 'Men by the House of Commons, being in execution of their 'Sentence for Punishment, not Tryal, there was no pretence 'for a *Habeas Corpus*, much less *Writ of Error*, and that God 'would give our next Representatives Courage, Wisdom to 'preserve the Church and the Crown.

'That the *Moderation*, *Reasonableness* and *Necessity* of the Bill 'for the *Preventing Occasionnl Conformity*, was what solely occasion'd the attempt at the Tack; and that the Bills being 'receiv'd with such difficulty by the L——, who did not observe Measures barely Decent with them, but flung it out of 'Doors several times, with divers scornful Speeches, both reflecting on the Bill, and those that sent it up, made them despair, that those who had Insulted them in so open a manner, 'would ever be brought to hear any thing more upon that 'Head, wherefore they resolved to tack it the Land-Tax Aid, 'in hopes that those who chiefly obstructed the *Passing of it*, 'would rather recede from their secret Designs, than hazard 'the losing or retarding that Supply.

'That

'That the Clamour upon theſe Proceedings is unaccountable and unreaſonable, tho' not adverted upon by ſome in Authority, *under whoſe Noſes* theſe Villainous Slanders are Printed and Publiſh'd almoſt daily, and that the Arguments againſt the *Tackers* are of two ſorts, (*viz.*) againſt the *Bill it ſelf*, and the *Right of Tacking* in General; the laſt of which they ſay is very rare, and would take away from the Lords, *the Right of Deliberating on any Bill.*

'That, in Anſwer to theſe Objections, the Practice of Tacking is as Old as the Commons giving of Mony, for if in Antient Times the *Generoſity* of *Kings*, and the ſimple *Honeſty* of the *People* did incline them to take the Prince's Word for Redreſs of their Grievances, and in caſe of preſſing neceſſity to give their Mony firſt, yet this was as expreſs a *Tack*, as if the Sum given had been, and Conditions upon which it was given, had been expreſs'd in the ſame Parchment. That our Anceſtors found reaſon very early to be more cautious upon what Terms they parted with their Money, and to take care that how many Bills ſoever they paſs'd the *Mony Bills* ſhould always be the laſt, and remain as a Security for the Reſt.

'That they that will take the Pains to ſearch our Hiſtories and Records impartially, will find that our Anceſtors have from time to time, even beyond our Tracing, been poſſeſs'd of the Right of Tacking, or a ſufficient equivolent and free giving implies Power of doing it with or without Condition. That if the Houſe of Commons are to be limited and circumſcrib'd in the Conditions, and yet be oblig'd to give, they are no longer *Givers* but Aſſeſſors, who have nothing to do but to meaſure out and proportion, and that whenever this Point is gain'd upon them either by the Crown or Lords, the People are brought that very Moment under a Tyranny.

'That the Objection againſt the Right of Deliberating is of no Force, ſince the Caſe of Mony Bills, the Lords have no Right to deliberate upon any Thing concerning them, but who-

'whether they will accept Money upon the Terms it is offer'd, 'or not, and that whether they would have accepted the 'Land Tax with the Occaſional Bill Tack'd to it, is more than 'any one, not even themſelves can tell, ſince it never came up 'to them, to be put to the Vote.

'That the Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity as it was 'then worded had been alter'd to the very Terms on which 'the Lords had conſented to it, and that the matter of the '*Deliberation* concerning the ſubſtance of the Occaſional Con-'formity Bill had long been over when the attempt to Tack it 'was made, and the only Queſtion that remain'd undecided 'was, Whether the Commons ſhould loſe a Bill that had been 'ſo often by themſelves judg'd neceſſary, and part with an un-'doubted Right for the *Awe* of a *Reſolution* found on the Books 'of the Houſe of Lords or not.

'That Conſequences are only imputable to thoſe that are in 'the wrong, and that ſince the Lords are bound to receive or 'reject all Mony Bills entire, with all their Clauſes there can 'be no Tack upon the Crown, which is not equally a Tack 'upon the Lords. That thoſe that ſlight our Apprehenſions 'for the Cauſe of the Eſtabliſh'd Church are to be ſuſpected, 'and that they would do well to obviate our Objections and 'remove thoſe Fears by undeniable Grounds for their own 'Confidence, or by propoſing ſome ſufficient equivolent to 'what has been thought ſo neceſſary for its Security.

'That the Scotch Act of Security is one Ground ſufficient 'for our Apprehenſion, and that this is not a Time for the 'Church or Nation to be ſtrip'd of the Aſſiſtance and Protection 'of ſuch Friends and Faithful Servants to the Queen, as the 'Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Rocheſter*, *Nottingham*, *Jerſey*, '*Winchelſea*, *Dorſet*, the Lords *Guilford*, *Granvill*, Sir *Edward* '*Seymour*, Sir *George Rooke*, &c. when Thirty Thouſand Scots 'which the loweſt Calculations make them Enemies to our 'Church, Diſcipline, and Worſhip, are Arm'd, Regimented 'and Diſciplin'd, in our very Neighbourhood.

'That

" That both Lords and Commons jointly concurr'd in the " Danger of this Armament, by the late *Act of Security*; and " that it is not to be doubted, when they meet next, they will " agree to enquire who among us advis'd it. That it behoves " us to conſider what remains yet for us to do to divert the " Storm, ſince, beſides our Supplications as pious Chriſtians, " there is ſomething incumbent on us as a prudent People; and " that if we have any among us, that are fond, or Favourers of " the *Scotch* Kirk-Diſcipline, it will be a more *dangerous Expe-* " *riment* than has been made above theſe forty Years, to truſt " them with the Civil Power.

" That the Deſign of the late Houſe of Commons may be " ſeen by the *Self-denying Bill*, and that it is an inconceivable " Stupidity to accuſe or ſuſpect thoſe of monopolizing Places, " who would voluntarily diſable themſelves by holding any, " from a *Self-denying Bill*. That in Order to conſult the true " *Intereſt of the Queen, the Maintenance of our Conſtitution,* " *the Defence of the Privileges of Parliament, the Rights of the* " *People*, and the *future Peace and Quiet of the whole Nation*, " it is hop'd the People would recommend to their new Repre- " ſentatives the Care of the *Occaſional Conformity*, and Self-de- " nying Bills, and the Protection of their Priviledges, which " are the Peoples own, and their ſole Pledges of Liberty; and " that this done, the Queen would be *faithfully ſerv'd*, the " People rightly *repreſented*, Religion would *flouriſh*, Trade " *revive*, our Arms *proſper*, and our Confederates be *reliev'd*; " which the Author begs God to grant, and long preſerve " the *QUEEN*.

Thus much for the *MEMORIAL*, that calls down for ſuch heavy Judgments, not only on the *Author*, or *Authors* of it, but on the whole High Church in general, which are all ſuch as pay an exact Obedience to what is enjoin'd by the *Rubrick*, and ſhew their Compliance with Ordinances and Acts of Parliament; and for which *every true Engliſh Subject* is ſolicited (*vid.* Review, *Aug.* 7.) *to lay Hands on them as Ruffians, and tear them in Pieces.* This is the Opinion of the Diſſenters, by the Mouth of their Hireling-Scribe, and this is the Uſuage we are to ex-

pect from them, when ever they ſhall have Authority enough to put it in Practice. What Precautions then are not to be laid hold of, by way of Anticipation? What Meaſures not to be taken againſt ſuch inſolent Invitations to deprive us not only of our Liberties and Immunities, but our Lives, and, what is more dear to us than Life it ſelf, the Exerciſe of our holy Religion, as by Law eſtabliſhed?

This is what the People of England are excited, *as one Man, immediately to take Arms for: 1. To execute immediate Vengeance on all the High Church-men in the Nation, as the People who had told them before-hand, they deſign'd to do what now they find them attempting.* 2. To prevent the immediate Conſequences of their wicked Deſign, and to *RE-ESTABLISH the LAWFUL Authority of the Nation upon the JUST Foundation of the Conſtitution*, (Review, *Aug.* 9.)

To come up to my Promiſe, and produce the Remarks, which I refer'd the Reader to in the Cloſe of this Head, it is wholly neceſſary, that I repeat what is pretended to give Offence, and exaſperate theſe Men of *PEACE* and *MODERATION* into ſuch a turbulent and violent Diſpoſition, that nothing can appeaſe their Luſt of Vengeance but *MURTHER* and *ASSASSINATION. Though the Principles of the Church of* England, ſays the Memorial, *will diſpoſe Men to bear a great deal, he's a mad Man that tries how much; for when Men are provok'd, NATURE is very apt to rebel againſt PRINCIPLE, and then the Odds are vaſt on* Nature's *ſide: For tho' the Church cannot be wrought up to REBELLION, yet they may be* alarm'd *ſo, as to ſecure themſelves at the* Peril *of thoſe M---rs who give them the* Alarm.

And what of all this? I am at a Loſs to find out the *Treaſonable* Expreſſions that are ſaid to be contain'd in this inoffenſive Sentence. Here is nothing, but the Principles of the Church of *England* diſpoſe its Members to bear a great deal; which is but too true, God knows, ſince it has born with all the Inſolencies could be thought of to work us up to another Temper, in the bitter Invectives daily ſet abroach to withdraw the People from its Communion. That a Man may be exceeding paſſive, and

yet

yet not bear every thing, ſince it is dangerous to try how much even the ſtricteſt Patience can undergo; and that when Men are provok'd ſo as to be reduc'd to the laſt Extremity, *Nature* is apt to get the better of their *Principles*, which has great Odds on its ſide, while Reaſon is depreſs'd and weaken'd with long ſuffering. That though the Doctrines of the Church of *England* will not ſuffer its Members to alienate their Allegiance from their rightful and lawful Prince, or recede from the ſtrict Obſervance of their Duties; though we cannot be wrought up by the ſevereſt Hardſhips, even to ſo much as a rebellious Thought againſt our Sovereign, yet we may take Alarm on Account of any Encroachment upon our Rights and Privileges from any Quarter, and ſecure our ſelves at the Expence of an evil Miniſtry. Which is ſo far from bearing any Reſemblance of Rebellion, that we are anſwerable for all the Miſchiefs ſhall befal this Age, or thoſe that are to come; and Poſterity will have Reaſon to curſe us, ſhould we be ſo remiſs in the Preſervation of what we are entruſted with, as not to tranſmit them thoſe Liberties entire and undiminiſh'd, in the ſame State as we receiv'd them from our Anceſtors.

Not that I would be underſtood here to point at the preſent M—ry. Our Succeſſes abroad, and our Management at home, are ſuch convincing Proofs of their Abilities, that no Grounds of Complaint appear to reproach them in the Exerciſe of that Power Her Majeſty has inveſted them with: But ſince evil Miniſters have been; and *what has been, may be again*, I cannot but think it my Duty to affirm, that Impeachments of Offenders in Church and State, belong to the Commons of *England*; and we may bring theſe, upon any juſt Cauſe, againſt the greateſt Subject of the Realm, without incurring the Cenſure of Rebellion; for Treaſon againſt the Miniſtry, was never introduced till in theſe Days.

That the King can do no Wrong, is a Maxim of receiv'd Authority; but that it includes the great Officers of any Prince, I can never be induc'd to agree. *It's as dangerous to a Prince to have hurtful and hateful Officers in eminent Places, as to be hurtful and hateful to himſelf*, (ſays *Truſſel, in Vita Rich.* 2.) And

if we have a due Regard for our Sovereign, the only Way to ſhew it, is by ſolliciting the Removal of ſuch, as may be of ill Conſequence to him or his People, and to ſecure him and *our ſelves, at the Peril of that M---try*; which, if not inadverted upon, would be perilous to us.

But *this is depoſing the Miniſtry by Force*, (ſays the ſame Author of the *Review*) *which can never be done, but by captivating the Queen, and ſo obliging Her Majeſty to do what they pleaſe, or by ſomething worſe, and too terrible to name.* Alas for his Underſtanding! Has it not been the Practice of our Parliaments to make Application to the Throne, Time out of Mind, upon all momentous Miſmanagements in great Officers of State? Have not our Kings and Queens, by the ancient Uſuage of the Commons of *England*, been addreſs'd *to remove them from their Preſence and Councils for ever*, without any evil Conſequences of theſe Addreſſes, without *captivating their Severeign*, or *decollating him*; which is a Practice only known to Men of his own Party, and familiar to them by paſt Experience? Has any ſuch Removal been of any Tendency this Way yet, except their barbarous Arraignment, and Murther of the Earl of *Stafford*, in King *Charles* the Firſt's Time, whoſe Death was follow'd by the Martyrdom of his Lord and Maſter? And why could not a Whig-M---try (if ſuch there were) be as *gently laid aſide*, as a Church of *England* one has been ſaid to be? No doubt of it; and ſhould we be ſo unhappy (which Heavens avert) as to have an A-- B-- ſide with the Diſſenters againſt the Church eſtabliſh'd, a Favourite L--y make Sale of Offices and Places of Truſt, or an L-- T-- blow hot and cold at the ſame time, and fatten himſelf and his Adherents with the publick Spoils, which is next to an Impoſſibility, while the Perſons concern'd in the Adminiſtration continue in their Places; there are not wanting ſuch Patriots of the Church of *England*, as would exert themſelves for the Good of the preſent Eſtabliſhment; and whatever Diſcouragements they have met with in the like Caſes ſometime ſince, would take the ſame Meaſures for their Puniſhment, as have not been without Effect in *former Ages*, and may be ſucceſsful in *this*.

To

To conclude, if the Queen is neither abuſed in her Perſon, nor bullied, threaten'd, nor inſulted in her Authority; if ſhe is own'd to be the moſt gracious of Princes, and moſt affectionate to the Church eſtabliſh'd; if the *MEMORIAL* is only apprehenſive of Endeavours ſet a-foot to eſtrange her from the putting in Practice thoſe indulgent and Motherly Promiſes ſhe has made the Church, we are to paſs the moſt favourable Conſtruction we can on the Author's Concern for Her Majeſty's Honour, and the Church's Intereſt. *Jealouſy* is nothing elſe but the Effect of a *violent Love*; and the Suſpicions are entertain'd in the aforeſaid Pamphlet, may be reaſonably ſaid to proceed from the ſame Cauſe, ſince they are expreſs'd in ſuch dutiful Terms, and will be attended, if there are any Grounds for them, with ſuch fatal Conſequences.

The wiſeſt of Counſellors may take wrong Meaſures, and the beſt of Princes may be ill adviſed, ſince *Infallibility* has been a Stranger to the Crown and Cabinet, and they have thrown off the Superſtition of a Worſhip that was the greateſt Argument of their failing. *Quid omnia Poſſidentibus deeſt?* ſays *Seneca*, in *Lib. 6. de Beneficiis, Ille qui Verum dicat: What does he want, that has all the Affluence of the World in his Poſſeſſion? Marry, one that will dare to tell him the Truth.* And if *Encroachments* have been made upon the Privileges of the *Church*, through the Deſigns of ſome, and *Male-Adminiſtrations* have crept into the *State*, through the Artifices of others, Where lyes the Crime of a civil Remonſtrance? or, how can it be imputed as a Wickedneſs to ſuch as petition, in a regular Way, for a Redreſs of theſe Grievances.

Majeſty cannot be addreſs'd otherwiſe, through the Intervention of ſome Perſons, that intercept the Royal Beams, and keep them from ſhedding their benign Influence on ſuch as ſtand in need of them, than by this Paper-Conveyance; wherefore omitting ſome Things, which ſavour rather of Inadvertency than Deſign, ſome Miſtakes in Point of Civility, and other Accidents, that will happen to Pens that are exaſperated, and inflam'd by a ſuppoſed ill Treatment, I muſt take the Liberty to declare, that it's beyond the Confines of my Penetration to find

out,

out, or assign the Cause of the Distaste has been taken against this Pamphlet, which seems to be singled out for the G---t's Displeasure, when so loud and heinous Affronts have call'd for their Resentments from another Party, who say, *Peace, Peace, when there is no Peace*; and cover their Intemperance of Disaffection to the *Church*, and the *Monarchy*, with the *Cloak* of *MODERATION*. Which brings me to my third and last Enquiry; which is, *Whether if it be not so criminal as it is represented, something of the Rigour that is used towards the Persons suppos'd to be concern'd in it, might not be abated?*

And here it will not be foreign to my Purpose, before I enter into this Particular, to explain what I mean by the Word *Rigour*, and whom I apply it to; since otherwise I may be accus'd of charging the Government with *Severity*, and *have Things that I know not laid to my Charge*. The Reader therefore is to understand by it, the *SEVERITY* of such *Incendiaries*, who wrest the Text into their own Signification, and torture it with such unchristian and unfriendly Comments, as to make that which was written only in *Defence of the Church*, tend altogether to the Dissenters Destruction, and raise the Mob upon Men of Quality and Honour, whose Benefactions to the Publick call for other Requitals, than Looing the Scum of the Creation upon them, which when the Nation boils, and is in a Ferment, will always be uppermost.

To see the *Government lampoon'd, the Queen horribly slander'd, and the Ministry threaten'd, are strange provoking Things*; and were these Things true, could I possibly have the same Sense of them, as the Gentlemen who make it their Business to magnifie Matters, and transform *petit* Mistakes into overt Acts of High Treason, doubtless I should make use of the same *Severities*, and conclude the Persons concern'd in this unhappy Pamphlet Criminal; but when I can deduce Observations from nothing through the whole Run of it, but what is *Honey* to the *Myrrh*, and *Aloes* of those bitter Invectives that come from the dissenting Party, I cannot but imagine the Town has been dreaming all the while; and that either no Notice has been taken by Way of Resentment of the *MEMORIAL*, or that the

DYET

DYET OF POLAND, and the Weekly Papers which the Preſs abounds with, has been Animadverted upon with it.

The Juſtice of the Nation requires it, the regard ſhould be had from a Succeſſor to his Predeceſſor's Reputation, is an urgent Inducement for it, and the Diſreſpect ſhewn to the moſt illuſtrious Men the Nation is honour'd with, ſtrenouſly demands it; neither is it to be ſuppoſed ſome Gentlemen at the Helm of Affairs would have made no Enquiry after the Author, Bookſeller, and Publiſher of the laſt, ſince they cannot be ſaid to be backward in their Proceedings againſt the firſt.

But, ſay the Diſſenters, *what Relation have the Tranſactions of* Poland *to us? The Book was Printed at* Dantzick, *look on the Title Page elſe, and believe your own Eyes. Our M---s of St--- and Courts of Judicature have nothing to do with what is done in an independent Kingdom!* This we are willing to grant; but ſuppoſe this Libel could be prov'd (as ſome Perſons know it can) to be Printed in *Bartholomew Cloſe*; to be diſpers'd ſecretly and clandeſtinely by ſuch and ſuch Parties; to be left at particular Coffee Houſes and Taverns, in ſhort, to be ſhewn about publickly, and the Meaning of it explain'd, for ſome Months before it was publiſh'd, by the Author of it; the ſeveral Characters fixt upon the ſeveral Great Men the Satyr of it is pointed at, and all this done in the Face of Authority, even at the very time this *impious Memorial* was handed about. What Reaſon can the Diſſenters give for being ſo very *harſh* in their Reproaches upon the one, or their Favourers ſo cool in making a vindictory Inſpection into the other.

Dat Veniam Corvis vexat Cenſura Columbas, was an antient Satyriſt's Complaint, and it would be much more for the Honour of our *Engliſh* Nation, if while we are imitating the Examples of Old *Rome*, by our Conqueſts abroad, we copy'd not from their Vices at Home. But Reflections of this Nature may be dangerous, and otherwiſe interpreted, that he that *ſtates the preſent Caſe*, may expect, after I ſhall have laid down for undeniable, that the *Poliſh-Dyet* is much more intelligible and bare-fac'd than the *Memorial*, which has only the firſt Letters of Words, as L--- T---, which is given out without

out any Certainty for the Lord Treaſurer, as *Finſki* for the Earl of *Nottingham*, whoſe Name is *Finch*, *Buckſki*, for the Duke of *Buckingham*, &c. My Intent is by the way of Compariſon, to make an Eſtimate of the two Performances, and leave the Reader to judge which is moſt Criminal, and calls for a Nation's Reſentment, one that expoſes the beſt Men in the Kingdom, for Titles, Wiſdom, and Eſtate in Bear Skins, like a certain Tyrant, to be worried by the Bear Dogs of the Faction, or one that ſeems to have a Senſe of Grievances, yet is endued with the Spirit of Reſignation ſo much as to make uſe of no Expreſſions, that bear the Face of Scurrility, or ill Manners.

To begin with the *Memorial*, who ſpeaking of the Q----n, ſays, *thoſe of the Church that know the Piety and Tenderneſs of the Q---n for all her People, and her Goodneſs and Inclination to Charity, as well as her ſpecial Zeal for the Church of* England, *&c. Are we very ſure that thoſe who ill-treated, and beſpatter'd the Princeſs, and hop'd that ſhe never ſhould Reign, are grown ſincerely fond of the Queen, and heartily* glad that ſhe does Reign? *That the Queen is really well, and zealouſly principled and intentioned towards the Church,* (which he firmly believes, and is ſatisfied in) *and would readily concur in any thing juſt and ſeaſonable for its Service and Security. This they could never hope for ſo favourable an Opportunity of doing* (meaning the making the Occaſional Bill into an Act) *as is in the Reign of a Queen, who ſo well underſtands, and loves our Conſtitution* Eccleſiaſtical *and* Civil, *that as before among our Princes ſhe has no* Equal: *So it is to be fear'd, that after her may ariſe none* like her. *For theſe Evils ſo much to be fear'd, we have little hopes, but from the aſſur'd Goodneſs and Affection of the Queen for her Church,* &c.

This is what the ſanctified *Review* calls *Aſſaulting the Queen.* In the next Place, it may not be amiſs to recapitulate the *Scoundrel Treatment* her Miniſters receive at the Hands of this devoted Author. And here I ſhall only take notice of thoſe whoſe Names ſeem to be expreſs'd by the firſt Letters of them, though I cannot be aſſur'd that theſe are deſign'd at.

It

It is hard to assign any plausible Reason for this Conduct of the L--- T---, for it is scarce credible, that one who has the Reputation of a cunning Man, &c. *Thus it's believ'd L--- T--- and D--- and D--- of* M--- *received the first Warp, at least it is more Honourable to lay the Fault there, and suppose them abus'd, than to think they left the Cause. They did concur with the Queen in acknowledging the D--- of* M---'s *good Services* (*viz.* the House of Commons) even when they had refus'd the Grant of 5000*l. per Annum* propos'd by her Majesty, *and have since in a special Manner recommended to her his late great Services. But the* T--- *is Wise, let him therefore look to that, and maturely weigh who is to be provok'd at this Juncture. But it is whisper'd among us,* (as so great a Secret ought to be) *that the L--- T--- in his Heart does not care a Farthing for the Fanaticks and Whigs,* (which we believe) *That he is at the bottom a fast Friend to the Ch--ch, and has Designs very much to the Advantage of it,* (which we crave leave to doubt) *if the Ch--ch would have Patience, and wait the proper Time for the Execution of them? 'Tis probable the Influence of our T--- may not make Whigs so fast; but it debauches great Numbers.* S---nd---nd, *whose Schemes they are suspected to follow, found them once too hard for him; and his Master, for all his Indulgence to them,* (meaning the Whigs) *met with very ungrateful Returns. The T--- may please himself with a Dream of Power and Popularity, and fancy himself some mighty M---h when he sees his Levees crouded, and half a hundred Gentlemen waiting his Orders, and watching his* Nods, *but 'tis his Staff they follow, not him; if his Footman bore it, they would all be as obsequiously at his Heels.*

This is all that relates to the L--- T---, or the rest, who have any Nominal Letters to point them out, except the L--- *S---nd*, *Wh---*, *S---rs*, and *H---x*, who are charg'd with such Crimes as the Author, as well as he that has given the World a Survey of them, might have spar'd the Mention of, and this might have suffer'd a very great Castration, had the Person that pen'd it, been as cautious as the Noble P---r, whom it is the receiv'd Opinion it is penn'd against, is *Wise.* But as I am not answerable for other Mens Inadvertencies, so it is none of my

Buſineſs to point them out. What I have to do, is to go on with the other Branch that makes and compleats the Compariſon; and, without any Retroſpect to the Abuſes the Church has received, lay down what the *Poet* is to be charged with, as to his making bold with the Names and Characters of the Patriots, who fall under the Diſpleaſure of his Pen, and are arraign'd at his Tribunal, after having diſmiſſed the Gentleman of Proſe a while, to take an Inſight into that of *Verſe*.

And here the Reader will find him not only prodigal of his *Parnaſſian* Dung, which he is the redoubted *Scavenger* of, upon Gentlemen of the moſt illuſtrious Names, Reputations, and Eſtates in Her Majeſty's Dominions; but even to aſſault the Queen her ſelf, by way of *Simile*, whom he repreſents by the Name of King *Auguſtus* of *Poland*: A Prince, whom every one knows to have *abjur'd* the *Religion* he has been bred up in for a Crown; and whoſe want of Succeſs and daily Turmoils, in Oppoſition to factious Subjects, bear no manner of Proportion to Her Majeſty's triumphant and auſpicious Reign.

The Earl of *Nottingham* is *impertinent*, *proud*, and *dull* with him; *Nonſenſe divides his Hours*, and he's *emptily profound*, and charg'd with giving Paſſes, while Secretary of State to *French* Emiſſaries; ſaid to be *a Quacking*, *Mountebanking Tool of State*, and call'd a downright *KNAVE* in the Cloſe of his Character. The Earl of *Rocheſter*, the Queen's Uncle, (I take them in the Order as he gives them the Reader) is tax'd with *Oppreſſion* in his Office of *Lord High Treaſurer*, and *double Dealing*, in having a *Janus Face*, with *Crimes too black to be reveal'd*, and even with Attempts to *murther* the King his Maſter; for what elſe can be meant by it, *When the falſe Peer his Maſter's Fate purſued.*

Sir *Edward Seymour* is traduc'd with being *bred up to Fraud and Feud*, *proud*, *peeviſh*, *inſolent*, and *baſe*, with being *a Betrayer of his Truſt*, a *Cheat*, nay, a *Rogue* in Grain; is charg'd with having *Braſs* ſitting upon his Teſty *Brows*, that are *harden'd* with *broken Vows*, *Bribes*, and *Frauds*, with *loving* the *Villainies of Life*, with *coveting Miſchief* more than *Fame*, with being a *mad Man*, *abjectly wretched*, a *Bully*, &c.

Sir

Sir *George Rook* ſtands indebted to him, for being made to *deſtroy many Millions* of Money in fruitleſs Expeditions, for *loving* to *make a tedious Voyage in vain*, for *betraying* and *ſelling his Country*, for being *covetous* and *inſolent*, a *negative Soldier*, *one that would ſeldom fight*; and to crown all, for ſhewing himſelf a *Knave* and a *Coward*. The Lord *Grandvil* ſtands accuſed of being a *May-Fair* and *Hockley in the Hole Frequenter*, the Mob's *Captain Tom*, *Patron to the Whores*, *Bears*, and *Prize-Fighters*, &c.

The Lord *Guernſey* lies under Sentence of Condemnation, in his Satyr, for want of Senſe, for having *his Voice a Pun upon his Name*, which is *FINCH*, and for his being deſcended from a *wheedling Race*, and promoted and advanced to the Dignity of a Lord by the Queen, *that he might do no Harm, who had done no Good*. But above all, the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Obligations to him, are the greateſt for calling him a *ſtalking*, *ſharping Peer*, a *Whore-maſter*, *Gameſter*, *Sycophant*, and a *prophane Swearer*, who carries a *Diſeaſe* about him, that makes him *love the Whore he can't pleaſe*, and be *leud* and *impotent* at the ſame time; and for pointing him out in a particular Manner to the Reader, by deſcribing his Houſe, and the *Motto's* which are inſcrib'd upon it.

He goes on to characterize the good *Earl of Jerſey*, whom he aſſerts to be *conſcious of his Crimes*, relating to King *William*, and *Betrayer* of him, when this Noble Peer was one of the Committee that vindicated his Memory, on Account of *Papers* being found in that King's Cloſet. To conclude, neither the greateſt of the Nobility or Gentry have eſcap'd him in both Houſes of Parliament; and ſince he has been more than ordinarily free with the Debates of the Commons, 'tis not to be doubted, but Sir *Humphry Mackworth*, Mr. *Bromely*, Sir *John Packington*, Mr. *Toke*, Sir *Thomas Meers*, Mr. *Ward*, Mr. *Anneſly*, Sir *Thomas Powys*, *&c.* will do themſelves, and their injur'd Reputations Juſtice in the enſuing Parliament.

Thus have I drawn a Parallell, that in all rational Opinions muſt tend to the Advantage of the *Memorial*; which neither abounds with ſo much Filth of Expreſſion, as the *Satyrical Poem*

em, nor ſeems to be uſher'd into the World with ſo criminal a Deſign. Not that the Faults of the one are an Argument of the Innocence of the other; or, that becauſe the *Poliſh Dyet* is unmannerly, the *Memorial* may not lye under the ſame Imputation, ſince the Wiſdom of our Superiours will have it ſo; but it may alleviate from the Guilt of the Church-Party, to conſider what a Malignity of Spleen and ill Breeding that of the Diſſenters has contracted.

But the Reader may queſtion my Concerns with another Book, while I have enough on my Hands to clear up in the Caſe of the Pamphlet, which I only undertook to make my Comments upon; wherefore I ſhall apply my ſelf to conſider what Breach of the Law the *Memorialiſt* has been guilty of; for there muſt be a Breach of the Law, or there can be no *lawful* Animadverſion upon him; for *where there is no Law, there can be no Tranſgreſſion.*

It ſtands charg'd with being a *Libel* againſt the Government, a *defamatory* and *unſeaſonable Clamour* againſt Her *Majeſty* and Her *Miniſtry*, and a rude and inſolent Attempt to ſet People together by the Ears about the Church's Danger, when there is no Proſpect of any thing like it. Every Branch of which Charge has been already ſpoken to, and the *Rudeneſs*, *Inſolence*, and *Unſeaſonableneſs* ſhewn, ſince all Hopes of *ſecuring the Church* reſt themſelves upon the *Queen's ſingle Life*. Now, that Libels are Things heinous in the very Nature of them, and pernicious in their Deſign, muſt be acknowledg'd; and if it be againſt a Magiſtrate, or another *publick* Perſon, occaſions a much greater Offence, than if againſt one that is *private*, becauſe it concerns not only the *Breach* of the *Peace*, but alſo the *Scandal* of *Government*: For what greater Reproach can be laid upon a Government, than to have wicked and corrupt Magiſtrates appointed by the Sovereign for the Adminiſtration of Affairs? And what caſts a more odious Reflection upon the State, than to ſuffer Men of deſigning and unjuſt Principles to ſit at the Helm, and direct at the Steerage, where none but Gentlemen of affectionate Zeal to the Well-being of their Queen and Country, ſhould preſide? See *Coke* in 5th Report.

Libellus

Libellus Famoſus, a *Famous Libel*, is, *where a Man hath of MALITIOUS purpoſe, writ, compounded, or ſet out any thing to the INFAMY of another, without a Name, or with a Name*, ſays *Ridley* in his *View of both Laws*, the Lord *Coke* in his 5th Report, *de Libellis Famoſis*, Fol. 125; and it would not be improper for the Inquiſitive to conſult B. *Lamb*'s *Caſe*, *Cod. Lib.* 9. *Fol.* 59. *Swinburn* 2*d Part*, *Numb.* 19. *Cod.* 9. 36. *Lex Unica*, &c. and the Puniſhment of a Libeller, is by way of Indictment. Now, the Queſtion lies here, whether this *MEMORIAL* was written to a *malicious Purpoſe*, or has taken away any Man or Woman's good Name from them, ſo as to render them *endamag'd*, and *Sufferers* thereby; for where there is *no Loſs*, the Law gives *no Damage*, and it being own'd by the Diſſenting Party, that this has rather *ſtrengthen'd* their Cauſe, than *leſſen'd* it in the good Opinion of the World, it cannot be ſaid to be of any Detriment to them.

In Cogitatione tua ne detrahas Regi, nec in Secreto Cubiculi tui Diviti Maledices, quia Volucres Cæli portabunt Vocem tuam, & qui habet Pennas annunciabit Sententiam: Curſe not the King, no not in thy Thought; and Curſe not the Rich in thy Bed-chamber: For the Birds of the Air ſhall carry the Voice, and that which hath Wings, ſhall tell the Matter, *Eccleſiaſtes* 10. v. 20. *Adverſus me loquebantur qui ſedebant in Porta, & in me pſallebant qui bibebant Vinum. They that ſate in the Gate, ſpoke againſt me; and thoſe that drank Wine, made Songs againſt me*, Pſalm 69. 12. *Filii Stultorum & Ignobilium, & in Terra penitus non Parentes; nunc in Eorum Canticum Verſus ſum, & factus eis in Proverbium: They were Children of Fools, yea, Children of baſe Men; they were viler than the Earth, and now am I their Song, yea, am I their* by Word, *Job* 30. 8, 9. This was the Injunction from the wiſeſt of Preachers, and theſe were the Complaints made by the Man after God's own Heart, and the greateſt Example of Patience the Scriptures afford us, next to that of our *Saviour* and his *Bleſſed Apoſtles*; and it is but requiſite, but ſuch *as deſpiſe Dominion, and ſpeak evil of Dignities*, and who *ſpeak Evil of thoſe things which they know not, Murmurers, Complainers, walking after their*

own Luſts, &c. ſhould be call'd to Account by the ſecular Authority for ſo doing.

But as the Wiſdom and Prudence of our Legiſlature has equally provided for the Safety of the meaneſt Subject, with the Honour of the greateſt Officer of State; and that Juſtice ſhall be adminiſtred with all due Regard to the well Being of Prince and People, by ſtated Rules for us to go by in our ſeveral Stations, ſo it has mark'd out what ſhall fall under the Denomination of a *Treaſonous Libel*, *Scandalum Magnatum*, &c. and by ſeveral Acts of Parliament enacted and ordain'd, that no Perſon ſhall ſtand convicted, but upon clear and ſubſtantial Evidence.

It is not enough, that the Character bears a Reſemblance to this or that Man's habitual Vices, that the Picture looks as if it was copy'd from him, but it muſt be the very ſame: Violent Preſumptions are of no Force in ſuch Inquiſitions for Juſtice; there muſt be the Names of the Perſons, in Vindication of whom the Indictments are brought, and the Injury it has done them produc'd in Court; and, inſtead of wreſting a Sentence to this or that Interpretation, the Law directs it always to be interpreted in Favour of the Priſoner, where the Meaning is doubtful and obſcure.

This has been the Uſuage of former Ages, in Caſes of the like Nature, and, it's preſum'd, will be an Example for the preſent to go by: To which may be added, that the Preſs not having laid under any Reſtraint for ſome Years, and the mighty Iſſues that have flown from thence without Interruption, concerning the Affairs of *Religion* and *State*, may plead for its being made Uſe of, on Occaſion of this *MEMORIAL*. Either Laws are aſleep, or in Force: If in Force, why ſo many Pamphlets, as the Preſs has teem'd with for ten Years paſt, unanimadverted upon? If aſleep, why ſuch Clamours againſt thoſe who cannot be guilty of a Breach of a Law, whoſe Date of Continuance is paſt, without a Revival?

In the 13th and 14th of *Charles* the Second, *An Act for preventing Abuſes in Printing Seditious, Treaſonable, and Unli-*

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cens'd Books and Pamphlets, and for Regulating of Printing and Printing Preſſes; Provided, that this Act ſhould continue, and be in Force for two Years, to commence from the 10th of June, 1662. *and no longer; had the Royal Aſſent.* Which ſaid Act was *continued to remain in full Force, until the End of next Seſſion of Parliament,* by the Act of the 16th and 17th of *Car.* 2.

By the 1ſt of *Jac.* 2d *Cap.* 17. ſeveral Acts of Parliament were reviv'd and continu'd; one of which was that of the 13th and 14th of *Car.* 2. *Cap.* 33. aforeſaid; *Reviv'd and continued in Force, from the 24th of* June *in the Year of our Lord* 1685. *for the Space of ſeven Years, and from thence to the End of next Seſſion of Parliament.* And by *the Statute of the 4th and 5th of WILLIAM* and *MARY, Cap.* 24. *The Act of the 13th and 14th of* Car. 2. Cap. 33. *for Regulating Printing, and Printing Preſſes,* &c. *was to be in Force, for one Year, from the 13th of* February 1692. *and from thence to the End of the next Seſſion.*

Now, there has been no Revival nor Continuance of the 13th and 14th of *Car.* 2. ſince the 4th and 5th of *WILLIAM* and *MARY,* ſo that King *Charles* the Second's Statute is not in Force: It is faſt aſleep; but may be awaken'd by the enſuing Parliament; though it would be a Sin to ſurmiſe, that the *Repreſentatives* of the *Nation* ſhould have no tenderer a Concern for the *National Church*, than to let out the Penalties of this Law, which have been ſo long withheld from falling upon Tranſgreſſors of another Communion, upon Her firſt: Beſides, it would look ſomewhat like making a Law *ex poſt Facto*; which though put in Practice in ſome Reigns, has been accounted too ſevere to be made a Precedent of for others, as the Proviſions made in thoſe Acts ſeverally declare.

Not that the Members of the Church of *England* are not againſt the Liberty of the Preſs, which is of the moſt pernicious Conſequence to Prince and People, and may prove fatal to the preſent Conſtitution, if not timely prevented; but they have always been the firſt for bringing in ſuch

Bills

Bills into Parliament, as might have ſuppreſs'd this Exorbitance long ſince, had not the Whigs prevented it, by their Interceſſion for the Continuance of a ſort of Permiſſion to Libel the Government in both its *Capacities*, *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil*, and affront thoſe Officers of State, the Mildneſs of whoſe Adminiſtration they were uneaſy under. Since their Delight is in *Tempeſts* and *Hurricanes*, while they invite us to *Peaceable Diſpoſitions*; and, like the *Great Leviathan*, who *ſports himſelf in the Deep*, and rejoyces at the *ruſhing of the mighty Waters*, they are never at *Reſt*, 'till all Things are put into a State of *Diſorder*, and reduc'd into a Condition of ſtanding in Need of their *Amendments* and *Corrections*. For ſuch as theſe are the Tinkers of the State, that make two Holes, under the Pretence of mending one, and inflame the Body Politick by putting the whole Maſs of Blood into an undue Fermentation, while they would ſeem to be giving it nothing but *Electuaries*, and *cooling Emulſions*.

To ſum up the whole then, and draw towards a Concluſion: If *the Church of* England *labours under ſuch Diſadvantages*, by the Intruſion of Diſſenters into Offices and Places of Truſt, that belong ſolely to the Members of her Communion, as *give Occaſion for this* Memorial; if *the* Memorial *it ſelf is not ſo Criminal as it has been, and is repreſented*, and is for giving ſuch farther Securities to the Diſſenters, as may ſecure to them a *Perpetuity* of their Act of Toleration; if it invites them to a pacifick Agreement in Matters of Religion, and offers to receive them into the Pale of the Church, upon the moſt eaſy Conditions; and the Contents of it, neither give Occaſion for Fears and Jealouſies, but what there are Grounds for from the Growth of the adverſe Party, nor aim obliquely at the Prerogatives of the Crown, or the Liberties of the People, there is no Queſtion to be made from the Mildneſs of our preſent Adminiſtration, but ſuch Meaſures will be taken by the Government, as its Reſentment ſhall fall only on the Guilty, not on the Innocent.

If a Pamphlet is obnoxious to Publick Cenſure, the Author of it, *be he never ſo great*, is liable to the Pains and Penalties

the

the Law ſhall award, for the ſame Laws that are made for the Poor, are made for the Rich, and of the ſame Coercive Reſtraint to each. The Puniſhments for Treaſonable Practices, may indeed vary in the *Modes* of them, but in the End and Deſign of them, which is Death, they are of the ſame Efficacy, and it is not enough to ſay, this or that Man is above our Cognizance, when no one, not even the Queen her ſelf (according to the Modern Acceptation) is above the Law.

Either all the Perſons ſuppos'd to be concern'd in the ſame Fact, ſhould be Animadverted upon, or none; for a Title, whatſoever it be, no more renders any one Innocent, than the want of it does any one Guilty; and though great Birds may break through a Net, it is equally ſpread for them, with thoſe of leſſer Size. Their Attempts to deſpoil the Corn, and make it not anſwer the Huſband-Man's Labour, are the ſame, and their Puniſhment ſhould be ſo too.

But leſt I ſhould be tax'd with a Knowledge of the Author, I hold my ſelf bound to declare, I have heard of him no otherwiſe than from publick Report, and as common Fame has pointed him out to me; neither do I think the Commons of *England* are under ſuch a Scarcity of Advocates, as to be forc'd to have Recourſe to the Houſe of Lords for a noble Patriot to defend them. This looks a little as if ſome People were at a loſs where to fix the Scent, but *ſi Populus vult decipi, decipiatur*, I know not how to bring them to Rights.

Quicquid delirant Reges plectuntur Achivi, was an old Complaint, and I am for every Man's ſtanding upon his own Bottom, and anſwering for his own Faults. If this or that Nobleman has done, or written any Thing in breach of the publick Peace, or injurious to the Government, he is not to be ſuppos'd to derogate from his illuſtrious Blood, ſo as to let another ſuffer for it; and if this or that Commoner has contracted the ſame Guilt, he alone is to be reſponſible for it.

I ſpeak this in Vindication of a certain P---r, whoſe Reputation malicious Tongues are too free with, and who is too familiarly dealt with by ſome People that are Strangers to his Proceedings, and at a loſs for his true Character; otherwiſe they would have better Sentiments of a Gentleman of his *Intrepidity*, and a greater Regard to a Perſon of his *Honour* and *Reſolution*, than to give out, that either he was acceſſory to what he durſt not own, or permitted others to ſtand accus'd of what he durſt not anſwer for, if he was acceſſory to it.

As theſe are idle Suggeſtions, ſo might I be thought to have too much leiſure upon my Hands, ſhould I dwell any longer upon them. Thoſe that know the D--- of *B----m*, cannot be without an Aſſurance, that if he wrote, or was concern'd in the *Memorial*, there can be nothing in it that is defamatory of the Queen and Government, and that the only way to confirm and eſtabliſh the Reader in the Innocence of its Contents, and that the Deſign of its coming abroad, was the Security of the Church and State, is for ſome People to continue giving out him for the Author; ſince to find out a Gentleman more affectionate to the true Intereſt of the Crown and the preſent Settlement, would require more Time than ſome Perſons, who are altogether in the Intereſts of the oppoſite Party, have to beſtow on any other Perſuit, than that of doing Miſchief.

Charon ſays, in his *Conditions requiſite for good Counſellors*, " That they *firſt* muſt be Faithful, that is to ſay, in a Word, " Honeſt Men; for every Man that is truly Honeſt, is held " to be moſt Faithful. *Secondly*, They muſt be ſufficient in " this Point, that is to ſay, ſkilful in the State, diverſely ex- " perimented and tried, for Difficulties, Afflictions, and excel- " lent Leſſons, and Inſtructions. In a Word, they muſt be " Wiſe and Prudent, indifferent Quick, and not over-ſharp, " for ſuch kind of Men are too moveable; and that they " may be ſuch, it is requiſite they be mature and ripe. *Thirdly*,

It

" It is neceſſary that in propoſing and giving wholeſome Coun-
" ſel, *they carry themſelves freely, and couragiouſly, with-*
" *out Flattery, Ambiguity, or Diſguiſe, not accommodating*
" *their Language to the preſent* State *of the Prince, but with-*
" *out ſparing the Truth, ſpeaking that which is fit and requiſite.*
" And Fourthly, *Conſtantly without yielding, varying, and*
" *changing at every Meeting, to pleaſe and follow the Humour,*
" *Pleaſure, and Paſſion of another.* Vid. Charron, L. 16. 3.
" Cap. 2. Sect. 17.

Sir *Walter Raleigh* likewiſe is very excellent and clear in his Obſervations about Counſellors and Miniſters of State, in his Treatiſe call'd *the Cabinet Council*, Cap. 14. But a-above all *Solon* the Wiſe ſpeaks thus of Counſellors. " That
" they are not call'd to the Council-Table, to pleaſe, and to
" ſpeak to their own liking, but to utter the Truth, and to
" give the Prince good Counſel for common Safety. That
" they muſt bring with them, for aſſur'd and certain Foun-
" dation of their Conferences about State-Affairs, *a good In-*
" *tent* mov'd with *Reaſon* and *Judgment*, to profit him, not with
" Paſſions which are deſirous of *Vain-glory*, of *Covetouſneſs*, of
" *Emulation*, of any other Imperfection that leads them to their
" private Intereſt. That they muſt at the Entry of the Coun-
" cil-Chamber, uncloth themſelves of *Favour* towards ſome,
" of *Hatred* towards others, and of *Ambition* in themſelves,
" and aim at no other Mark, than at the Honour of God,
" and Safety of the Common-wealth. (See *French Academy*,
" Cap. 61. *of Council and of Counſellors of State.*)

Now, that the Miniſters of State, and Gentlemen lately laid aſide, *viz.* the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Roche-ſter* and *Nottingham*, and the Lords *Winchelſea* and *Grandvill*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *George Rooke*, &c. were endued with theſe Qualifications, not even their worſt Enemies that have any Senſe of Abilities, but muſt acknowledge the *Fidelity*, the *Skill*, the *Steadineſs*, the *Wiſdom*, the *Courage*, the *Sin-cerity*, the *Impartiality*, the *Humility*, and the *diſintereſted*

and *unambitious* Temperament of Mind, recommended to the Choice of a Stateſman, are conſpicuous in them, and the *Memorialiſt* is to ſtand excus'd as being without Blame, for lamenting the loſs of ſuch Worthies, who were the very Pillars of our *Engliſh* Conſtitution, and upon whom the whole Weight of the publick Affairs might have reſted it ſelf with as much Security as that of the Heaven's, is fabulouſly ſaid to be upheld by *Altas* his Shoulders.

Not that the Queen is to be circumſcrib'd within ſuch Limits as leſſent he Royal Prerogative, or to be confin'd to any other Choice of Officers and Servants, that what ſhe is pleas'd to determine out of her great Wiſdom, ſince *where the Word of a King is, there is Power, and who may ſay unto him, What doeſt Thou?* But Princes in all Ages, eſpecially of this Kingdom, have been humbly addreſs'd in the behalf of ſuch Officers of State, as have been thought to be rendered ſuſpected to their Soveraigns without Grounds; and it is but three Years ſince, when a Majority of the Houſe of Lords thought it no Breach of their Duty to Petition Her Majeſty in Favour of the Lord Biſhop of *Worceſter*, then Lord *Almoner*, who was falling under her Royal Diſpleaſure on account of an Humble Addreſs from the Houſe of Commons.

It is but natural for Men, who are conſcious of no Crimes committed on their Part, to deſerve the Loſs of Offices, *&c.* to ſearch into the Cauſes of their Removal, and teſtifie their Integrity with the Prophet *Samuel*, who, upon his Diſmiſſion from his high Truſt of being Judge over all *Iſrael*, ſaid, *Behold here I am; witneſs againſt me before the Lord, and before his Anointed: Whoſe Ox have I taken? Or whoſe Aſs have I taken? or whom have I defrauded? Whom have I oppreſs'd? or of whoſe Hands have I receiv'd any Bribe to blind mine Eyes therewith? and I will reſtore it you.* As this very Queſtion might be put by the Gentlemen above-mentioned, with all due Regard to the Regal Authority; ſo it could not but receive for Anſwer, by the univerſal Conſent of the People,

People, as a Teſtimonial of every individual Patriot's faithful Services to his Queen and Country, *Thou haſt not defrauded us, nor oppreſſed us, neither haſt thou taken ought of any Man's Hands*, Sam. 1. 12 Cap. Where then is the Guilt of the Church's Sorrow, for the Diſcharge of ſuch Gentlemens Attendance at Court? And where lies the Heinouſneſs of the Crime in lamenting for their Departure from it? Who were the Ornaments and Props of it?

The Praiſes beſtow'd on Men of Merit, caſt oblique Reflections on no Perſons but ſuch as ſtand in need of it: And to ſay, That the Earl of *Nottingham* was a faithful and able Miniſter, is in no wiſe to accuſe either of the Secretaries of State, now in Being, for the want of thoſe Abilities; and the Earl of *Rocheſter* may be ſtil'd an accompliſh'd and wiſe Counſellor, without any Diminution to the applauded Character of the Lord High Treaſurer; as well as the Duke of *Buckingham*, whoſe exquiſite Skill and Penetration into the moſt intricate *Arcana's*, does not in the leaſt derogate from his Succeſſor to the Privy Seal, his Grace of *N*---.

If the Earl of *Jerſey* is held in Eſteem by all that know him, for a Gentleman of an approved Demeanour and courteous Diſpoſition to thoſe that have Recourſe to him, muſt the Conſequence of it be, that the preſent Lord Chamberlain is the very Reverſe of him? Or if Sir *Edward Seymour* is extoll'd for his Judgment in Parliamentary Affairs, his Knowledge in Publick Managements, and his unwearied and undaunted Application for the Good of his Queen and Country, muſt Mr. *M*--- that has now the Poſſeſſion of his White Staff, know nothing at all of the Publick Concerns, and be charg'd with want of Aſſiduity for the Common Intereſt?

By no Means: Sir *George Rooke* may be a Gentleman, who has no Superior in Courage and Conduct as to Marine Affairs; but yet we are not to infer from thence, that the Earl of *Peterborough* and Sir *Cloudſly Shovel* are not his Equals in Experience.

Experience. In ſhort, the Character of this or that Officer of State that is diſmiſs'd from his Employments, is not to be held injurious to thoſe that officiate in their Places: For if the Reader will believe the wiſeſt of Stateſmen, *It is as much Glory to ſucceed a Man of Probity and Experience, as it is to be ſucceeded by a Perſon of the ſame Qualifications.* And the Wiſdom of the Queen, and her preſent Miniſtry, is too conſpicuous, not to ſubmit the Direction of Affairs to ſuch Gentlemen as ſhall make amends for the Loſs of ſuch Counſellors.

Not but had thoſe we have loſs been continued, with the Addition of ſuch as we retain, we might have had moſt aſſured Hopes of Victories abroad, and Peace at home, (tho' Heav'ns be prais'd, we have more than our Share of theſe Bleſſings, as Things now ſtand;) for the more in Number the Miniſters are, the more fortunate muſt be the Reſult of their Councils; and that may be effected, through the Debates of abundance of different Sentiments and Opinions, that would come to nothing through the too haſty Determinations of a few.

Which puts me in Mind of Sir *William Waller*, who, delivering his Senſe to the Houſe concerning Grievances, in King *Charles* the Firſt's Time, ſaid, "That the true Cauſe "of them was, for that, (as was ſaid of *Lewis* the Eleventh "of *France*) *All the King's Council rode upon one Horſe.* "Wherefore His Majeſty was to be adviſ'd, as *Moſes* was "by *Jethro*, to make Choice of Counſellors to aſſiſt him, as "ſhould be thus qualified: 1. *Noble*, and not Upſtarts of a "Night's Growth. 2. *Men of Courage*, ſuch as would exe- "cute their own Places, and not commit them to undeſerving "Deputies. 3. *Fearing God*, not inclining to falſe Worſhip, "or *halting between two Opinions.* 4. Dealing truly, not "given to Flattery, or fawning Courtſhip, but ſuch as might "be ſafely truſted by the King and Kingdom. 5. *Hating* "*Covetouſneſs*, and not ſuch as *liv'd upon other Mens Ruines*,

"or

" or that would take *BRIBES*, or *ſell Places* in Church, or " Commonwealth, and about the King. 6. To be many, *In* " *the Multitude of Counſellors* there being *Safety*. 7. To judge " of ſmall Matters as well as the greateſt, being to be referr'd " to King, and not one Counſellor alone to take upon him the " whole Management of a Buſineſs. 8. Elders, not young " and unexperienced Men, thro' whoſe raſh and unadvis'd " Proceedings, great Deſigns many times miſcarry. *Vide Ba-* " *ker, in Vita Car. prim. Fol.* 468.

That we are happy under this State-Oeconomy, we are all bounden in Duty to acknowledge; and what remains for him that has ſtated the Caſe of this *Memorial*, is only to conclude his Obſervations, with this Requeſt; That God would be pleas'd to preſerve our moſt Gracious Queen from all her Enemies, and *abate their Malice, aſſuage their Pride, and confound their Devices*; to direct and proſper all the Conſultations of her Miniſters, *to the Advancement of his Glory, the Good of his Church, the Safety, Honour, and Welfare of our Sovereign, and her Kingdoms:* And if *Spiritual Wickedneſſes* are departed from our *High Places*, and all Things run according to the Tenour of the preceding Advice, that he would vouchſafe, out of his Infinite Wiſdom, to continue to us theſe Bleſſings, ſo as there may no farther *Complainings in our Streets*, and no Occaſion for another *MEMORIAL*.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

The Reader is desir'd to amend the following Mistakes of the Printer.

PAGE 3. Line 18. for *His*, read *the*. p. 4. l. 17. f. *Lieutenancy*, r. *Lieutenancies*. p. 12. l. 32. after *Merit*, r. *Might*. p. 15. l. 2. f. *Terno*, r. *Tertio*. p. 17. l. 6. f. *Bring*, r. *Bringing*. p. 18. l. 31. after *Services*, r. *but*. p. 19. l. 18. after *Church*, r. *are*. Ibid. l. 27. after *make*, r. *the*. p. 20. l. 2. after *being*, r. *too numerous to be*. Ibid. l. 18. after *alarm'd*, r. *s*. p. 21. l. 4. after *make*, r. *a*. Ibid. l. 27. f. *soberly*, r. *solely*.

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There is now in the Press,

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PREFACE.

Courteous Reader,

THE *Deſign of tacking theſe Papers together, is to let you ſee the Moderation of theſe Saints in their own Words, that you may make a right Judgment your ſelf of what you may expect from them, if ever they have the ſame Power here, as they formerly had, and at preſent have in* S----d.

The firſt is the Solemn League and Covenant (miſcalled) for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happineſs of the King, &c. *Now, whether they did not explain what they meant by Reformation, Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happineſs of the King, in that barbarous Murther perpetrated on his Sacred Majeſty before his own Palace-Gate, juſt four Years after, ſave one Day, I leave to you to judge.*

Second, A Sermon preached at His Majeſty's Coronation at Scoon, *the firſt of* January 1651. *out of which I ſhall give you three Quotations, which may ſerve to let you into the reſt, the whole Sermon being full of ſuch moderate Terms.*---As for *England*, although the Pope was caſten off, yet the Subjection of Kings to Biſhops was ſtill retained; for they anointed the Kings, and ſware them to their Prelatical Dignity. They are here, who were Witneſſes at the Coronation of the late King. The Biſhops behoved to perform that Rite, that the King behoved to be ſworn to them. But now, by the Bleſſing of God, Popery and Prelacy are removed: The Biſhops, as Limbs of Antichriſt, are put to the Door; let the anointing of Kings with Oil go to the Door with them, and let them never come in again.

In another Place, he ſays, The King is bound, without Reſpect of Perſons, to extirpate Popery, Prelacy, Superſtition, Hereſy, Schiſm, and Prophaneneſs, and whatſoever ſhall be found contrary to ſound Doctrine, and the Power of Godlineſs; and therefore Popery is not to be ſuffered in his Royal Family, nor within his Dominions; Prelacy once pluck'd up by the Root, is not to be permitted to take Root again; all Hereſie and Error whatſoever, muſt be oppoſed by him to the utmoſt of his Power; and, by the Covenant, the King muſt be far from Toleration of any falſe Religion (as in the Words of the Covenant is expreſs'd: That we ſhall in like manner, without Reſpect of Perſons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy; that is, Church-Government by Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors

and Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Officers depending on that Hierarchy) within his Dominions.

The laſt Quotation I ſhall make, is, in theſe Words: —— A King abuſing his Power, to the Overthrow of Religion, Laws and Liberties, which are the very Fundamentals of this Contract and Covenant, may be controled and oppoſed: And if he ſet himſelf to overthrow all theſe by Arms, then they who have Power, as the Eſtates of a Land, may and ought to reſiſt by Arms; becauſe he doth, by that Oppoſition, break the very Bonds, and overthrow the Eſſentials of this Contract and Covenant. This may ſerve to juſtifie the Proceedings of this Kingdom againſt the late King, who in an Hoſtile Way ſet himſelf to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Laws, and Liberties.

Theſe were (as they ſtile themſelves) the moderate Men of thoſe Times; and I do aver theſe of ours are no Baſtards, but are lineally deſcended from them; and am ſupported in my Judgment by a celebrated Author, whoſe Senſe of them take as follows:

And that both are ſo near of kin,
And like in all as well as Sin,
That put them in a Bag, and ſhake 'em,
Your ſelf o' th' ſudden would miſtake 'em;
And not know which is which, unleſs
You meaſure by their Wickedneſs:
For 'tis not hard t' imagine whether
O' th' two is worſt, tho' I name neither.

Hudibras, Part 1. *Canto* 1.

In the Year 1692. *the whole Clan of* Glencoe *intended to be cut off; but ſome few eſcaped by the Favour of the Night, and not by their Moderation: And one* Gaffney *ſtrangled in* Ireland, *by Order of my L—d* Con—by, *one of the L—ds Comm—rs, without any Trial; as you may ſee at large in* Gallienus Redivivus, *and the* Lancaſhire *Plot; the Deſigners of which were verſed in that Way, and intended to take of many Hundreds of Gentlemen of Eſtates; they were not for medling with poor Folks, that was not their Aim; as may be ſeen in* Taff's *Narrative, Printed in a Book, called,* A Collection of Papers relating to State-Affairs; *wherein that whole Myſtery of Iniquity is unravelled, with the Names of the Contrivers, and how it was to have been carried on by* Aaron S—h, *Capt.* B-r, *a Perſon now living within a Mile of the Middle of the City of* London; *though a D—r, he can ſwear at, and curſe both Church and Liturgy, like any Barge-man. The next I ſhall preſent to you, are a Pair of Republican Orators, Mercenary Hirelings, and Weekly Scriblers of the Party, whoſe ſhort Characters I ſhall borrow from* Hudibras, *only making it Plural where he ſpeaks ſingular.*

Th' Apoſtles of this fierce Religion,
Like *Mahomet's*, were Aſs and Widgeon,
To whom our Knights, by faſt Inſtinct
Of Wit and Temper, were ſo linkt,

As

As if Hypocriſy and Nonſenſe
Had got th' Advowſon of their Conſcience.

The Shorteſt Way with the Diſſenters, *was done with as much Moderation, (but Irony was the Pretence when the Beaſt of Prey was caught,) as his late Moderation againſt the Church of* England *(under the Notion of that villainous and deſigning Term of High-Church) in his* Reviews, *and the other in his* Obſervators; *which are exemplified in theſe four Lines of* Hudibras.

We read in *Nero's* Time, the Heathen
When they deſtroy'd the Chriſtian Brethren,
They ſow'd them in the Skins of Bears,
And then ſet Dogs about their Ears.

And to ſhew the Saints will not be idle, one P---e, *a Broker (that has kept out of the Way for publiſhing and diſperſing a half Sheet, which was wrote by* D. D. F.) *has been doing the Lord's Work (as they profanely call it) in H---ing* G--n *and his C--w. That poor Gentleman had a Com--n Pr--er-Book in his Cabbin; that ſhew'd he was no Cov--ter, but a High C---h-man, and was Crime enough in all Conſcience to take him off. From what is before noted, you may trace their preſent Moderation. I will leave the Book to your Peruſal, after I have given you a few Hints from their* Directory, *and let you ſee how kindly they uſed the Diſſenters (as they impudently called the Epiſcopal Church of* England*) with how much Moderation, High or Low-flying Toleration, or Perſecution you may judge for your ſelf.*

Directory, p. 20. *of Prayer before Sermon.* To pray for the Propagation of the Goſpel and Kingdom of Chriſt, for the Converſion of the *Jews*, the Fulneſs of the *Gentiles*, the Fall of Antichriſt *viz.* Epiſcopacy) and the haſtening of the ſecond Coming of our Lord, for the Deliverance of the diſtreſſed Churches abroad from the Tyranny of the Antichriſtian Faction, *&c.*--P. 21. and preſerve us from the Breach of our Solemn League and Covenant. (*By the way, this very Solemn League and Covenant was penned by Cardinal* Richlieu.) *P.* 26. That the Lord would circumciſe the Ears and Hearts of the Hearers. --- *You ſee, rather than fail, they will be in with the* Jews, *as well as the Papiſts, as they have ſince with the* Turk, *in* 1683. *Of Prayer after Sermon*, p. 36. For the admirable Goodneſs of God in freeing the Land from Antichriſtian Darkneſs and Tyranny, and for all other National Deliverances; for the Reformation of Religion, for the Covenant, and for many Temporal Bleſſings, (i. e. *the Depredations, Murthers, and Robberies they daily committed upon the Royaliſts.) Of publick Faſting*, p. 16. Acknowledging his manifold, great, and tender Mercies, eſpecially to the Church *(If they meant themſelves, they would very much oblige a great many tender and ſcrupulous Conſciences in proving themſelves a Church; for their Miſſion could never yet be made appear, and no Man that knows them will ever believe them upon their own bare Word)* and Nation, the more effectually to ſoften and abaſe our Hearts before him: Humbly confeſſing Sins of all ſorts, *(of which they have been villainouſly guilty)* with their ſeveral Aggravations: Juſtifying God's righteous Judgments, as being far leſs than our Sins do deſerve; yet humbly and earneſtly imploring his Mercy and Grace for our

ſelves,

ſelves, the Church and Nation, for the King, and all in Authority, (*if this was not downright Cant, Hypocriſie, and mocking God Almighty, I am at a loſs to gueſs what is: Theſe Wretches, at that time, were in actual Rebellion againſt their King and yet pray for him, and all in Authority; which ſhews theſe Juglers in Religion can toſs it about as they pleaſe, and ſo make Amends with a double* Entendre) and for all others for whom we are bound to pray (according as the preſent Exigent requireth) with more ſpecial Importunity and Inlargement, than at other times *So that they prayed for the King, and all in Authority,* pro Forma; *but according to their Exigency, for all that were in open Rebellion againſt the King and his Authority, they were to be more importunate and enlarge; or, as the* Satyr, *with his Breath, could blow hot and cold; ſo they could pray coldly in one Sentence for the King, and enlarge for an Hour hotly for his Enemies immediately after.*

To the Directory *is ſubjoined an Ordinance of their own, which eaſily ſhows you with what Moderation theſe Saints uſed the Church of* England, *three Years before they murthered their King. An Ordinance,* &c. Aug. 23. 1645. Whereas by an Ordinance of Parliament made the third Day of *January* laſt paſt, and intituled, *An Ordinance of Parliament for taking away the Book of Common Prayer, and for eſtabliſhing and putting in Execution of the Directory for the Publick Worſhip of God,* it was (amongſt other things therein contained) ordained: That the ſaid Book of Common Prayer ſhould not remain, or be from thenceforth uſed in any Church, Chapel, or Place of Publick Worſhip, within the Kingdom of *England,* Dominion of *Wales,* (*they had no Occaſion to go over* Tweed, *the goodly Preſent came from that* Gibeonitiſh *Race;*) and that the Directory for Publick Worſhip, in the ſaid recited Ordinance ſet forth, ſhould be from thenceforth uſed, purſued, and obſerved, according to the true Intent and Meaning of the ſaid Ordinance, in all Exerciſes of the Publick Worſhip of God in every Congregation, Church, Chapel, and Place of Publick Worſhip, within this Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales.* Yet nevertheleſs, in regard that in or by the ſaid recited Ordinance, there was no ſpecial Direction made for the ſpeedy diſperſing of the ſaid Directory into the ſeveral Pariſhes, within the Kingdom of *England* and Dominion of *Wales,* and publiſhing the ſame Directory; nor any Puniſhment ſet down, either for the uſing of the ſaid Book of Common Prayer, or for the non-uſing or depraving of the ſaid Directory, by Means whereof there hath been as yet little Fruit of the ſaid Ordinance. *So much for the Preamble: I ſhall abſtract the Penalties, and deſie theſe Saints to ſhew me any Act of Parliament, that ever denied them the Uſe of any Religious Books in their Families.*

Firſt, The Knights and Burgeſſes of the ſeveral Counties, ſhall ſend them fairly bound in Leather to the Committees of Parliament reſiding in the ſaid ſeveral Counties, and they immediately to the Conſtables, or other Officers of the ſeveral Pariſhes, *&c.* to be paid for by the Inhabitants, and they within one Week to deliver them to the Miniſters of the ſaid Pariſhes, upon the Penalty of five Shillings for every Default.

Secondly, Whoever ſhall uſe the Common Prayer in any Church, Chapel, or publick Place of Worſhip, or in any private Place, within the Kingdom of *England,* or Dominion of *Wales,* or Port-Town of *Berwick,* for the firſt Offence ſhall pay five Pounds, for the ſecond ten Pounds, and for the third

third Offence, ſhall ſuffer one Years Impriſonment, without Bail or Mainprize.

Thirdly, If any Miniſter ſhall not purſue and obſerve the Directory for publick Worſhip, according to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, in all Exerciſes *(mark the Word)* of the publick Worſhip of God, within this Realm of *England* and Dominion of *Wales*, and within the Town and Port of *Berwick*, ſhall for every Offence forfeit forty Shillings.

Fourthly, Whoever ſhall bring the ſaid Directory into Contempt and Neglect; or, to raiſe Oppoſition againſt it, preach, write, print, or cauſe to be written or printed, any thing in the Derogation, or depriving of the ſaid Book, or any thing therein contained, or any part thereof, ſhall forfeit for every Offence not leſs than five Pounds, or more than fifty.

Laſtly, It is farther ordered and ordained, That all Common Prayer-Books remaining in Pariſh-Churches and Chapels, ſhall within a Month after the publiſhing this Ordinance be, by the Church-Wardens, or Conſtables of the reſpective Pariſhes, under the Penalty of forty Shillings, carried unto the Committees of the reſpective Counties where they ſhall be found, to be diſpoſed of as the Parliament ſhall direct.

The Directory *was penn'd by the two factious Scribes*, Henry Robrough, *and* Adoniram Byfield. *Of the latter, ſee* Hudibras *in his third Part.*

For who firſt bred them up to pray,
And teach the Houſe of Commons Way?
Where had they all their gifted Phraſes,
But from our *Calamies* and *Caſes*?
Without whoſe ſprinkling and ſowing,
Who had e'er heard of *Nye* or *Owen*?
Their Diſpenſations had been ſtifled,
But for our *Adoniram Byfield*;
And had they not begun the War,
Th' had ne'er been Sainted as they are.
For Saints in Peace degenerate,
And dwindle down to Reprobate:
Their Zeal corrupts, like ſtanding Water,
In th' Intervals of War and Slaughter,
Abates the Sharpneſs of its Edge
Without the Pow'r of Sacrilege:
And tho' th' have Tricks to caſt their Sins
As eaſie as Serpents do their Skins,
That in a while grow out agen,
In Peace they turn meer carnal Men,
And from the moſt refin'd of Saints
As naturally grow Miſcreants,
As *Bernacles* turn *Soland*-Geeſe
In th' Iſlands of the *Orcades.*

This Hydra, no Pen or Pencil has been yet able to deſcribe in all his Deformities: But take him in the Words of Hudibras, *Part the Firſt, for want of a better.*

For

For his Religion, it was fit
To match his Virtue, Parts, and Wit:
'Twas Presbyterian True Blew;
For he was of that ſtubborn Crew
Of errant Saints, whom all Men grant
To be the True Church Militant.
Such as do build their Faith upon
The Holy Text of Pike and Gun,
Decide all Controverſies by
Infallible Artillery,
And prove their Doctrine Orthodox.
By Apoſtolick Blows and Knocks,
Call Fire, and Sword, and Deſolation
A Godly thorough Reformation;
Which always muſt be carry'd on,
And ſtill be doing, never done;
As if Religion was intended
For nothing elſe but to be mended.
A Sect, whoſe chief Devotion lies
In odd perverſe Antipathies;
In falling out with that or this,
And finding ſomewhat ſtill amiſs;
More peeviſh, croſs, and ſplenetick,
Than Dog diſtract, or Monkey ſick;
That with more Care keep Holy-day
The wrong, than others the right Way;
Compound for Sins they are inclin'd to,
By damning thoſe they have no Mind to;
Still ſo perverſe and oppoſite,
As if they worſhip'd God for Spight.
The ſelf-ſame thing they will abhor
One Way, and long another for.
Free Will they one Way diſavow,
Another nothing elſe allow:
All Piety conſiſts therein
In them, in other Men all Sin.
Rather than fail, they will defy
That which they love moſt tenderly:
Quarrel with minc'd Pies, and diſparage
Their beſt and deareſt Friend Plumb-Porridge;
Fat Pig and Gooſe it ſelf oppoſe,
And blaſpheme Cuſtard through the Noſe.

If you deſire to know more of their Diabolical Practices, See The Trial of the inhumane Murtherers of the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews:* The New Aſſociation, *&c. Part* 1. 2. A Taſt of the Diſſenters Loyalty: The Presbyterian Plea, *&c.*

A Solemn *League* and *Covenant*, for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happineſs of the *King*, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

WE *the Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeſſes, Miniſters of the Goſpel, and Commons of all ſorts in the Kingdoms of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *by the Providence of God living under one King, and being of one Reformed Religion, having before our Eyes the Glory of God, and the Advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the Honour and Happineſs of the King's Majeſty, and his Poſterity, and the true Publick Liberty, Safety, and Peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every ones private Condition is included; and calling to Mind the treacherous and bloody Plots, Conſpiracies, Attempts, and Practices of the Enemies of God, againſt the true Religion, and Profeſſors thereof in all Places, eſpecially in theſe three Kingdoms, ever ſince the Reformation of Religion; and how much their Rage, Power, and Preſumption are of late, and at this time increaſed and exerciſed; whereof the deplorable Eſtate of the Church and Kingdom of* Ireland, *the diſtreſſed Eſtate of the Church and Kingdom of* England, *and the dangerous Eſtate of the Church and Kingdom of* Scotland, *are preſent and publick Teſtimonies. We have now at laſt (after other Means of Suppli ation, Remonſtrance, Proteſtations, and Sufferings,) for the Preſervation of our Selves, and our Religion from utter Ruine and Deſtruction, according to the commendable Practice of theſe Kingdoms in former Times, and the Example of God's People in other Nations, after mature Deliberation, reſolved and determined to enter into a Mutual and Solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all ſubſcribe, and each one of us for himſelf, with our Hands lifted up to the moſt high God, do ſwear:*

1. THAT we ſhall ſincerely, really, and conſtantly, through the Grace of God, endeavour in our ſeveral Places and Callings, the Preſervation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the beſt Reformed Churches: And ſhall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms to the neareſt Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confeſſion of Faith, Form of Church-

Government, Directory for Worſhip and Catechiſing: That we and our Poſterity after us may as Brethren live in Faith and Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midſt of us.

2. That we ſhall, in like Manner, without Reſpect of Perſons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, (that is, Church-Government by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors, and Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Officers depending on that Hierarchy) Superſtition, Hereſie, Schiſm, Prophaneneſs, and whatſoever ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound Doctrine, and the Power of Godlineſs; leſt we partake in other Mens Sins, and therein be in Danger to receive of their Plagues; and that the Lord may be one, and his Name one in the three Kingdoms.

3. We ſhall, with the ſame Sincerity, Reality, and Conſtancy, in our ſeveral Vocations, endeavour with our Eſtates and Lives, mutually to preſerve the Rights and Privileges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preſerve and defend the King's Majeſty's Perſon and Authority, in the Preſervation and Defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms, that the World may bear Witneſs with our Conſciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no Thoughts or Intentions to diminiſh His Majeſty's juſt Power and Greatneſs.

4. We ſhall alſo with all Faithfulneſs endeavour the Diſcovery of all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Inſtruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of the three Kingdoms from another, or making any Faction or Parties among the People, contrary to this League and Covenant, that they may be brought to publick Tryal, and receive condign Puniſhment, as the Degree of their Offences ſhall require or deſerve, or the Supream Judicatories of both Kingdoms reſpectively, or others, having Power from them for that Effect, ſhall judge convenient.

5. And whereas the Happineſs of a bleſſed Peace between theſe Kingdoms, denied in former Times to our Progenitors, is by the good Providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded, and ſettled by both the Parliaments, we ſhall each one of us, according to our Place and Intereſt, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm Peace and Union to all Poſterity, and that Juſtice may be done upon the wilful Oppoſers thereof, in Manner expreſſed in the precedent Articles.

6. We ſhall alſo, according to our Places and Callings in this common Cauſe of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, aſſiſt and defend all thoſe that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and purſuing thereof; and ſhall not ſuffer our ſelves directly or indirectly, by whatſoever Combination, Perſwaſion, or Terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this bleſſed Union and Conjunction, whether to make Defection to to the contrary Part, or to give oue ſelves to a deteſtable Indifferency or Neutrality in this Cauſe, which ſo much concerneth the Glory of God, the Good of the Kingdoms, and the Honour of the King; but ſhall all the Days of our Lives, zealouſly and conſtantly continue therein, againſt all Oppoſition, and promote the ſame, according to our Power, againſt all

Lets

Lets and Impediments whatſoever; and what we are not able our ſelves to ſuppreſs or overcome, we ſhall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: All which we ſhall do as in the Sight of God.

And becauſe theſe Kingdoms are guilty of many Sins and Provocations againſt God, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as is too manifeſt by our preſent Diſtreſſes and Dangers, the Fruits thereof: We profeſs and declare before God, and the World, our unfained Deſire to be humbled for our own Sins, and for the Sins of theſe Kingdoms; eſpecially that we have not, as we ought, valued the ineſtimable Benefit of the Goſpel, that we have not laboured for the Purity and Power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Chriſt in our Hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our Lives, which are the Cauſes of our Sins and Tranſgreſſions ſo much abounding amongſt us; and our true unfeigned Purpoſe, Deſire, and Endeavour for our ſelves, and all others under our Power and Charge, both in publick and in private, in all Duties we owe to God and Man, to amend our Lives, and each one to go before another in the Example of a real Reformation, that the Lord may turn away his Wrath and heavy Indignation, and eſtabliſh theſe Churches and Kingdoms in Truth and Peace. And this Covenant we make in the Preſence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to perform the ſame, as we ſhall anſwer at the great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts ſhall be diſcloſed: Moſt humbly beſeeching the Lord to ſtrengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this End, and to bleſs our Deſires and Proceedings with ſuch Succeſs, as may be Deliverance and Safety to his People, and Encouragement to other Chriſtian Churches, groaning under, or in Danger of the Yoke of Antichriſtian Tyranny, to joyn in the ſame, or like Aſſociation and Covenant, to the Glory of God, the Enlargement of the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Peace and Tranquillity of Chriſtian Kingdoms and Common-wealths.

Wil. Lenthal, Speaker

Beuchamp St. John
Gilbert Gerrard
Walter Earl
James Cambel
Thomas Cheeke
Robert Nicholas
Benjamin Rudyard
John Gurdon
Francis Knollis
Edward Maſter
John White
Anthony Sapley
Dennis Bond
Lawrence Whitaker
Michael Noble
Pere Holy

Richard Barwis
Edward Baynton
William Cawley
John Moyle
John Pyne
George Searle
Henry Vane, Senior
Nevil Pool
John Young
Henry Herbert
Thomas Sandys
William Jeſſon
Philip, Lord *Herbert*
Thomas Barrington
Martin Lumley
John Trevor
Francis Godolphin
Thomas Arundell

Edward Stephens
Gilbert Pickering
John Greve
Oliver Cromwell
Henry Vane, Junior
William Cage
Richard Eriſey
Philip, Lord *Liſle*
William Heveningham
Iſaac Pennington
Richard Creſheld
Thomas Pelham
Thomas Parker
John Leigh
John Harris
Auguſtin Skinner
John Venn
William Strickland

John Franklin
Samuel Brown
Robert Scawen
Roger Hill
John Button
John Meyrick
Ambroſe Brown
Richard Winn
Edward Owner
Charles Pym
Charles, Lord Cranborn
Ben. Weſton
Dudley North
John Nut
John Corbet
Roger Burgoyne
Peter Temple
Benjamin Valentine
Thomas Walſingham
Oliver Luke
William Alenſon
Humphrey Salwey
Richard Moor
William Aſhurſt
Thomas Moor
Thomas Fountain
William Ellys
Henry Shelley
Richard Shuttleworth
Henry Ludlow
George Gallop
Robert Wallop
Arthur Heſilrige
Oliver Saint-John
Thomas Grantham
Francis Barnham
Will. Lord Fitz-Williams
Edmund Dunch
Henry Mildmay
Hugh Rogers
Thomas Hatcher
John Wray
Simonds D'Ewes
Anthony Bedingfield
John Aſhe
Wiliiam, Lord Munſon
Martin Liſter

Robert Goodwin
Edward Thomas
Henry Lucas
Miles Corbet
Philip Smith
Cornelius Holland
William Spurſtowe
John Lowry
Peter Wentworth
Henry Chomley
Philip Stapleton
William Pierrepoint
Roger North
Alexander Popham
Thomas Hodges
John Maynard
Samuel Vaſſal
Anthony Irby
John Clotworthy
John Broxolme
Richard Jervoyſe
John Blackiſton
Walter Long
John Rolle
Robert Jennor
John Waddon
William Maſham
John Liſle
Edmund Fowel
Edward Aſhe
Thomas Pury
Richard Whitehead
Richard Jenyns
Humphrey Tufton
Thomas Dacres
Thomas Earl
John Downes
John Goodwyn
Francis Drake
William Waller
Samuel Luke
Francis Buller
Richard Harman
George Buller
Arthur Onſlowe
Richard Wynwood
Robert Pye

H. L. Gray of Ruthin
Richard Knightley
John Pym
Chriſtopher Yelverton
Anthony Nicholl
Petea Wroth
Robert Reynolds
Nat. Barnardiſton
Henry Heyman
William Purefoy
Valentine Walton
Michael Oldeſworth
William Wheeler
Hall Ravenſcroft
T. L. Gray of Groby
Thomas Middleton
Edw. Hungerford
Chriſtopher Wrey
Richard Lee
Herbert Morley
Thomas Lane
Robert Cecil
William Bell
Thomas Some
Herbot. Grimſtone
Simon Snowe
John Naſh
Herbot. Grimſtone
Ralph Aſheton
Edward Ayſcoghe
John Wylde
John Tronchard
Thomas Jervoyſe
Richard Browne
William Plaiters
Nathaniel Stephens
Richard Roſe
Francis Rous
Gilbert Millington
Walter Young
John Brown
John Hippiſley
Edward Poole
Henry Pelham
William Hay
John Driden
Nathaniel Fyennes

William

William Lewis
Giles Grene
William Lytton
John Harvey
Edward Dowce
William Strode
Edmond Prideaux
Thomas Hoyle
Edward Exton
Francis Popham
Zouch Tate
John Curſon
Alexander Bence
Squire Bence
John Selden
John Glyn
Richard Onſlow
John Coke
Thomas, Lord *Wenman*
Bulſtrode Whitlock
George Montague
Edward Partheriche
Henry Campion
William Whittaker
Denzel Holles
Edward Wingate
James Fennys
Poynings Moore
Edward Biſſe, Junior
William Jephſon
Edward Montague
Norton Knatchboll
Thomas Eden
Edward Baynton
Jo. Evelin
Jo. Potts
Sam. Rolls
Ralph Aſhton
William Drake
Pereg. Pelham
William Brereton
Thomas Widdrington
Natha. Hallows
Joh. Bamfield
Simond Thelwall
Hen. Worſley
Phil. Parker
Edw. Boys
John Alford.
ROBERT HARLEY.

Die Veneris, 29 Januar. 1644.

ORDERED by the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, That the Solemn League and Covenant be on every Day of Faſt and Publick Humiliation, publickly read in every Church and Congregation within the Kingdom: And that every Congregaton be enjoyned to have one of the ſaid Covenants fairly printed in a fair Letter, in a Table fitted to hang up in ſome publick Place of the Church to be read.

Hen. Elſynge Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

The Form and Order of the CORONATION *of* CHARLES *the Second, King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland: *As it was acted and done at* SCOON, *the firſt Day of* January, 1651.

FIRST the King's Majeſty, in a Prince's Robe, was conducted from his Bed-Chamber, by the Conſtable on his Right Hand, and the Marſhal on his Left, to the Chamber of Preſence; and there was plac'd in a Chair, under a Cloth of State, by the Lord of *Angus*, Chamberlain appointed by the King for that Day; and there, after a little Repoſe, the Noblemen, with the Commiſſioners of Barons and Burroughs, entred the Hall, and preſented themſelves before His Majeſty.

Thereafter

Thereafter the Lord Chancellor ſpoke to the King, to this Purpoſe: *Sir, your good Subjects deſire You may be crowned, as the righteous and lawful Heir of the Crown of this Kingdom; that you would maintain Religion, as it is preſently profeſſed and eſtabliſhed; conform to the National Covenant, League and Covenant, and according to your Declaration at* Dumfeirling, *in* Auguſt *laſt: Alſo that you would be graciouſly pleaſed to receive them under Your Highneſs's Protection, to govern them by the Laws of the Kingdom, and to defend them in their Rights and Liberties, by your Royal Power; offering themſelves in moſt humble Manner to Your Majeſty, with their Vows to beſtow Land, Life, and what elſe is in their Power, for the Maintenance of Religion, for the Safety of Your Majeſty's Sacred Perſon, and Maintenance of Your Crown, w'ich they intreat Your Majeſty to accept, and pray Almighty God, that for many Years you may happily enjoy the ſame.*

The King made this Anſwer; *I do eſteem the Affections of my good People, more than the Crowns of many Kingdoms, and ſhall be ready, by God's Aſſiſtance, to beſtow my Life in their Defence; wiſhing to live no longer, than I may ſee Religion and this Kingdom flouriſh in all Happineſs.*

Thereafter, the Commiſſioners of Burroughs and Barons, and the Noble Men, accompanied His Majeſty to the Kirk of *Scoon*, in Order and Rank, according to their Quality, two and two. The Spurs being carried by the Earl of *Eglington*. Next, the Sword, by the Earl of *Rothes*: Then the Scepter, by the Earl of *Crauford* and *Lindeſay*: And the Crown, by the Marquis of *Argyle*, immediately before the King. Then came the King, with the great Conſtable on his right Hand, and the great Marſhal on his left; his Train being carried by the Lord *Ereskine*, the Lord *Montgomery*, the Lord *Newbottle*, and the Lord *Machlene*, four Earls eldeſt Sons, under a Canopy of crimſon Velvet, ſupported by ſix Earls Sons; to wit, the Lord *Drummond*, the Lord *Carnegie*, the Lord *Ramſey*, the Lord *Johnſtoun*, the Lord *Brechin*, Lord *Yeſter*; and the ſix Carriers ſupported by ſix Noble Mens Sons. Thus the King's Majeſty entred the Kirk.

The Kirk being fitted and prepared, with a Table, whereupon the Honours were laid, and a Chair ſet in a fitting Place for His Majeſty's hearing of Sermon, over againſt the Miniſter, and another Chair on the other ſide, where he received the Crown; before which there was a Bench, decently covered; as alſo for Seats about, for Noble Men, Barons, and Burgeſſes. And there being alſo a Stage in a fit Place erected, of 24 Foot ſquare, about four Foot high from the Ground, covered with Carpets, with two Stairs, one from the Weſt, another to the Eaſt; upon which great Stage, there was another little Stage erected, ſome two Foot high, aſcending by two Steps; on which the Throne, or Chair of State was ſet.

The Kirk thus fittingly prepared, the King's Majeſty entreth the ſame, accompanied as aforeſaid, and firſt ſetteth himſelf in his Chair for hearing of Sermon.

All being quietly compoſed unto Attention, Mr. *Robert Douglas*, Moderator of the General Aſſembly, after incalling upon God by Prayer, preached the following Sermon.

A SERMON preach'd at *Scoon*, *Jan.* 1. 1651. at the Coronation of *Charles* the Second, King of *Scotland*, *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*.

By *Robert Dowglas*, Miniſter at *Edinburgh*, Moderator of the Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly.

2 Kings 11. 12, 17.

And he brought forth the King's Son, and put the Crown upon him, and gave him the Teſtimony; and they made him King, and anointed him, and they clapt their Hands, and ſaid, God ſave the King.

And Jehojada *made a Covenant between the Lord, and the King, and the People, that they ſhould be the Lord's People, between the King alſo and the People.*

IN this Text of Scripture you have the Solemn Enthronizing of *Joaſh*, a young King, and that in a very troubleſome Time; for *Athaliah*, the Mother of *Ahaziah*, had cruelly murthered the Royal Seed, and uſurp'd the Kingdom, by the ſpace of ſix Years. Only this young Prince was preſerv'd by *Jehoſheba*, the Siſter of *Ahaziah*, and Wife to *Jehojada*, the High Prieſt, being had with her in the Houſe of the Lord all that time.

Good Interpreters do conjecture, tho' *Joaſh* be called the Son of *Ahaziah*, that he was not his Son by Nature, but by Succeſſion to the Crown. They ſay, that the Race of *Solomon* ceaſed here, and the Kingdom came to the Poſterity of *Nathan*, the Son of *David*. Becauſe 2 *Chron.* 22. 9. it is ſaid, *The Houſe of* Ahaziah *had no Power to keep the Kingdom*; which they conceive to be for the want of Children in that Houſe; and becauſe of the Abſurdity and Unnaturalneſs of the Fact, that *Athaliah* the Grand-mother ſhould have cut off her Son's Children. I ſhall not ſtand upon the Matter, only I may ſay, if they were *Ahaziah*'s own Children, it was a moſt unnatural and cruel Fact of *Athaliah* to cut off her own Poſterity.

For

For the Uſurpation, there might have been two Motives. 1. it ſeemeth that when *Ahaziah* went to Battel, *Athaliah* was left to govern the Kingdom; and her Son *Ahaziah* being ſlain before his Return, ſhe thought the Government ſweet, and could not part with it; and becauſe the Royal Seed ſtood in her Way, ſhe cruelly deſtroyed them, that ſhe might reign with the greater Freedom. 2. She was earneſt to ſet up a falſe Worſhip, even the Worſhip of *Baal*; which ſhe thought could not be ſo well done, as by cutting off the Royal Race, and getting the ſole Power in her Hand, that ſhe might do what ſhe pleaſed.

The Buſineſs you are about this Day, is not unlike: You are to inveſt a young King in the Throne, in a very troubleſome time: And wicked Men have riſen up, and uſurped the Kingdom, and put to Death the late King moſt unnaturally. The like Motives ſeem to have prevailed with them. 1. Theſe Men, by Falſhood and Diſſimulation, have gotten Power in their Hands, which to them is ſo ſweet, that they are unwilling to part with it; and becauſe the King and his Seed ſtood in their Way, they have made away the King, and diſinherited his Children, that the ſole Power might be in their Hand. 2. They have a Number of damnable Errors, and a falſe Worſhip to ſet up, and intend to take away the Ordinances of Chriſt, and Government of his Kirk. All this cannot be done, unleſs they have the ſole Power in their Hands; and this they cannot have, till the King and his Poſterity be cut off. But I leave this, and come to the preſent Solemnity: There is a Prince to be inthroned; good *Jehojada* will have the Crown put upon his Head.

It may be queſtioned, why they went about this Coronation in a Time of ſo great Hazard, when *Athaliah* had reigned ſix Years? Had it not been better to have defeated *Athaliah*, and then to have crowned the King? Two Reaſons may be render'd, why they delay not the Coronation. To crown the King, was a Duty they were bound to; Hazard ſhould not make them leave their Duty. They did their Duty, and left the Succeſs to God. 2. They crowned the young King, to endear the Peoples Affections to their own native Prince, and to alienate their Hearts from her that had uſurped the Kingdom. If they had delayed, the King being known to be preſerved, it might have brought on, not only Compliance with her, but alſo Subjection to her Government, by reſting in it, and being content to lay aſide the Righteous Heir of the Crown.

The ſame is obſerved in our Caſe; and many wonder that you ſhould crown the King in a dangerous Time, when the Uſurpers have ſuch Power in the Land, the ſame Reaſons may ſerve to anſwer for your doing. 1. It is our neceſſary Duty to crown the King upon all Hazards, and to leave the Succeſs to God. It appeareth now, it hath been too long delayed. Delay is dangerous, becauſe of the Compliance of ſome, and Treachery of others. If it ſhall be delayed longer, it is to be feared, that the moſt part ſhall ſit down under the Shadow of the *Bramble*, the deſtroying Uſurpers.

I come to the particular handling of this preſent Text, and to ſpeak from it to the preſent Time. I have read the 12th and 17th Verſes, becauſe of theſe two which meet together, the crowning of a King, and his renewing

the

the Covenant. Amongſt many Particulars, which may be handled from the Text, I ſhall confine my ſelf to the five. 1. The Crown, *He put the Crown upon his Head.* 2. The Teſtimony, *He gave them the Teſtimony.* 3. The Anointing, *They anointed him.* Theſe three are in the 12th Verſe. As for that which is ſpoken of the People's Joy, we ſhall give it a Touch when we come to the Peoples Duty. The Covenant between God and the King, and the People, *Jehojada made a Covenant between God, and the King, and the People, that they ſhould be the Lord's People.* 5. The Covenant between the King and the People, *Between the King alſo and the People*; both in the 17th Verſe.

Firſt, The Crown is put upon his Head. A Crown is the moſt excellent Badge of Royal Majeſty. To diſcourſe on Crowns in a State-way, I ſhall leave nnto States-men, and lay only theſe three before you of the Crown.

I. In putting on of the Crown, it would be well faſtened; for King's Crowns are oftentimes tottering; and this is a Time wherein they totter. There are two things which make Kings Crowns to totter; great Sins, and great Commotions and Troubles; take heed of both.

1. There are many Sins upon our King and his Family. Sin will make the ſureſt Crown that ever Men ſet on, to totter. The Sins of former Kings have made this a tottering Crown. I ſhall not inſiſt here, ſeeing there hath been a ſolemn Day of Humiliation through the Land, on *Thurſday* laſt, for the Sins of the Royal Family. I wiſh the Lord may bleſs it; and deſire the King may be truly humbled for his own Sins, and the Sins of his Father's Houſe, which have been great: Beware of putting on theſe Sins with the Crown; for if you put them on, all the Well-wiſhers to a King in the three Kingdoms will not be able to hold on the Crown, and keep it from tottering; yea, from falling. Lord, take away the Controverſie with the Royal Family, that the Crown may be faſtened ſure upon the King's Head, without falling or tottering.

2. Troubles and Commotions in a Kingdom, make Crowns to totter. A Crown at the beſt, and in the moſt calm Times, is full of Trouble; which if it were well weighed by Men, there would not be ſuch hunting after Crowns. I read of a great Man, who conſidering the Trouble and Care that accompanied a Crown, ſaid, he would not take it up at his Foot, though he might have it for taking. Now, if a Crown, at the beſt, be ſo full of Troubles, what ſhall one think of a Crown at the worſt, when there are ſo great Commotions, wherein the Crown is directly aimed at? Surely it muſt be a tottering Crown at the leaſt, eſpecially when former Sins have brought on theſe Troubles. As the Remedy of the former is true Humiliation, and turning unto God; ſo the Remedy of the latter, is, *Pſal.* 21. 3. (ſpeaking of *David*'s Crown) *Thou ſetteſt a Crown of pure Gold upon his Head.* God ſet on *David*'s Crown; and therefore it was ſettled, notwithſtanding of many Troubles. Men may ſet on Crowns, and they may he thrown off again; but when God ſetteth them on, they will be faſt. Enemies have touched the Crown of our King, and

caſten it off in the other Kingdom, and have made it totter in this Kingdom, both the King who is to be crowned, and you who are to crown him, ſhould deal earneſtly with God, to ſet the Crown on the King's Head, and to keep it on againſt all the Commotions of this Generation. 2. A King ſhould eſteem more of the People he reigneth over, than of his Crown; Kings uſe to be ſo taken up with their Crowns, that they deſpiſe their People. I would have a King following Chriſt, the King of his People, who ſaith of them, *Iſa.* 62. 3. *Thou ſhalt be a Crown of Glory in the Hand of the Lord, and a Royal Diadem in the Hand of thy God.* Chriſt counteth his People his Crown and Diadem; ſo ſhould a King eſteem the People of the Lord, over whom he ruleth, to be as his Crown and Diadem; take away the People, and a Crown is but an empty Symbol. 3. A King when he getteth his Crown on his Head, ſhould think at the beſt, it is but a fading Crown. All the Crowns of Kings are but fading Crowns; therefore they ſhould have an Eye upon that *Crown of Glory, that fadeth not away*, 1 *Pet.* 5. 4. And upon a *Kingdom that cannot be ſhaken*, *Heb.* 12. 28. That Crown and Kingdom belongeth not to Kings as Kings, but unto Believers; and a believing King hath this Comfort, that *when he hath endured a while, and been tryed, he ſhall receive the Crown of Life, which the Lord hath promiſed to them that love him.*

II. The ſecond thing in this Solemnity, is the *Teſtimony*, by this is meant the Law of God; ſo called, becauſe it teſtifieth of the Mind and Will of God. It was commanded, *Deut.* 17. 18, 19. *When the King ſhall ſit upon the Throne of his Kingdom, he ſhall write a Copy of the Book of the Law, and it ſhall be with him, that he may read therein all the Days of his Life.* The King ſhould have the *Teſtimony* for theſe three main Uſes.

1. For his Information in the Way of God, *Deut.* 17. 19. This Uſe of the Kings having the Book of the Law, is expreſſed, *That he may learn to fear the Lord his God*; the reading of other Books may do a King good for Government; but no Book will teach him the Way of Salvation, but the Book of God. Chriſt biddeth *ſearch the Scriptures; for in them ye think to have eternal Life, and they teſtifie of me*, Joh. 5. 39. He is *a bleſſed Man who meditateth in the Law of the Lord*, Pſal. 1. 1, 2. King *David* was well acquainted herewith, as appeareth, *Pſal.* 119. Kings ſhould be well exerciſed in Scripture. It is reported of *Alphonſus*, King of *Arragon*, that he read the Bible fourteen times, with Gloſſes thereupon. I recommend to the King, to take ſome Hours for reading Holy Scripture: It will be a good Means to make him acquainted with God's Mind, and with Chriſt as a Saviour.

2. For this Direction in Government, Kings read Books that may learn them to govern well, which I condemn not; but all the Books a King can read, will not make him govern to pleaſe God, as this Book. I know nothing that is good in Government, but a King may learn it out of the Book of God. For this Cauſe *Joſhua* is commanded, *Joſh.* 1. 8. *That the Book of the Law ſhall not depart out of his Mouth*, and he is commanded *to do according to that is written therein.*

in. He ſhould not only do himſelf that which is written in it, but do, and govern his People according to that is written in it; King *David* knew this Uſe of the Teſtimony, who ſaid, *Pſal.* 119. 24. *Thy Teſtimonies are my Delight, and my Counſellors.* The beſt Counſels that ever a King getteth, are in the Book of God; yea, the Teſtimonies are the beſt and ſureſt Counſellors, becauſe although King's Counſellors be never ſo wiſe and truſty, yet they uſe not to be ſo free with a King as they ought: But the Scripture will tell Kings very freely both their Sin, and their Duty. 3. For Preſervation and Cuſtody: The King is *Cuſtos utriuſque Tabulæ*, The Keeper of both Tables. Not that he ſhould take upon him to diſpenſe the Word of God, or to diſpenſe with it; but that he ſhould preſerve the Word of God, and the true Religion, according to the Word of God, pure, intire, and uncorrupted within his Dominions, and tranſmit them to Poſterity, and alſo be careful to ſee his Subjects obſerve both Tables, and to puniſh Tranſgreſſors of the ſame.

III. The third thing in this Solemnity, is the anointing of the King. The anointing of Kings was not abſolutely neceſſary under the Old Teſtament; for we read not that all the Kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael* were anointed. The *Hebrews*, obſerve that anointing of Kings was uſed in three Caſes.

1. When the firſt of a Family was made King, as *Saul*, *David*. 2. When there was a Queſtion for the Crown, as in the Caſe of *Solomon* and *Adonijah*. 3. When there was an Interruption of the lawful Succeſſion by Uſurpation, as in the Caſe of *Joah*, there is an Interruption by the Uſurpation of *Athaliah*; therefore he is anointed. If this Obſervation hold, as it is probable, then it was not abſolutely neceſſary under the old Teſtament, and therefore far leſs under the New.

Becauſe it may be ſaid, That in our Caſe there is an Interruption by Uſurpation, let it be conſidered; That the Anointing under the Old Teſtament was Typical, although all Kings were not Types of Chriſt; yet the Anointing of Kings, Prieſts, and Prophets, was Typical of Chriſt, and his Offices: But Chriſt being now come, all theſe Ceremonies ceaſe. And therefore the Anointing of Kings ought not to be uſed in the New Teſtament.

If it be ſaid, Anointing of Kings hath been in Uſe among Chriſtians, not only Papiſts, but Proteſtants, as in the Kingdom of *England*, and our late King was Anointed with Oil. It may be replied, they who uſed it under the New Teſtament, took it from the *Jews*, without Warrant. It was moſt in Uſe with the Biſhops of *Rome*, who, to keep Kings and Emperors ſubject to themſelves, did ſwear them to the *Pope*, when they were Anointed, (and yet the *Jewiſh* Prieſts did never ſwear Kings to themſelves:) As for *England*, although the *Pope* was caſten off, yet the Subjection of Kings to Biſhops was ſtill retained; for they Anointed the King, and ſware him to the Maintenance of their *Prelatical Dignity*. There are here, who were Witneſſes at the Coronation of the late King. The Biſhops be-

hoved to perform that Rite, and the King behoved to be ſworn to them. But now, by the Bleſſing of God, *Popery* and *Prelacy* are removed: The *Biſhops*, as Limbs of *Antichriſt*, are put to the Door; let the Anointing of Kings with Oil go to the Door with them, and let them never come in again.

The Anointing with material Oil, maketh not a King the Anointed of the Lord; for he is ſo without it. He is the Anointed of the Lord, who, by the Divine Ordinance and Appointment is a King, *Iſai.* 45. 1. God called *Cyrus* his Anointed; yet we read not that he was Anointed with Oil. Kings are the Anointed of the Lord, becauſe, by the Ordinance of the Lord, their Authority is ſacred and inviolable. It is enough for us to have the thing, though we want the Ceremony; which being laid aſide, I will give ſome Obſervations of the Thing.

1. A King being the Lord's Anointed, ſhould be thinking upon a better Unction, even that ſpiritual Unction wherewith Believers are Anointed, which you have, 1 *Joh.* 2. 27. *The Anointing ye have received of him abideth in you:* And 2 Cor. 1. 21. *He that hath Anointed us, is God who hath alſo ſealed us.* This Anointing is not proper to Kings, but common to Believers. Few Kings are ſo Anointed. A King ſhould ſtrive to be a good Chriſtian, and then a good King: The Anointing with Grace, is better than the Anointing with Oil. It is of more Worth for a King to be Anointed of the Lord with Grace, than to be the greateſt Monarch of the World without it.

2. This Anointing may put a King in Mind of the Gifts, wherewith Kings ſhould be endued, for Diſcharge of the Royal Calling. For Anointing did ſignifie the Gifts of Office. It is ſaid of *Saul*, when he was Anointed King; as 1 *Sam.* 10. 9. *God gave him another Heart.* And *Cap.* 11. 6. *The Spirit of God came upon him*, it is meant of a Heart for this Calling, and a Spirit of Ability for Government. It ſhould be our Deſire this Day, that our King may have a Spirit for his Calling, as the Spirit of Wiſdom, Fortitude, Juſtice, and other Princely Endowments.

3. This Anointing may put Subjects in Mind of the Sacred Due of the Authority of a King. He ſhould be reſpected, as the Lord's Anointed. There are divers ſorts of Perſons, that are Enemies to the Authority of Kings: As, 1. *Anabaptiſts*, who deny there ſhould be Kings in the New Teſtament: They will have no Kings, nor Civil Magiſtrate. 2. The late *Photinians*, who ſpeak reſpectively of Kings and Magiſtrates; but they take away from them their Power, and the Exerciſe of it in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. 3. Theſe who riſe againſt Kings in open Rebellion, as *Abſolom* and *Sheba*, who ſaid, *What have we to do with* David, *the Son of* Jeſſe? *To your Tents, O* Iſrael. 4. They who do not rebel openly, yet they deſpiſe a King in their Heart, like the Sons of *Belial*, 1 *Sam.* 10. laſt, who ſaid of *Saul* after he was Anointed King; *Shall this Man ſave us? And they deſpiſed him, and brought him no Preſents.*

1. All theſe meet in our preſent Age. 1. *Anabaptiſts*, who are againſt the Being of Kings, are very rife: You may find, to your great Grief, a great Number of them in that Army that have unjuſtly invaded the Land, who have trampled upon the Authority of Kings. 2. There are alſo of the ſecond ſort, who are ſecretly *Pelagians* in this Point; they allow of Kings in Profeſſion, but they are againſt the Exerciſe of their Power in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. A third Sort in open Rebellion, even all that Generation, which are riſen up not only againſt the Perſon of the King, but Kingly Government. 4. There is a fourth, who profeſs they acknowledge a King, but deſpiſe him in their Heart, ſaying, *Shall this Man ſave us?* I wiſh all had *David*'s Tenderneſs, whoſe *Heart ſmote him when he did but cut off the Lap of* Saul's *Garment*, that we may be far from cutting off a Lap of that juſt Power and Greatneſs, which God hath allowed to the King, and we have bound our ſelves by Covenant not to diminiſh.

I have gone through the three Particulars contained in Verſe 12. I come to the other two in Verſe 17. which appertain alſo to this ſaid Work; for our King is not only to be crowned, but to renew a Covenant with God and his People, and to make a Covenant with the People. Anſwerable hereto, there is a twofold Covenant in the Words: One between God, and the King, and the People; God being the one Party, the King and the People the other. Another between the King and the People; the King being the one Party, the People the other. The Covenant with God, is the fourth Particular propounded to be ſpoken of. The Sum of the Covenant ye may find, 2 *Kings* 23. 3. in *Joſiah* his renewing the Covenant, *To walk after the Lord, and keep his Commandments and Teſtimonies with all thy Heart, and to perform the Words of the Covenant.* The renewing of the Covenant, was after a great Defection from God, and the ſetting up of falſe Worſhip. The King and the People of God bound themſelves before the Lord, to ſet up true Worſhip, and to aboliſh the falſe. *Scotland* hath a Preference in this before other Nations. In Time of Defection, they have renewed a Covenant with God to reform all: And becauſe the King after a great Defection in that Family, is to renew the Covenant, I ſhall mention ſome Particulars from the League and Covenant.

1. We are bound to maintain the *true Reformed Religion* in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government, eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, and to endeavour the Reformation of Religion in the other two Kingdoms, according to the Word of God, and the beſt Reformed Kirks. By this Article, the King is obliged not only to maintain Religion as it is eſtabliſhed in *Scotland*. but alſo to endeavour the Reformation of Religion in his other Kingdoms: The King ſhould conſider well, when it ſhall pleaſe God to reſtore him to his Government there, that he is bound to endeavour the Eſtabliſhment of the Work of Reformation there, as well as to maintain it here.

According to the ſecond Article, the King is bound, without Reſpect of Perſons, to extirpate *Popery*, *Prelacy*, *Superſtition*, *Hereſie*, *Schiſm*, *and Prophaneneſs*, and whatſoever ſhall be found contrary to ſound Doctrine,

and

and the Power of Godlineſs; and therefore *Popery* is not to be ſuffered in his Royal Family, nor within his Dominions; *Prelacy* once plucktup by the Root, is not to be permitted to take Root again; all *Hereſie* and *Error* whatſoever, muſt be oppoſed by him to the utmoſt of his Power; and by the Covenant, the King muſt be far from Toleration of any *falſe Religion* within his Dominions.

3. As the People are bound to maintain the King's Perſon and Authority, in the Maintenance of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom: So the King is bound with them to maintain the Rights and Privileges of the Parliament, and Liberties of the Subjects, according to the third Article.

4. We are bound to diſcover, and to bring unto condign Puniſhment all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be *Incendiaries*, *Malignants*, or *evil Inſtruments*, in hindring the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from the People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Faction or Parties amongſt them; hereby the King is bound to have an Eye upon ſuch, and neither allow them, nor comply with them, but to concur, according to his Power, to have them cenſured and puniſhed, as is expreſſed in the fourth Article. I ſhall ſum up all this, That a King entring in Covenant with God, ſhould do as the Kings did of old when they entred into Covenant, they and their People went on in the Work of Reformation, as appears there, Verſe 8. *And all the People of the Lord went to the Houſe of* Baal, *and brake it down, &c.* And godly *Joſiah* when he entred in Covenant, made a thorough Reformation. There is a fourfold Reformation in Scripture, and contained in the League and Covenant. 1. A perſonal Reformation. 2. A Family-Reformation. 3. A Reformation of Judicatories. 4. A Reformation of the whole Land: Kings have had their Hand in all the four, and therefore I recommend them to our King.

1. A perſonal Reformation: A King ſhould reform his own Life, that he may be a Pattern of Godlineſs to others; and to this he is tied by the Covenants. The godly Reformers of *Judah* were pious and religious Men. A King ſhould not follow *Machiavel* his Counſel, who requireth not that a Prince ſhould be truly religious, but ſaith, that a Shadow of it, and external Simulation are ſufficient: A devilliſh Counſel! and it is juſt with God to bring a King to the Shadow of a Kingdom, who hath but the Shadow of Religion. We know that diſſembling Kings have been puniſhed of God; and let our King know, that no King but a religious King can pleaſe God. *David* is highly commended for Godlineſs; *Hezekiah*, a Man eminent for Piety, *Joſiah*, a young King, commended for the Tenderneſs of his Heart when he heard the Law of the Lord read; he was much troubled before the Lord, when he heard the Judgments threat'ned againſt his Father's Houſe, and his People. It is earneſtly wiſhed, that our King's Heart may be tender, and be truly humbled before the Lord for the Sins of his Father's Houſe, and of the Land; and for the many Evils that are upon that Family, and upon that Kingdom.

2. A Family-Reformation. The King ſhould reform his Family, after the Example of godly Kings. *Aſa* when he entred in Covenant, ſpared not his Mother's Idolatry. The Houſe of our King hath been much defiled by Idolatry. The King is now in Covenant; and, to renew the Covenant, let the Royal Family be reformed; and that it may be a religious Family wherein God will have Pleaſure. Let it be purged not only of Idolatry, but of Prophanity and Looſneſs, which hath abounded in it. Much hath been ſpoken of this Matter, but little hath been done in it. Let the King, and others who have Charge in that Family, think it lieth upon them as a Duty to purge it. And if you would have a Family well purged and conſtituted, take *David* for a Pattern, in the Purgation and Conſtitution of his 101th *Pſalm*, *The froward Heart, wicked Perſons, and Slanderers he will have far from him; but his Eyes are upon the Faithful of the Land, that they may dwell with him.* Ye may extend this Reformation to the Court. A prophane Court is dangerous for a King; it hath been obſerved as a provoking Sin in *England*, which hath drawn down Judgment upon King and Court, as appeareth this Day. It is to be wiſhed, that ſuch were in the Court as *David* ſpeaketh of in that *Pſalm.* Let the King ſee to it, and reſolve with *David*, Pſal. 101. 7. That *he who worketh Deceit, ſhall not dwell within his Houſe; and he who telleth Lies, ſhall not tarry in his Sight.*

3. Reformation in Judicatories. It ſhould be carefully ſeen to, that Judicatories be reformed; and that Men fearing God, and hating Covetouſneſs, may be placed in them: A King in Covenant ſhould do as *Jehoſhaphat* did, 2 *Chron.* 19. 5, 6, 7. *He ſet Judges in the Land, and ſaid, Take heed what you do: Ye judge not for Men, but for the Lord, who is with you in Judgment: Wherefore now let the Fear of the Lord be before you,* &c.

4. The Reformation of the whole Land: The King's Eye ſhould be upon it, 2 *Chron.* 19. 4. *Jehoſhaphat went out through the People, from* Beerſheba *to Mount* Ephraim, *and brought them back to the Lord God of their Fathers.* Our Land hath great Need of Reformation; for there is a Part of it, that hath ſcarce ever yet found the Benefit of it; they are lying without the Goſpel. It will be a Work of a covenanted King to have a Care that the Goſpel may be preached through the whole Land: Care alſo would be taken, that they who have the Goſpel may live ſuitably thereto.

If a King would be a through Reformer, he muſt be reformed himſelf, otherwiſe he will never lay Reformation to Heart. To make a King a good Reformer, I wiſh him theſe Qualifications according to the Truth, and in Sincerity, wherewith they report *Trajan* the Emperor to have been endued. He was, 1. Devout at Home. 2. Courageous in War. 3. Juſt in his Judicatories. 4. Prudent in all his Affairs. True Piety, Fortitude, Juſtice, and Prudency, are notable Qualifications in a Prince, who would reform a Kingdom, and reform well.

5. I come now to the fifth and laſt Particular; and that is the Covenant made between the King and the People. When a King is Crowned, and received by the People, there is a Covenant or mutual Contract between him and them, containing Conditions mutually to be obſerved. Time

will

will not ſuffer to inſiſt upon many Particulars, I ſhall only lay before you three. Firſt, It is clear from this Covenant, That a King hath not abſolute Power to do what he pleaſeth; he is tied to Conditions, by Virtue of a Covenant. Secondly, It is clear from this Covenant, that a People are bound to obey their King in the Lord. Thirdly, I ſhall preſent the King with Directions, for the Government of the People who are bound to obey.

1. It is clear, That the King's Power is not abſolute, as Kings and flattering Courtiers apprehend: A King's Power is a limited Power, by this Covenant. And there is a threefold Limitation of the King's Power.

1. In Regard of Subordination. There is a Power above his, even God's Power, whom he is obliged to obey; and to whom he muſt give an Account of his Adminiſtration. Ye heard Yeſterday the Text, *By me Kings Reign*, *Prov.* 8. 15. Kings have not only their Crowns from God, but they muſt reign according to his Will, which is clear from *Rom.* 8. 13. He is called the Miniſter of God. He is but God's Servant. I need not ſtay upon this, Kings and all others will acknowledge this Limitation.

2. In regard of Laws, a King is ſworn at his Coronation to rule according to the ſtanding received Laws of the Kingdom. The Laws he is ſworn to, limit him that he cannot do againſt them, without a ſinful Breach of this Covenant between the King and People.

3. In Regard of Government. The total Government is not upon a King: He hath Counſellors, a Parliament, or Eſtates in the Land, who ſhare in the Burden of Government. It was never the Mind of theſe who receive a King to rule them, to lay all their Government upon him, to do what he pleaſeth, without Controulment. There is no Man able alone to govern all. The Kingdom ſhould not lay that upon one Man, who may eaſily miſcarry. The Eſtates of the Land are bound in this Contract to bear a Burden with him.

Theſe Men who have flattered Kings, to take unto them an abſolute Power to do what they pleaſe, have wronged Kings and Kingdoms. It had been good that Kings of late had carried themſelves ſo, as this Queſtion of Kings Power might never have come in Debate; for they have been great Loſers thereby: Kings are very deſirous to have Things ſpoken and written, to hold up their arbitrary and unlimited Power; but that way doth exceedingly wrong them. There is one, a learned Man, I confeſs, who hath written a Book for the Maintenance of the abſolute Power of Kings, called, *Defenſio Regia*; whereby he hath wronged himſelf in his Reputation, and the King in his Government. As for the Fact of taking away the Life of the late King, (whatever was God's Juſtice in it) I do agree with him to condemn it, as a moſt unjuſt and horrid Fact upon their part who did it: But when he cometh to ſpeak to the Power of Kings, in giving unto them an abſolute and illimited Power, urging the damnable Maxim, *Quod libet licet*, he will have a King to do what he pleaſeth

pleaſeth *impune*, and without Controlment. In this I cannot but diſſent from him.

In Regard of Subordination, ſome ſay, That a King is countable to none but God: Do what he will, let God take Order with it. This leadeth Kings to *Atheiſm*, let them do what they pleaſe, and take God in their own Hand; in Regard of Laws, they teach nothing to Kings but Tyranny; and in Regard of Government, they teach a King to take an arbitrary Power himſelf to do what he pleaſeth without Controlment. How dangerous this hath been to Kings, is clear by ſad Experience. Abuſe of Power and arbitrary Government, hath been one of God's great Controverſies with our Kings and Predeceſſors; God in his Juſtice, becauſe Power hath been abuſed, hath thrown it out of their Hands. And I may confidently ſay, that God's Controverſie with the Kings of the Earth, is for their arbitrary and tyrannical Government.

It is good for our King to learn to be wiſe in time; and know, that he receiveth this Day a Power to govern, but a Power limited by Contract; and theſe Conditions he is bound by Oath to ſtand to. Kings are deceived, who think that the People are ordained for the King, and not the King for the People. The Scripture ſheweth the contrary, *Romans* 13. 4. The King is the Miniſter of God, for the Peoples Good. God will not have a King in an arbitrary Way to encroach upon the Poſſeſſions of Subjects, *Ezekiel* 45. 7, 8. *A Portion is appointed for the Prince.* And it is ſaid, *My Princes ſhall no more oppreſs my People; and the reſt of the Land ſhall he give unto the Houſe of* Iſrael, *according to their Tribes.* The King hath his diſtinct Poſſeſſions and Revenues from the Peoples; he muſt not oppreſs, and do what he pleaſeth; there muſt be no Tyranny upon the Throne.

I deſire not to ſpeak much of this Subject. Men have been very tender in medling with the Power of Kings; yet ſeeing theſe Days have brought forth Debates concerning the Power of Kings, it will be neceſſary to be clear in the Matter. Extremities ſhould be ſhunned. A King ſhould keep within the Bounds of the Covenant made with the People, in the Exerciſe of his Power: Concerning the laſt, I ſhall propound theſe three to your Conſideration.

1. A King abuſing his Power, to the Overthrow of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, which are the very Fundamentals of this Contract and Covenant, may be controled and oppoſed: And if he ſet himſelf to overthrow all theſe by Arms, then they who have Power, as the Eſtates of a Land, may and ought to reſiſt by Arms; becauſe he doth, by that Oppoſition, break the very Bonds, and overthrow the Eſſentials of this Contract and Covenant. This may ſerve to juſtifie the Proceedings of this Kingdom againſt the late King, who in an hoſtile Way ſet himſelf to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Laws and Liberties. XX

2. Every Breach of Covenant wherein a King faileth, after he hath entred in Covenant, doth not diſſolve the Bond of the Covenant. Neither ſhould Subjects lay aſide a King for every Breach, except the Breaches be ſuch as overthrow the Fundamentals of the Covenant with the People. Many Examples of this may be brought from Scripture. I ſhall

give but one. King *Aſa* entered ſolemnly in Covenant with God and his People, 2 *Chron.* 15. After that he falleth in groſs Tranſgreſſions and Breaches, 2 *Chron.* 16. He aſſociates himſelf, and entered in League with *Benhadad* King of *Aſſyria*, an *Idolater*; he impriſoned *Hanani*, the Lord's Prophet, who reproved him, and threatned Judgment againſt that Aſſociation; and at the ſame time he oppreſſed ſome of the People; and yet, for all this, they neither lay aſide, nor count him an Hypocrite.

3. Private Perſons ſhould be very circumſpect about that which they do in Relation to the Authority of Kings. It is very dangerous for private Men to meddle with the Power of Kings, and the ſuſpending of them from the Exerciſe thereof. I do ingeniouſly confeſs, that I find no Example of it: The Prophets taught not ſuch Doctrine to their People, nor the Apoſtles, nor the Reformed Kirks. Have ever private Men, Paſtors, or Profeſſors, given into the Eſtates of a Land as their Judgment, unto which they reſolved to adhere, That a King ſhould be ſuſpended from the Exerciſe of his Power? And if we look upon thoſe godly Paſtors who lived in King *James* his Time, of whom one may truly ſay, more faithful Men lived not in theſe laſt Times: For they ſpared not to tell the King his Faults to his Face: Yea, ſome of them ſuffered Perſecution for their Honeſty and Freedom; yet we never read, nor have heard, that any of thoſe godly Paſtors, joined with other private Men, did never remonſtrate to Parliament or Eſtate, as their Judgment, that the King ſhould be ſuſpended from the Exerciſe of his Royal Power.

2. It is clear from this Covenant, that People ſhoukl obey their King in the Lord: For as the King is bound by Covenant to make Uſe of his Power to their Good: ſo are they bound to obey him in the Lord in the Exerciſe of that Power. About the Peoples Duty to their King, take theſe four Obſervations.

1. That the Obedience of the People is in Subordination to God: For the Covenant is firſt with God, and then with the King. If a King command any thing contrary to the Will of God, in this Caſe *Peter* ſaith, *It is better to obey God than Man.* There is a Line drawn from God to the People; they are loweſt in the Line, and have Magiſtrates ſuperiour and ſupreme above them, and God above all. When the King commandeth the People that which is lawful and commanded by God, then he ſhould be obeyed, becauſe he ſtandeth in the right Line under God, who hath ſet him his Place. But if he command that which is unlawful, and forbidden of God, in that he ſhall not be obeyed to do it; becauſe he is out of his Line. That a King is to be obeyed with this Subordination, is evident from Scripture; take one Place for all, *Rom.* 13. at the beginning, ye have both Obedience urged to ſuperiour Powers at the Ordinance of God, and Damnation threatned againſt thoſe who reſiſt the lawful Power.

It is ſaid by ſome, that many Miniſters in *Scotland* will not have King *Jeſus*, but King *Charles* to reign. Faithful Men are wronged by ſuch Speeches. I do not underſtand theſe Men: For if they think that a King and *Jeſus* are inconſiſtent, then they will have no King. But I ſhall be far from

from entertaining ſuch Thoughts of them. If they think the doing of a neceſſary Duty for King *Charles*, is to prefer his Intereſt to Chriſt's, this alſo is an Error. Honeſt Miniſters can very well diſcern between the Intereſt of Chriſt and of the King. I know no Miniſters that are for ſetting up King *Charles* with Prejudice to Chriſt's Intereſt.

3. The third Particular about this Covenant, reſteth to be ſpoken of; to wit, ſome Directions to the King, for the right performing of his Duty, whereof I ſhall give ſeven.

1. A King meeting with many Difficulties in doing of Duty, by Reaſon of ſtrong Corruption within, and many Tentations without, he ſhould be careful to ſeek GOD by Prayer for Grace to overcome theſe Impediments, and for an underſtanding Heart to govern his People. *Solomon* having in his Option to ask what he would, he asked an underſtanding Heart to go out and in before his People; knowing that the Government of a People was a very difficile Work, and needed more than ordinary Underſtanding. A King alſo hath many Enemies (as our King hath this Day) and a praying King is a prevailing King. *Aſa*, when he had to do with a mighty Enemy, 2 *Chron.* 14. prayed fervently and prevailed. *Jehoſhaphat* was invaded with a mighty Enemy, 2 *Chron.* 20. He prayed, and did prevail. *Hezekiah* prayed againſt *Senacherib*'s huge Army, and prevailed, 2 *Chron.* 32.

Sir, you have many Difficulties and Oppoſitions to meet with; acquaint your ſelf with Prayer; be inſtant with GOD, and he will fight for You. Prayers are not much in Requeſt at Court; but a Covenanted King muſt bring them in Requeſt. I know a King is burthened with Multiplicity of Affairs, and will meet with many Diverſions: But, Sir, you muſt not be diverted; and take Hours, and ſet them apart for that Exerciſe; Men being once acquainted with your Way, will not dare to divert you. Prayer to God will make your Affairs eaſie all the Day. I read of a King of whom his Courtiers ſaid, He ſpoke oftner with God, than with Men. If you be frequent in Prayer, you may expect the Bleſſing of the moſt High upon your ſelf, and your Government.

2. A King muſt be careful of the Kingdom which he hath ſworn to maintain. We have had many of too private a Spirit, by whom Self-Intereſt hath been preferred to the Publick. It becometh a King well to be of a publick Spirit, to care more for the Publick, than his own Intereſt. Senates and States have had Motto's written over the Doors of the Meeting-places: Over the Senate's Houſe at *Rome*, was written, *Ne quid Reſpublica detrimenti capiat*; I ſhall wiſh this may be written over your Aſſembly-Houſes: But there is another which I would have written with it, *Ne quid Eccleſia detrimenti capiat.* Be careful of both; let not Kirk nor State ſuffer Hurt; let them go together. The beſt Way for ſtanding of a Kingdom, is a well conſtitute Kirk. They deceive Kings, who make them believe that the Government of the Kirk, I mean Presbyterial Government, cannot ſute with Monarchy. They ſute well, it being the Ordinance of Chriſt, rendring to God what is Gods, and to *Cæſar* what is *Cæſar*'s.

Sir, Kings who have a tender Care of the Kirk, *Isai.* 41. 3. are called Nurſing Fathers. You would be careful that the Goſpel may have free Paſſage through the Kingdom, and that the Government of the Kirk may be preſerved intire, according to your Solemn Engagement. The Kirk hath met with many Enemies, as *Papiſts*, *Prelates*, *Malignants*, which I paſs as known Enemies. But there are two ſorts more, who at this time would be carefully looked on.

1. *Sectaries*, great Enemies to the Kirk, and to all the Ordinances of Chriſt, and more particularly to *Presbyterian Government*, which they have, and would have altogether deſtroyed. A King ſhould ſet himſelf againſt theſe, becauſe they are Enemies as well to the King as to the Kirk, and ſtrive to make both fall together.

2. *Eraſtians*, more dangerous Snares to Kings than *Sectaries*; becauſe Kings can look well enough to theſe, who are againſt themſelves and their Power, as *Sectaries*, who will have no King: But *Eraſtians* give more Power to Kings than they ſhould have, and are great Enemies to Presbyterial Government: For they would make Kings believe that there is no Government but the Civil, and derived from thence; which is a great Wrong to the Son of God, who hath the Government of the Kirk diſtinct from the Civil, yet no ways prejudicial to it, being ſpiritual, and of another Nature. Chriſt did put the Magiſtrate out of Suſpition, that his Kingdom was prejudicial to Civil Government, affirming, *My Kingdom is not of this World.* This Government Chriſt hath not committed to Kings, but to the Office-bearers of his Houſe; who, in Regard of Civil Subjection, are under the Civil Power as will as others; but in their ſpiritual Adminiſtration, they are under Chriſt, who hath not given to any King upon Earth the Diſpenſation of ſpiritual Things to his People.

SIR, You are in Covenant with God and his People, and are obliged to maintain *Presbyterial Government*, as well againſt *Eraſtians* as *Sectaries*. I know this *Eraſtian* Humour aboundeth at Court. It may be ſome Endeavour to make your Reproach upon that, for which God hath puniſhed your Predeceſſors. Be who he will that medleth with this Government to over-turn it, it ſhall be as heavy to him as the burthenſome Stone to the Enemies of the Kirk, *They are cut in Pieces who burthen themſelves with it*, Zach. 12.

3. A *King* in Covenant with the People of God, ſhould make much of thoſe who are in Covenant with him; having in high Eſtimation the faithful Servants of Chriſt, and the godly People of the Land. It is rare to find Kings Lovers of faithful Miniſters, and pious People. It hath been the Fault of our own Kings to perſecute the Godly.

1. Let the *King* love the Servants of Chriſt, who ſpeak the Truth. Evil Kings are branded with this, that they contemned the Prophets, 2 *Chron.* 25. when *Amaziah* had taken the Gods of *Seir*, and ſet them up for his Gods, a Prophet came to him, and reproved him, unto whom the *King* ſaid, *Who made thee of the Kings Counſel, forbear leſt thou be ſmitten.* This Contempt of the Prophet's Warning, is a Fore-runner of following Deſtruction.

Deſtruction. Be a careful Hearer of God's Word; take with Reproof, eſteem of it as *David* did, *Pſal.* 141. 5. *An excellent Oil which ſhall not break the Head.* To make much of the faithful Servants of Chriſt, will be an Evidence of Reality.

2. Let the *King* eſteem well of godly Profeſſors. Let Piety be in Accompt. It is a Fault very common, that pious Men, becauſe of their conſcientious and ſtrict Walking, are hated by the *Prophane*, who love to live looſely. It is uſual with *prophane Men* to labour to bring Kings unto a Diſtaſte of the Godly; eſpecially when Men who have profeſſed Piety become ſcandalous; whereupon they are ready to judge all pious Men to be like them, and take Occaſion to ſpeak Evil of Piety. I fear at this Time, when Men who have been commended for Piety have fallen foully, and betrayed their Truſt, that Men will take Advantage to ſpeak againſt the Godly of the Land. Beware of this, for it's *Satan's* Policy to put Piety out of Requeſt. Let not this move any: Fall who will, Piety is ſtill the ſame, and pious Men will make Conſcience both of their Ways and Truſt. Remember, they are precious in God's Eyes, who will not ſuffer Men to deſpiſe them, without their Reward. Sir, let not your Heart be from the Godly in the Land, whatever hath fall'n out at this time. I dare affirm, that there are very many really godly Men, who by their Prayers are ſupporting your Throne.

4. A King ſhould be careful whom he putteth in Places of Truſt, as a main thing for the Good of the Kingdom. It is a Maxim that Truſt ſhould not be put in their Hands who have oppreſſed the People, or have betrayed their Truſt. There is a Paſſage in Story, meet for this purpoſe: One *Septimius Arabinus*, a Man famous, or rather infamous for Oppreſſion, was put out of the Senate, but re-admitted. About this time, *Alexander Severus* being choſen to the Empire, the Senators did entertain him with publick Salutations and Congratulations, *Severus* eſpying *Arabinus* amongſt the Senators, cried, *Numina! Arabinus non ſolum vivit, ſed in Senatum venit: Ah!* Arabinus *not only liveth, but he is in the Senate.* Out of juſt Indignation he could not endure to ſee him. As all are not meet for Places of Truſt in Judicatures, ſo all are not meet for Places of Truſt in Armies. Men would be choſen who are godly and able for the Charge.

But there are ſome who are not meet for Truſt. 1. They who are godly, but have no Skill nor Ability for the Place: A Man may be a truly godly Man, who is not fit for ſuch a Place; and no Wrong is done to him, nor to Godlineſs, when the Place is denied to him. I wonder how a godly Man can take upon him a Place whereof he hath no Skill. 2. They who have neither Skill nor Courage, are very unmeet; for if it be a Place of never ſo great Moment, Faint-heartedneſs will make them quit it. 3. They who are both skilful and ſtout, yet are not honeſt, but perfidious and treacherous, ſhould have no Truſt at all.

Of all theſe we have ſad Experience, which ſhould not move you to make Choice of prophane and godleſs Men, by whom a Bleſſing is not to be expected; but it ſhould move you to be wary in your Choice; I am confident

confident ſuch may be had, who will be faithful for Religion, King and Kingdom.

There hath been much Debate about the Exerciſe of the King's Power; yet he is put in the Exerciſe of his Power, and this Day put in a better Capacity to exerciſe it by his Coronation. Many are afraid that the Exerciſe of his Power ſhall prove dangerous to the Cauſe; and indeed I confeſs there is a Ground of Fear, when we conſider how this Power hath been abuſed by former Kings; therefore, Sir, make good Uſe of your Power, and ſee that you rather keep within Bounds, than exceed in the Exerciſe of it. I may very well give ſuch a Counſel, as an old Counſellor gave to a King of *France*. He having ſpent many Years at Court, deſired to retire into the Country for enjoying Privacy fit for his Age; and having obtained Leave, the King his Maſter required him to ſet down, and write ſome Advice of Government to leave behind him; which he, out of Modeſty declined. The King would not be denied, but left with him Pen and Ink, and a Sheet of Paper. He being alone, after ſome Thoughts, wrote with fair and legible Characters in the Head of the Sheet, *Modus*, in the Middle of the Sheet, *Modus*, and in the Foot of the Sheet, *Modus*, and wrote no more in all his Paper; which he wrapped up, and delivered to the King, meaning that the beſt Counſel he could give him, was, that he ſhould keep Temper in all Things. Nothing more fit for a young King, than to keep Temper in all. Take his Counſel, Sir, and be moderate in the Uſe of your Power. The beſt Way to keep Power, is Moderation in the Uſe of it.

6. The King hath many Enemies, even ſuch as are Enemies to his Family, and to all Kingly Government, and are now in the Bowels of this Kingdom waſting and deſtroying: Beſtir your ſelf according to Vows and Oaths that are upon you, to be active for the Relief of Chriſt's Kingdom born down by them in all the three Kingdoms; and for the Relief of this Kingdom grievouſly oppreſſed by them. We ſhall earneſtly deſire, that God would put that Spirit upon our King, now entred upon publick Government, which he hath put upon the Deliverers of his People from their cruel Oppreſſors.

In ſpeaking of the King's Behaviour to our Enemies, one thing I cannot paſs: There is much ſpoken of a Treaty with his Enemy; I am not of the Judgment of ſome, who diſtinguiſh a Treaty before Invaſion, and after Invaſion, and ſay, treating is very lawful before Invaſion, becauſe it is ſuppoſed there is little Wrong done; but after Invaſion, when a Kingdom is wronged, and put to infinite Loſſes, then ſay a Treaty is to be ſhunned; But in my Judgment, a Treaty may be lawful after Invaſion, and Wrongs ſuſteined. The End of War is Peace; neither ſhould Deſire of Revenge obſtruct it, providing it be ſuch a Treaty and Peace, as is not prejudicial to Religion, nor to the Safety of the Kingdom, nor to the undoubted Right of the King, nor the League and Covenant whereunto we are ſolemnly engaged.

But

But I muſt break off this Treaty with a Story related in *Plutarch.* The City of *Athens* was in a great Strait, wherein they knew not what to do. *Themiſtocles* in this Strait, ſaid, he had ſomething wherein to give his Opinion, for the Behoof of the State; but he thought it not fit to deliver himſelf publickly: *Ariſtides*, a Man of great Truſt, is appointed to hear him privately, and to make an Account as he thought meet. When *Ariſtides* came to make his Report to the Senate, he told them, that *Themiſtocles* his Advice was indeed profitable, but not honeſt: Whereupon the People would not ſo much as hear it. There is much whiſpering of a Treaty, they are not willing to ſpeak publickly of it. Hear them in private, and it may be the beſt Advice ſhall be profitable, but not honeſt. If a Treaty ſhould be, let it be both profitable and honeſt, and no Lover of Peace will be againſt it.

7. Seeing the King is now upon renewing of the Covenants, it would be remembred, that we enter into Covenant, according to our Profeſſion therein, with Reality, Sincerity, and Conſtancy, which are the Qualifications of good Covenanters. Many doubt of your Reality in the Covenant: Let your Sincerity and Reality be evidenced by your Stedfaſtneſs and Conſtancy; for many have begun well, but have not been conſtant.

In the ſacred Hiſtory of Kings, we find a Note put upon Kings according to their Carriages. One of three Sentences written upon them. 1. Some Kings have this written on them, *He did Evil in the Sight of the Lord:* They neither begin well, nor end well. Such an one was *Ahaz* King of *Judah*, and divers others in that Hiſtory. 2. Others have this written on them, *He did that which was right in the Sight of the Lord, but not with a perfect Heart.* Such a one was *Amaziah*, King of *Judah*, 2 *Chron.* 25. 2. He was neither ſincere nor conſtant: When God bleſſed him with Victory againſt the *Edomites*, he fell foully from the true Worſhip of God, and ſet up the Gods of *Edom.* 3. A third Sentence is written upon the godly Kings of *Judah*, *He did right in the Sight of the Lord, with a perfect Heart*; as *Aſa*, *Hezekiah*, *Jehoſaphat*, and *Joſiah.* They were both ſincere and conſtant. Let us neither have the firſt nor the ſecond, but the third written upon our King, *He did right in the Sight of the Lord, with a perfect Heart.* Begin well, and continue conſtant.

Before I cloſe, I ſhall ſeek leave to lay before our young King two Examples to beware of, and one to follow; the two warning Examples, one of them is in my Text, another in our own Hiſtory.

The firſt Example of *Joaſh*: He began well, and went on in godly Reformation all the Days of *Jehojada*; but it is obſerved, 2 *Chron.* 2. 17. after the Days of *Jehojada*, the Princes of *Judah* came, and did Obeyſance to the King, and he hearkened unto them, *ver.* 18. It appeareth they had been at wait till the Death of *Jehojada*; and took that Opportunity to deſtroy the true Worſhip of God, and ſet up falſe Worſhip, flattering the King to that Effect: For it is ſaid, *They left the Houſe of the Lord, and ſerved Groves and Idols*; and were ſo far from being reclaimed by the Prophet of the Lord, that was ſent unto them, that they conſpired

conſpired againſt *Zechariah*, the Son of *Jehojada*, who reproved them mildly for their *Idolatry*, and ſtoned him with Stones, and ſlew him at the King's Commandment. And *ver.* 22. it is ſaid, *Joaſh remembred not the Kindneſs that* Jehojada *his Father had done to him, but ſlew his Son.*

Sir, Take this Example for a Warning: You are obliged by the Covenant to go on in the Work of Reformation; it may be ſome great Ones are waiting their Time, not having Opportunity to work for the preſent, till afterward they may make Obeyſance, and perſwade you to deſtroy all that hath been done in the Work of God theſe divers Years. Beware of it; Let no Allurement of Perſwaſion prevail with you to fall from that, which this Day you bind your ſelf to maintain.

Another Example I give you, yet in recent Memory, of your Grandfather King *James*: He fell to be King very young, in a Time full of Difficulties; yet there was a godly Party in the Land, who did put the Crown upon his Head. And when he came to ſome Years, He and his People entred in a Covenant with God, he was much commended by godly and faithful Men, comparing him to young *Joſiah* ſtanding at the Altar, renewing a Covenant with God; and he himſelf did thank God that he was born in a Reformed Kirk, better reformed than *England*; for they retained many Popiſh Ceremonies: Yea, better reformed than *Geneva*; for they keep ſome Holy Days: Charging his People to be conſtant, and promiſing himſelf to continue in that Reformation, and to maintain the ſame. Notwithſtanding of all this, he made a foul Defection: He remembred not the Kindneſs of them who had held the Crown upon his Head; yea, he perſecuted faithful Miniſters, for oppoſing that Courſe of Defection. He never reſted till he had undone Presbyterial Government, and Kirk-Aſſemblies, ſetting up Biſhops, and bringing in Ceremonies, againſt which he had formerly given large Teſtimonies. In a Word, he laid the Foundation, whereupon his Son, our late King, did build much Miſchief in Religion all the Days of his Life.

Sir, I lay this Example before you the rather, becauſe it is ſo near you, that the Guiltineſs of the Tranſgreſſion lieth upon the Throne and Family, and it is one of the Sins for which you have profeſſed Humiliation very lately. Let it be laid to Heart, take Warning, requite not faithful Men's Kindneſs with Perſecution; yea, requite not the Lord ſo, who hath preſerved you to this Time, and is ſetting a Crown upon your Head. Requite not the Lord with Apoſtacy and Defection from a ſworn Covenant; but be ſtedfaſt in the Covenant, as you would give Teſtimony of your true Humiliation for the Defection of thoſe that went before you.

I have ſet theſe two Examples before you, as Beacons, to warn you to keep off ſuch dangerous Courſes, and ſhall add one of that godly Man's Adherence to God. The Example is of *Hezekiah, who did that which was right in the Sight of the Lord*, 2 Kings 18. 6, 6. *It is ſaid of him, he truſted in the Lord God of* Iſrael, *and he clave unto the Lord, and departed*

parted not from following him, but kept his Commandment. And Verſe 7. *The Lord was with him, and he proſpered whitherſoever he went forth.*

Sir, follow this Example, cleave unto the Lord, and depart not from following him, and the Lord will be with you, and proſper you whitherſoever you go. To this Lord, from whom we expect a Bleſſing on this Day's Work, be Glory and Praiſe for ever. *Amen.*

Sermon being ended, Prayer was made for a Bleſſing upon the Doctrine delivered.

The King being to renew the Covenants, firſt the National Covenant, then the Solemn League and Covenant were diſtinctly read.

After the reading of theſe Covenants, the Miniſter prayed for Grace to perform the Contents of the Covenants, and for faithful Stedfaſtneſs in the Oath of God; and then (the Miniſters, and Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly, deſired to be preſent, ſtanding before the Pulpit) he miniſtred the Oath unto the King, who kneeling, and lifting up his right Hand, did ſwear in the Words following:

I CHARLES, *King of* Great Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *do aſſure, and declare by ſolemn Oath, in the Preſence of Almighty God, the Searcher of Hearts, my Allowance and Approbation of the National Covenant, and of the Solemn League and Covenant above-written, and faithfully oblige my ſelf to proſecute the Ends thereof in my Station and Calling: And that I for my ſelf and Succeſſors, ſhall conſent and agree to all Acts of Parliament enjoyning the National Covenant, and of the Solemn League and Covenant, and fully eſtabliſh Preſbyterial Government, the Directory of Worſhip, Confeſſion of Faith, and Catechiſms in the Kingdom of* Scotland, *as they are approved by the General Aſſemblies of this Kirk and Parliament of this Kingdom: And that I ſhall give my Royal Aſſent to Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, paſſed, or to be paſſed, enjoyning the ſame in my other Dominions: And that I ſhall obſerve theſe in my own Practice and Family, and ſhall never make Oppoſition to any of theſe, or endeavour any Change thereof.*

After the King had thus ſolemnly ſworn the National Covenant, the League and Covenant, and the King's Oath ſubjoyned unto both, being drawn up into a fair Parchment; the King did ſubſcribe the ſame in Preſence of all.

Thereafter the King aſcendeth the Stage, and ſitteth down in the Chair of State.

Then the Lords, great Conſtable, and Marſhal, went to the four Corners of the Stage, with the Lyon going before them; who ſpoke to the People theſe Words: Sirs, *I do preſent unto you the King,* Charles, *the rightful and undoubted Heir of the Crown and Dignity of this Realm: This Day is by the Parliament of this Kingdom appointed for his Coronation. And are you not willing to have him for your King, and become Subjects to his Commandments.*

In which Action, the King's Majeſty ſtood up, ſhowing himſelf to the People in each Corner: And the People expreſſed their Willingneſs, by chearful Acclamations, in theſe Words, *God ſave the King*, Charles *the Second.*

Thereafter the King's Majeſty, ſupported by the Conſtable and Marſhal, cometh down from the Stage, and ſitteth down in the Chair, where he heard the Sermon.

The Miniſter, accompanied with the Miniſters before-mentioned, cometh from the Pulpit toward the King; and requireth, If he was willing to take the Oath appointed to be taken at the Coronation.

The King anſwered, he was moſt willing.

Then the Oath of Coronation, as it contained in the eighth Act of the firſt Parliament of King *James*, being read by the Lyon, the Tenour whereof followeth:

Becauſe, that the Increaſe of Vertue, and ſuppreſſing of Idolatry, craveth, That the Prince and the People be of one perfect Religion, which of God's Mercy is now preſently profeſſed within this Realm: Therefore it is ſtatuted and ordained, by our Sovereign Lord, my Lord Regent, and Three Eſtates of this preſent Parliament; That all Kings, Princes, and Magiſtrates whatſoever, holding their Place which hereafter at any time ſhall happen to Reign, and bear Rule over this Realm, at the Time of their Coronation, and Receipt of their Princely Authority, make their faithful Promiſe in the Preſence of the eternal God: That enduring the whole Courſe of their Lives, they ſhall ſerve the ſame Eternal God, to the uttermoſt of their Power, according as he hath required in his moſt holy Word, revealed and contained in the New and Old Teſtaments: And, according to the ſame Word, ſhall maintain the true Religion of Chriſt Jeſuss, the preacking of his Holy Word, and due and right Miniſtration of the Sacraments now received, and preached within this Realm. And ſhall abolish and gainſtand all falſe Religions, contrary to the ſame: And ſhall rule the People committed to their Charge, according to the Will and Command of God revealed in his foreſaid Word, and according to the Lovable Laws and Conſtitutions received in this Realm, no ways repugnant to the ſaid Word of the Eternal God: And ſhall procure, to the uttermoſt of their Power, to the Kirk of God, and whole Chriſtian People, true and perfect Peace in time coming. The Right, and Rents, with all juſt Privileges of the Crown of Scotland, *to preſerve and keep inviolated: Neither ſhall they transfer, nor alienate the ſame. They ſhall forbid and repreſs in all Eſtates, and Degrees, Reaf, Oppreſſion, and all kind of Wrong; In all Judgments, they ſhall command and procure, that Juſtice and Equity be kept to all Creatures, without Exception, as the Lord and Father of Mercies, be merciful unto them: And out of their Lands and Empire, they ſhall be careful to root out all Hereticks, and Enemies to the true Worſhip of God, that ſhall be convict by the true Kirk of God of the aforeſaid Crimes; and that they ſhall faithfully affirm the Things above-written, by their Solemn Oath.*

The Miniſter tendered the Oath unto the King, who kneeling, and holding up his right Hand, ſwore in theſe Words: *By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I ſhall obſerve and keep all that is contained in this Oath.*

This

This done, the King's Majeſty ſitteth down in his Chair, and repoſeth himſelf a little.

Then the King ariſeth from his Chair, and is diſrobed by the Lord Great Chamberlain, of the Princely Robe, wherewith he entred the Kirk, and is inveſted by the ſaid Chamberlain in his Royal Robes.

Thereafter, the King being brought to the Chair on the North-ſide of the Kirk, ſupported as formerly, the Sword was brought by Sir *William Cockburn* of *Langtown*, Gentleman-Uſher, from the Table, and delivered to the Lyon, King of *Arms*, who giveth it to the Lord Great Conſtable; who putteth the ſame in the King's Hand, ſaying, Sir, *Receive this Kingly Sword, for the Defence of the Faith of Chriſt, and Protection of his Kirk, and of the true Religion, as it is preſently profeſſed within this Kingdom, and according to the National Covenant, and League and Covenant, and for executing Equity and Juſtice, and for Puniſhment of all Iniquity and Injuſtice.*

This done, the great Conſtable receiveth the Sword from the King, and girdeth the ſame about his Side.

Thereafter the King ſitteth down in his Chair; and then the Spurs were put on him by the Earl-Marſhal.

Thereafter, *Archibald*, Marquis of *Argyle*, having taken the Crown on his Hand, the Miniſter prayed to this Purpoſe:

That the King would purge the Crown from the Sins and Tranſgreſſions of them that did reign before him: That it might be a pure Crown: That God would ſettle the Crown upon the King's Head: And ſince Men that ſet it on, were not able to ſettle it, that the Lord would put it on, and preſerve it. And then the ſaid Marquis put the Crown on the King's Head.

Which done, *Lyon*, King of Arms, the Great Conſtable ſtanding by him, cauſeth an Herauld to call the whole Noble Men, one by one, according to their Ranks; who coming before the King, kneeling, and with their Hand touching the Crown on the King's Head, ſwore theſe Words: *By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I ſhall ſupport thee to my utmoſt.* And when they had done, then all the Nobility held up their Hands, and *ſware to be loyal and true Subjects, and true to the Crown.*

The Earl-Marſhal, with the *Lyon*, going to the four Corners of the Stage, the *Lyon* proclaimeth the Obligatory Oath of the People. And the People holding up their Hands all the time, did ſwear, *By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, we become your Liege-men, and Truth and Faith ſhall bear unto you, and live and dye with you, againſt all manner of Folks whatſoever in your Service, according to the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant.*

Then did the Earls and Viſcounts put on their Crowns, and the *Lyon* likewiſe put on his.

Then did the Lord Chamberlain looſe the Sword wherewith the King was girded, and drew it; and delivered it drawn into the King's Hands; and the King put it into the Hands of the Great Conſtable, to carry it naked before him.

Then *John*, Earl of *Crawford* and *Lindeſay*, took the Scepter, and put it in the King's right Hand, ſaying, *Sir, Receive this Scepter, the Sign of Royal Power of the Kingdom, that you govern your Self right, and defend all the Chriſtian People committed by God to your Charge, puniſhing the Wicked, and protecting the Juſt.*

Then did the King aſcend the Stage, attended by the Officers of the Crown, and Nobility; and was inſtalled in the Royal Throne by *Archibald*, Marquis of *Argyle*, ſaying, *Stand, and hold faſt from henceforth, the Place whereof you are the lawful and righteous Heir, by a long and lineal Succeſſion of your Fathers, which is now delivered unto you by Authority of Almighty God.*

When the King was ſet down upon the Throne, the Miniſter ſpoke to him a Word of Exhortation, as followeth.

Sir, *You are ſet down upon the Throne in a very difficil Time: I ſhall therefore put you in Mind of a Scriptural Expreſſion of a Throne,* 1 *Chron.* 29. 23, *It is ſaid,* Solomon ſate upon the Throne of the Lord. *Sir, you are a King, and a King in Covenant with the Lord: If you would have the Lord to own you to be his King, and his Throne to be your Throne, I deſire you may have ſome Thoughts of this Expreſſion.*

1, *It is the Lord's Throne: Remember you have a King above you, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who commandeth Thrones: He ſetteth Kings and Thrones, and dethroneth them at his Pleaſure: Therefore take a Word of Advice; be thankful to him, who hath brought you through many Wanderings, to ſet you on this Throne: Kiſs the Son, leſt he be angry, and learn to ſerve him with Fear, who is terrible to the Kings of the Earth.* 2. *Your Throne is the Lord's Throne, and your People the Lord's People; Let not your Heart be lifted up above your Brethren,* Deut. 17. 20. *They are your Brethren, not only Fleſh of your Fleſh, but Brethren by Covenant with God; Let your Government be refreſhing unto them, as the Rain on the mowen Graſs.* 3. *Your Throne is the Lord's Throne; beware of making his Throne a Throne of Iniquity: There is ſuch a Throne,* Pſal. 94. 20. which frameth Miſchief by Law; *God will not own ſuch a Throne, it hath no Fellowſhip with him.* Sir, *there is too much Iniquity upon the Throne by your Predeceſſors, who framed Miſchief by a Law; ſuch Laws as have been deſtructive to Religion, and grievous to the Lord's People: You are on the Throne, and have the Scepter, beware of touching miſchievous Laws therewith. But as the Throne is the Lord's Throne, let the Laws be the Lord's Laws, agreeable to his Word; ſuch as are terrible to evil Doers, and comfortable to the Godly, and a Relief to the Poor and Oppreſſed in the Land.* 4. *The Lord's Throne putteth you in Mind whom you ſhall have about the Throne; wicked Counſellors are not for a King upon the Lord's Throne:* Solomon *knew this, who ſaid, Prov.* 25. 5. Take away the Wicked from before the King, and his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed in Righteouſneſs. *And Prov.* 20. 8. A King upon the Throne ſcattereth away all Evil with his Eyes. 5. *The Lord's Throne putteth you in Mind, that the Judgment on the Throne ſhould be the Lord's. Take the Exhortation,* Jer. 22. *from the Beginning, the Prophet hath a Command to go to the Houſe of the King of* Judah, *and ſay, Hear the Word of the Lord, O King of* Judah, *that ſitteth upon the Throne, and thy Servants, and thy People, execute ye Judgment and Righteouſneſs,*

neſs, and deliver the Spoil out of the Hand of the Oppreſſor; and do no Wrong, do no Violence to the Stranger, the Fatherleſs, nor the Widow, neither ſhed innocent Blood in this Place. If ye do this thing indeed, then ſhall there enter by the Gates of this Houſe, Kings ſitting upon the Throne of David. *But if ye will not hear theſe Words, I ſwear by my ſelf, ſaith the Lord, this Houſe ſhall become a Deſolation. And* ver. 7. *I will prepare Deſtroyers againſt thee.*

Sir, Deſtroyers are prepared for the Injuſtice of the Throne, I intreat you execute righteous Judgment; if you do it not, your Houſe will be a Deſolation: But if you do that which is right, God ſhall remove the Deſtroyers, and you ſhall be eſtabliſhed on your Throne; and there ſhall yet be Dignity in your Houſe, for your Servants, and for your People.

Laſtly, If your Throne be the Throne of the Lord, take a Word of Encouragement againſt Throne Adverſari s. Your Enemies are the Enemies of the Lord's Throne: Make your Peace with God in Chriſt, and the Lord ſhall ſcatter your Enemies from the Throne, and he ſhall magnifie you yet in the Sight of theſe Nations, and make the miſ-led People ſubmit themſelves willingly to your Government. Sir, if you uſe well the Lord's Throne, on which you are ſet, then the two Words in the Place cited, 1 *Chron.* 29. 23. ſpoken of *Solomon* ſitting on the Throne of the Lord, *He proſpered*, and all *Iſrael* obeyed him, ſhall belong unto you; your People ſhall obey you in the Lord, and you ſhall proſper in the Sight of the Nations round about.

Then the Lord Chancellor went to the four Corners of the Stage, the *Lyon* King of Arms, going before him, and proclaimed His Majeſty's free Pardon to all Breakers of penal Statutes, and made Offer thereof. Whereupon the People cried, *God ſave the King.*

Then the King ſupported By the Great Conſtable, Marſhal, and accompanied with the Chancellor, aroſe from the Throne, and went out at a Door prepared for that Purpoſe to a Stage, and ſheweth himſelf to the People without, who clapped their Hands, and cried with a loud Voice a long time, *God ſave the King.*

Then the King returning, and ſitting down upon the Throne, delivered the Scepter to the Earl of *Crawford* and *Lindſay*, to be carried before him: Thereafter, the *Lyon*, King of Arms, rehearſed the Royal Line of the Kings upwards, to *Fergus* the Firſt.

Then the *Lyon* called the Lords one by one, who kneeling, and holding their Hands betwixt the King's Hands, did ſwear theſe Words: *By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I become your Liege-man, and Truth and Faith ſhall bear unto you, and live and dye with you, againſt all manner of Folks whatſoeven, in your Service, according to the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant.*

And every one of them kiſſed the King's left Cheek.

When theſe Solemnities were ended, the Miniſter ſtanding before the King on his Throne, pronounced this Bleſſing.

The Lord bleſs thee, and ſave thee, the Lord hear thee in the Day of Trouble; the Name of the God of Jacob *defend thee: The Lord ſend thee Help from the Sanctuary, and ſtrengthen thee out of* Sion, *Amen.*

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After the Bleſſing pronounced, the Miniſter went to the Pulpit, and had the following Exhortation, the King ſitting ſtill upon the Throne. Ye have this Day a King Crowned, and entered into Covenant with God, and his People; look, both King and People, that ye keep his Covenant, and beware of the Breach of it: That you may be the more careful to keep it, I will lay a few things before you.

I remember when the Solemn League and Covenant was entred by both Nations, the Commiſſioners from *England* being preſent in the Eaſt-Kirk of *Edinburgh*, a Paſſage was cited out of *Neh.* 6. 13. which I ſhall now again cite. *Nehemiah* required an Oath of the Nobles and People, to reſtore the mortgaged Lands, which they promiſed to do; after the Oath was tendred, in the 13th Verſe, he did ſhake his Lap, and ſaid, *So God ſhake out every Man from his Houſe, and from his Labour, that performeth not his Promiſe, even thus be he ſhaken out and emptied, and all the Congregations ſaid, Amen.* Since the time, many of thoſe who were in Covenant are ſhaken out of it, yea, they have ſhaken off the Covenant, and laid it aſide. It is true, they are proſpering this Day, and think that they proſper by laying aſide the Covenant; but they will be deceived, that Word ſpoken then, ſhall not fall to the Ground, God ſhall ſhake them out of their Poſſeſſion, and empty them for their perfidious Breach of Covenant.

The ſame I ſay to King and Nobles, and all that are in Covenant. If you break that Covenant, being ſo ſolemnly ſworn, all theſe who had touched your Crown, and ſworn to ſupport it, ſhall not be able to hold it on; but God will ſhake it off, and turn you from the Throne: And ye Noble Men, who are aſſiſtant to the putting on of the Crown, and ſetting the King upon the Throne, if ye ſhall either aſſiſt, or adviſe the King to break the Covenant, and overturn the Work of God, he ſhall ſhake you out of your Poſſeſſions, and empty you of all your Glory.

Another Paſſage I offer to your Conſideration, *Jer.* 34. 8. after that *Zedekiah* had promiſed to proclaim Liberty to all the People, who were Servants, and entred in a Covenant, he and his Princes, to let them go free, and according to the Oath had let them go, afterwards they cauſed the Servants to return, and brought them in Subjection, *ver.* 11. What followeth upon this Breach? *Ver.* 15, 16. *Ye were now turned, and had done Right in my Sight in proclaiming Liberty; but ye turned, and made them Servants again.* And therefore, *Ver.* 18, 19, 20, 21. *I will give the Men who have tranſgreſſed my Covenant, who have not performed the Words of the Covenant, which they made before me when they cut the Calf in twain, and paſſed between the Parts thereof, I will even give them into the Hands of their Enemies, into the Hand of them that ſeek their Life, even* Zedekiah *and his Princes.* If the Breach of a Covenant made for the Liberty of Servants, was ſo puniſhed, what ſhall be the Puniſhment of the Breach of a Covenant for Religion, and Liberty of the People of God? There is nothing more terrible to Kings and Princes, than to be given into the Hands of Enemies that ſeek their Life. If ye would eſcape this Judgment, let King and Princes keep their Covenant made with God. Your Enemies who ſeek your Life, are in the Land; if you break the Covenant, it may be feared, God will give you over unto them as a Prey: But if ye yet

keep

keep Covenant, it may be expected God will keep you out of their Hands.

Let not the Place ye heard opened, be forgotten; for in it ye have an Example of Divine Juſtice againſt *Joaſh*, and the Princes, for breaking that Covenant, 2 *Chron.* 24. 23. The Princes who inticed that Breath, are deſtroyed: And in the 24th Verſe it is ſaid, *The Army of the* Syrians *came with a ſmall Company of Men, and the Lord delivered a very great Hoſt into their Hands; becauſe they had forſaken the Lord God of their Fathers: So they executed Judgment againſt* Joaſh. *And ver.* 25. *His own Servants conſpired againſt him, and ſlew him on his Bed*, &c. The Conſpiracy of Servants or Subjects againſt their King, is a wicked Courſe: But God, in his righteous Judgments, ſuffereth Subjects to conſpire and rebel againſt their Princes, becauſe they rebel againſt the Covenant made with God. I may ſay freely, that a chief Cauſe of the Judgment upon the King's Houſe, hath been the Grandfather's Breach of Covenant with God, and the Father's following Steps, in oppoſing the Work of God, and his Kirk within theſe Kingdoms: They broke Covenant with God, and Men have broken Covenant with them; yea, moſt cruelly and perfidiouſly have invaded the Royal Family, and trodden upon all Princely Dignity. XXX

Be wiſe by their Example: You are now ſitting upon the Throne of the Kingdom, and your Nobles about you; there is one above you, even *Jeſus* the King of *Sion*; and I, as his Servant, dare not but be free with you; I charge you, Sir, in his Name, that you keep this Covenant in all Points; if you break this Covenant, and come againſt this Cauſe, I aſſure you the Controverſie is not ended between God and your Family, but will be carried on to farther weakning, if not the overthrow of it; but if you ſhall keep this Covenant, and befriend the Kingdom of Chriſt, it may be from this Day God ſhall begin to do you good; although your Eſtate be very weak, God is able to raiſe you, and make you to reign, maugre the Oppoſition of all your Enemies: And howſoever it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to diſpoſe, you ſhall have a Peace towards God, through Chriſt the Mediator.

As for you who are Nobles and Peers of the Land, your Share is great in this Day of Coronation, ye have come and touched the Crown, and ſworn to ſupport it; ye have handled the Sword and Scepter, and have ſet down the King upon his Throne.

1. I charge you, keep your Covenant with God, and ſee that ye never be moved your ſelves to come againſt it in any Head or Article thereof, and that ye give no Counſel to the King to come againſt that Doctrine, Worſhip, Government, and Diſcipline of the Kirk, eſtabliſhed in their Land, as you would eſchew the Judgment of Covenant-breakers. If the King, and ye who are engaged to ſupport the Crown, conſpire together againſt the Kingdom of Chriſt, both ye that do ſupport, and he that is ſupported, will fall together. I preſs this the more, becauſe it is a rare thing to ſee a King and great Men for Chriſt: In the long Catalogue of Kings which ye have heard recited this Day, there will be found few to have been for Chriſt.

2. I charge you alſo, becauſe of your many Oaths to the King, that you keep them inviolably. Be faithful unto him according to your Covenant; the

the Oaths of God are upon you, if directly or indirectly, you do any thing against his ſtanding, God, by whom ye have ſworn, will be avenged upon you for the Breach of his Oath.

And now I will cloſe up all in one Word more to you: Sir, you are the only Covenanted King with God and his People in the World: Many have obſtructed your Entry in it: Now, ſeeing the Lord hath brought you in over all theſe Obſtructions, only obſerve to do what is contained therein, and it ſhall prove a happy time for you and your Houſe. And becauſe you are entered in Times of great Difficulty, wherein ſmall Strength ſeems to remain with you, in the Eyes of the World, for recovering your juſt Power and Greatneſs: Therefore take Counſel which *David*, when he was dying, gave to his Son *Solomon*, 1 *Kings* 2. 2, 3. *Be ſtrong, and ſhew thy ſelf a Man, keep the Charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his Ways, and keep his Commandments, that thou may'ſt proſper in all that thou doſt, and whitherſoever thou turneſt thy ſelf.*

After this *Exhortation*, the Miniſter cloſed the whole Action with Prayer; and the xx. *Pſalm* being ſung, he diſmiſſed the People with the Bleſſing.

Then did the King's Majeſty deſcend from the Stage, with the Crown upon his Head; and, receiving again the Scepter in his Hand, returned with the whole Train in Solemn Manner to his Palace, the Sword being carried before him.

A Declaration by the King's Majeſty, to all His Subjects of the Kingdoms of Scotland, England, *and* Ireland.

Printed at *Edenburgh.* 1650.

Sect. 1. HIs Majeſty taking in Conſideration, that merciful Diſpenſation of Divine Providence, by which he hath been recovered out of the Snare of Evil Counſel; and having attained ſo full Perſwaſion and Confidence of the Loyalty of his People in *Scotland* with whom he hath too long ſtood at a diſtance; and of the Righteouſneſs of their Cauſe, as to joyn in one Covenant with them, and to caſt himſelf and his Intereſts wholly upon God; and in all Matters Civil, to follow the Advice of his Parliament, and ſuch as ſhall be intruſted by them; and in all Matters Eccleſiaſtick, the Advice of the General Aſſembly, and their Commiſſioners; and being ſenſible of his duty to God, and deſirous to approve himſelf to the Conſciences of all his good Subjects, and to ſtop the Mouths of his and their Enemies and Traducers, doth in Reference to his former Deportments, and as to his Reſolutions for the future, Declare as follows.

Sect. 2. Though his Majeſty as a dutiful Son be obliged to honour the Memory of his Royal Father, and have in Eſtimation the Perſon of his Mother; yet doth He deſire to be deeply humbled and afflicted in Spirit before God, becauſe of His Fathers hearkning to, and following evils Counſels, and His Oppoſition to the Work of Reformation, and to the Solemn League and Covenant, by which ſo much of the Blood of the Lord's People hath been ſhed in theſe Kingdoms; and for the Idolatry of his Mother; the Toleration whereof in the King's Houſe, as it was Matter of great Stumbling to all the Proteſtant Churches, ſo could it not but be an high Provocation againſt him who is a jealous God, viſiting the Sins of the Fathers upon the Children: And albeit His Majeſty might extenuate His former Carriages and Actions, in following of the Advice, and walking i nthe way of thoſe who are oppoſite to the Covenant, and to the Work of God, and might excuſe His delaying to give Satisfaction to the juſt and neceſſary Deſires of the Kirk and Kingdom of *Scotland*, from his Education, and Age, and evil Counſel, and Company, and from the ſtrange and inſolent Proceedings of Sectaries againſt his Royal Father, and in Reference to Religion, and the ancient Government of the Kingdom of *England*, to which He hath the undoubted Right of Succeſſion; yet knowing that he hath to do with God, He doth ingeniouſly acknowledge all His own Sins, and all the Sins of his Father's Houſe, craving Pardon, and hoping for Mercy and Reconciliation through the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt. And as he doth value the conſtant Addreſſes that were made by his People to the Throne of Grace on His Behalf, when he ſtood in Oppoſition to the Work of God, as a ſingular Teſtimony of Long-ſuffering, Patience and Mercy upon the Lord's Part, and Loyalty upon theirs; ſo doth He hope, and ſhall take it as one of the greateſt Tokens of their Love and Affection to Him and to His Government, That they will continue in Prayer and Supplication to God for Him; That the Lord who ſpared and preſerved Him to this Day, notwithſtanding of all His own Guiltineſs, may be at Peace with Him, and give Him to fear

the Lord His God, and to ſerve Him with a perfect Heart, and with a willing Mind all the Days of his Life.

Sect. 3. And his Majeſty having, upon full Perſwaſion of the Juſtice and Equity of all the Heads and Articles thereof, now Sworn, and ſubſcribed the National Covenant of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and the Solemn League and Covenant of the three Kingdoms of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*, doth declare, That He hath not ſworn and ſubſcribed theſe Covenants, and enter'd into the Oath of God with his People, upon any ſiniſter Intention and crooked Deſign, for attaining His own Ends; but, ſo far as Human Weakneſs will permit, in the Truth and Sincerity of His Heart: And that He is firmly Reſolved, in the Lord's Strength, to adhere thereto, and to proſecute, to the utmoſt of his Power, all the Ends thereof, in his Station and Calling, really, conſtantly, and ſincerely, all the Days of his Life. In order to which, He does in the firſt Place Profeſs and Declare, That He will have no Enemies, but the Enemies of the Covenant; and that He will have no Friends, but the Friends of the Covenant: And therefore, as He doth now deteſt and abhor all Popery, Superſtition, and Idolatry, together with Prelacy, and all Errors, Hereſie, Schiſm and Profaneneſs; and reſolves not to tolerate, much leſs allow any of theſe in any Part of His Majeſty's Dominions, but to oppoſe Himſelf thereto, and to endeavour the Extirpation thereof to the utmoſt of his Power; ſo doth He as a Chriſtian Exhort, and as a King Require, That all ſuch of His Subjects, who have ſtood in Oppoſition to the Solemn League and Covenant, and Work of Reformation, upon a Pretence of Kingly Intereſt, or any other Pretext whatſoever, to lay down their Enmity againſt the Cauſe and People of God, and to ceaſe to preſer the Intereſt of Man to the Intereſt of God; which hath been one of thoſe things which hath occaſioned many Troubles and Calamities in theſe Kingdoms, and being inſiſted into, will be ſo far from Eſtabliſhing of the King's Throne, that it will prove an Idol of Jealouſy, to provoke unto Wrath him who is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. The King ſhall always eſteem them beſt Servants, and moſt loyal Subjects, who ſerve Him, and ſeek His Greatneſs in a right Line of Subordination unto God; *Giving unto God the things that are God's, and unto Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's*: And Reſolveth, not to love or countenance any who have ſo little Conſcience and Piety, as to follow his Intereſts with a Prejudice to the Goſpel and Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, which he looks not upon as a Duty, but as Flattery and driving Self-deſigns, under a Pretence of maintaining Royal Authority and Greatneſs. *Secondly*, His Majeſty being convinced in Conſcience of the exceeding great Sinfulneſs and Unlawfulneſs of that Treaty and Peace made with the Bloody *Iriſh* Rebels, who treacherouſly ſhed the Blood of ſo many of His Faithful and Loyal Subjects in *Ireland*, and of allowing unto them the Popiſh Religion; for the which He doth from His Heart deſire to be deeply humbled before the Lord. And likewiſe conſidering how many Breaches hath been on their Part, Doth Declare the ſame to be void, and that His Majeſty is abſolved therefrom; being truly ſorry that He ſhould have ſought unto ſo unlawful Help for reſtoring of Him to His Throne, and reſolving, for the time to come, rather to chooſe Affliction than Sin. *Thirdly*, As His Majeſty did in the late Treaty with His People in this Kingdom, agree to recal and annul all Commiſſions againſt any of His Subjects who did adhere to the Covenant and Monarchical Government in any of His Kingdoms: So doth He now Declare, That by Commiſſionating of ſome Perſons by Sea againſt the

People

People of *England*, He did not intend Damage or Injury to His oppreſt and harmleſs Subjects in that Kingdom, who follow their Trade of Merchandize in in their lawful Callings, but only the oppoſing and ſuppreſſing of thoſe who had Uſurped the Government; and not only bar Him from His juſt Right, but alſo exerciſe an Arbitrary Power over his People, in thoſe things which concern their Perſons, Conſciences and Eſtates: And as ſince His coming into *Scotland* He hath given no Commiſſions againſt any of His Subjects in *England* or *Ireland*, ſo He doth hereby Aſſure and Declare, That He will give none to their Prejudice or Damage; and whatever ſhall be the Wrongs of theſe Uſurpers, That He will be far from avenging theſe upon any who are free thereof, by interrupting or ſtopping the Liberty of Trade and Merchandize, or otherwiſe, That He will ſeek their Good, and to the utmoſt employ His Royal Power, That they may be protected and defended againſt the unjuſt Violence of all Men whatſoever. And albeit His Majeſty deſires to conſtruct well of the Intentions of thoſe (in reference to His Majeſty) who have been active in Council or Arms againſt the Covenant; yet, being convinced that it doth conduce for the Honour of God, the Good of his Cauſe, and His Own Honour and Happineſs, and for the Peace and Safety of all theſe Kingdoms, That ſuch be not employed in Places of Power and Truſt, He doth Declare, That He will not employ, nor give Commiſſions to any ſuch, until they have not only taken, or renewed the Covenant, but alſo have given ſufficient Evidences of their Integrity, Carriage and Affection to the Work of Reformation, and ſhall be declared capable of Truſt by the Parliament of either Kingdom reſpective: And His Majeſty upon the ſame Grounds, doth hereby recal all Commiſſions given to any ſuch Perſons; conceiving all ſuch Perſons will ſo much tender a good Underſtanding betwixt Him and His Subjects, and the ſettling and preſerving a firm Peace in theſe Kingdoms, That they will not grudge nor repine at His Majeſty's Reſolutions and Proceedings herein, much leſs upon Diſcontent act any thing in a divided way, unto the raiſing of New Troubles, eſpecially ſince upon their pious and good Deportment, there is a Regreſs left unto them in manner above expreſs'd.

Sect. 4. And as His Majeſty hath given Satisfaction to the juſt and neceſſary Deſires of the Kirk and Kingdom of *Scotland*, ſo doth He hereby aſſure and declare, That He is no leſs willing and deſirous to give Satisfaction to the juſt and neceſſary Deſires of his good Subjects in *England* and *Ireland*: and in token thereof, if the Houſes of Parliament of *England*, ſitting in Freedom ſhall think fit to preſent unto Him the Propoſitions of Peace, agreed upon by both Kingdoms, He will not only accord to the ſame, and ſuch Alterations there anent, as the Houſes of Parliament, in Regard of the Conſtitution of Affairs, and the Good of His Majeſty and His Kingdoms ſhall judge neceſſary, but do what is further neceſſary for proſecuting the Ends of the Solemn League and Covenant, eſpecially in thoſe things which concern the Reformation of the Church of *England*, in Doctrine, Worſhip, Diſcipline and Government; That not only the Directory of Worſhip, the Confeſſion of Faith and Catechiſm, but alſo the Propoſitions and Directory for Church-Government, accorded upon by the Synod of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, may be ſettled; and that the Church of *England* may enjoy the full Liberty and Freedom of all Aſſemblies and Power of Kirk-Cenſures, and of all the Ordinances of Jeſus Chriſt, according to the Rule of his own Word: And that whatſoever is commanded by the God of Heaven, may be diligently done for the Houſe of

the God of Heaven; and, whatever heretofore hath been the Suggeſtions of ſome to him to render his Majeſty jealous of His Parliament, and of the Servants of God: Yet as He hath declared, that in *Scotland* He will hearken to their Counſel, and follow their Advice in thoſe things that concern that Kingdom and Kirk; So doth he alſo declare His firm Reſolution to manage the Government of the Kingdom of *England* by the Advice of his Parliament, conſiſting of an Houſe of Lords, and of an Houſe of Commons there; and in thoſe things that concern Religion, to preſer the Counſels of the Miniſters of the Goſpel, to all other Counſels whatſoever. And that all the World may ſee how much he tenders the Safety of His People, and how precious their Blood is in His Sight, and how deſirous he is to recover His Crown and Government in *England* by peaceable means; as he doth eſteem the Service of thoſe who firſt engaged in the Covenant, and have ſince that time faithfully followed the Ends thereof, to be Duty to God, and Loyalty to Him; ſo is he willing in regard of others, who have been involved in theſe late Commotions in *England*, againſt Religion and Government, to paſs an Act of Oblivion, excepting only ſome few in that Nation, who have been chief Obſtructors of the Work of Reformation, and chief Authors of the Change of the Government, and of the Murther of his Royal Father. Provided, That theſe who are to have the Benefit of this Act, lay down Arms, and return unto the Obedience of their lawful Sovereign.

Sect. 5. The Committee of Eſtates of the Kingdom, and General Aſſembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, having declared ſo fully in what concerns the Sectaries, and the preſent Deſigns, Reſolutions, and Actings of their Army, againſt the Kingdom of *Scotland*: And the ſame Committee and Aſſembly having ſufficiently laid open publick Dangers and Duties, both upon the Right Hand and the Left; It is not needful for His Majeſty to add any thing thereunto, except, That in thoſe things He doth commend and approve them; and that He Reſolves to live and die with them, and his Loyal Subjects, in Proſecution of the Ends of the Covenant.

Sect. 6. And whereas that prevailing Party in *England*, after all their ſtrange Uſurpations, and inſolent Actings in that Land, do not only keep His Majeſty from the Government of that Kingdom by Force of Arms, but alſo have now invaded the Kingdom of *Scotland*, who have deſerved better things at their Hands, and againſt whom they have no juſt Quarrel; His Majeſty doth therefore deſire and expect, That all his good Subjects in *England*, who are, and reſolve to be faithful to God and to their King, according to the Covenant, will lay hold upon ſuch an Opportunity, and uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to promote the Covenant, and all the Ends thereof; and to recover and re-eſtabliſh the Ancient Government of the Kingdom of *England*, (under which for many Generations, it did flouriſh in Peace and Plenty at home, and in Reputation abroad) and Privileges of the Parliament, and Native and Juſt Liberty of the People. His Majeſty deſires to aſſure himſelf, That there doth remain in theſe ſo much Confidence of their Duty to Religion, their King and Country, and ſo many Sparkles of the ancient *Engliſh* Valour, which ſhined ſo eminently in their Noble Anceſtors, as will put them on to beſtir themſelves for the breaking the Yoak of thoſe Mens Oppreſſions from off their Necks. Shall Men of Conſcience and Honour ſet Religion, Liberties and Government at ſo low a Rate, as not rather to undergo any Hazard, before they be thus deprived of them? Will not all generous Men

count

count any Death more tolerable than to live in Servitude all their Days? And will not Posterity blame those who dare attempt nothing for themselves, and for their Children, in so good a Cause, in such an Exigent? Whereas if they gather themselves, and take Courage, putting on a Resolution answerable to so Noble and Just an Enterprize, they shall honour God, and gain themselves the Reputation of Pious Men, Worthy Patriots, and Loyal Subjects, and be called *The Repairers of the Breach*, by the present, and succeeding Generations; and they may certainly promise to themselves a Blessing from God upon so just and honourable Undertaking for the Lord, and for his Cause, for their own Liberties, their Native King and Country, and the unvaluable Good and Happiness of their Posterity. Whatever hath formerly been his Majesty's Guiltiness before God, and the bad Success that these have had who owned his Affairs, whilst he stood in Opposition to the Work of God; yet the State of the Question being now altered, and His Majesty having obtained Mercy to be on God's Side, and to prefer God's Interest before his Own, He hopes; That the Lord will be gracious and countenance his own Cause, in the Hands of weak and sinful Instruments, against all Enemies whatsoever. This is all that can be said by His Majesty at present, to those in *England* and *Ireland*, at such a Distance; and as they shall acquit themselves at this time in the active Discharge of their necessary Duties, so shall they be accepted before God, endeared to His Majesty, and their Names had in Remembrance throughout the World. Given at Our Court of *Dunfirmlin*, the sixteenth Day of *August*, 1650. and in the Second Year of Our Reign.

XX

The

The great Danger of Covenant-refusing, and Covenant-breaking.

2 Tim. 3. 3.

----*Truce-breakers*; or, Covenant breakers.

IN the Beginning of the Chapter, the Apostle tells us the Condition that the Church of God should be in, in the last Days. *This know also that in the last Days perilous times shall come.* In the 2d Ver. he tells us the Reason why *these* times should be *such hard and dangerous times*; *For Men shall be lovers of themselves, covetous, &c.* The Reason is not drawn from the *Miseries* and *Calamities* of the last Times, but from the Sins and Iniquities of the last Times. *It is Sin and Iniquity that makes Times truly perilous.* Sin, and Sin only, takes away God's Love and Favour from a Nation, and makes God turn an Enemy to it. *Sin causeth God* to take away the Purity and Power of his *Ordinances* from a Nation. *Sin* makes all the Creatures to be armed against us, and makes our own *Conscience* to fight against us. *Sin* is the *Cause* of all the *Causes* of perilous times. *Sin* is the Cause of our *civil Wars*, 2 *Sam.* 12. 11. *Sin* is the Cause of our *Divisions*, *Jam.* 4. 1. *Sin* is the Cause why Men fall into such dangerous Errours, 2 *Thes.* 2. 11. *Sin* brings such kinds of Judgments which no other Enemy can bring. *Sin* brings invisible, spiritual, and eternal Judgments. It is *Sin* that makes *God* give over a Nation to a *Sense*, *Rom.* 1. 24. *Sin* makes all times dangerous. Let the times be never so prosperous, yet if they be sinful times, they are times truly dangerous. And if they be not *sinful*, they are not dangerous, though never so miserable. It is *Sin* that makes *Afflictions* to be the Fruits of *God's revenging* Wrath, part of the *Curse* due to Sin, and a Beginning of *Hell*. It is *Sin*, and *Sin* only, that imbitters every Affliction. Let us for ever look upon Sin through these *Scripture-spectacles.*

The Apostle in four Verses reckons up 19 *Sins*, as the Causes of the Miseries of the last Days. I may truly call these 19 *Sins*, *England's Looking glass*, wherein we may see what are the *Clouds* that *eclipse* God's *Countenance* from shining upon us: the Mountains that lye in the way to hinder the Settlement of *Church-Discipline.* Even these 19 *Sins* which are as an *Iron Whip* of 19 *Strings*, with which God is whipping *England* at this Day; which are as 19 *Faggots* with which God is burning and devouring *England.* My Purpose is not to speak of all these Sins: Only let me propound a *Divine Project* how to make the times happy for Soul and Body: And that is to strike at the Root of all Misery, which is *Sin and Iniquity.* To repent for, and from all these 19 Sins, which are as the *Oyl* that feedeth, and encreaseth the Flame that is now consuming of us. For because Men are *lovers of themselves, Usque ad contemptum Dei & Reipublicæ.* Because Men drive their own Designs not only to the Neglect, but Contempt of God and the Commonwealth. Because Men are *covetous*, Lovers of the World more than Lovers of God,

God. Becauſe they are *proud* in *Head*, *Heart*, *Looks* and *Apparel*. Becauſe they are *unthankful*, turning the Mercies of God into Inſtruments of Sin, and making Darts with God's Bleſſings to ſhoot againſt God. Becauſe Men are *unholy* and *heady*, and make many Covenants, and keep none. Becauſe they are (as the Greek Word Διάβολος ſignifieth) *Devils*, acting the Devil's part in accuſing the Brethren, and in bearing falſe Witneſs one againſt another. Becauſe they have a *Form of Godlineſs, denying the Power* thereof, &c. hence it is that theſe times are ſo ſad and bloody. Theſe are thine Enemies, O *England*, that have brought thee into this deſolate Condition! if ever God lead us back into the Wilderneſs, it will be becauſe of theſe Sins. And therefore if ever you would have bleſſed Days, you muſt make it your great Buſineſs to remove theſe 19 Mountains, and repent of theſe all-devouring, and ſoul-deſtroying Abominations.

At this time I ſhall pick out the firſt, and the tenth Sin to ſpeak on. The firſt is *Self-love*, which is placed in the *Fore-front* as the Cauſe of all the reſt. *Self-love* is not only a Sin that makes the *times perilous*, but it is the Cauſe of all thoſe Sins that makes the time perilous. For becauſe Men are *Lovers of themſelves*, therefore they are *covetous*, *proud*, *unholy*, &c. The tenth Sin is *truce-breaking*; and for Fear leſt the time ſhould prevent me, I will begin with this Sin firſt.

The tenth Sin then is *truce-breakers*; or, as *Rom.* 1. 33. *Covenant-breakers*. The Greek Word ἀσπόνδους, which ſignifieth three things. Firſt ſuch as are *fœderis neſcii*, as *Beza* renders it; or as others, *infœderabiles*; that is, ſuch as refuſe to enter into Covenant. Or ſecondly, ſuch as are *fœdifragi*, *qui pacta non ſervant*; (as *Eſtius* hath it) or *ſine fide*, as *Ambroſe*; that is, ſuch as break Faith and Covenant. Or thirdly, ſuch as are *implacabiles*; or as others, *ſine pace*; that is, ſuch as are *implacable*, and *haters of Peace*.

According to this threefold Senſe of the Word, I ſhall gather theſe three Obſervations.

Doct. 1. *That to be a Covenant-refuſer, is a Sin that makes the times perilous.*

Doct. 2. *That to be a Covenant-breaker, is a Sin that makes the times perilous.*

Doct. 3. *That to be a Peace-hater, or a Truce-hater, is a Sin that makes the times perilous.*

To begin with the firſt.

Doctrine the firſt. *That to be a Covenant-refuſer, is a Sin that makes the times perilous.* To be *fœderis neſcius*, or *indefœderabilis*. For the underſtanding of this, you muſt know that there are two *ſorts of Covenants*. There are *deviliſh* and *helliſh Covenants*. Firſt, there are deviliſh Covenants, ſuch as *Acts* 23. 12. and *Iſaiah* 28. 15. ſuch as the *holy League* (as it was unjuſtly called) *in France* againſt the *Hugonots*, and that of our Gunpowder Traytors in *England*.

Now to refuſe to take ſuch Covenants, is not to make the times perilous, but the taking of them makes the times perilous. Secondly, there are *godly Covenants*; ſuch as *Job* 31. 1. I have made a *Covenant with mine Eyes, why then ſhould I think upon a Maid?* Such as *Pſal.* 119. *I have ſworn I will perform it, that I will keep thy righteous Judgments*; ſuch as 2 *Chron.* 15. 14. And ſuch as this is, which you are met to take this Day. For you are to ſwear to ſuch things which you are bound to endeavour after, though you did not ſwear. Your Swearing is not *ſolum vinculum*

culum, but *novum vinculum*, is not *the only*, but only a *new* and another Bond to tye you to the Obedience of the things you ſwear unto; which are ſo excellent and ſo glorious, that if God give thoſe that take it a Heart to keep it, it will make theſe three Kingdoms the Glory of the World. And as one of the *Reverend Commiſſioners of Scotland* ſaid when it was firſt taken in a moſt ſolemn manner at *Weſtminſter*, by the *Parliament* and the Aſſembly; *That if the Pope ſhould have this Covenant written upon a Wall over againſt him ſitting in his Chair, it would be unto him like the hand-writing to* Belſhazzar; *cauſing the Joints to looſe, and his Knees to ſmite one againſt another.* And I may add, that if it be faithfully and fully kept, it will make all the *Devils in Hell* to tremble, as fearing leſt their Kingdom ſhould not long ſtand. Now then for a Man to be an *Anti-covenanter*, and to be ſuch a *Covenant-refuſer*, it muſt needs be a Sin that makes the times perilous.

And the Reaſon is,

Reaſon 1. Becauſe you ſhall find in Scripture that when any Nation did enter into a ſolemn religious Covenant, God did exceedingly bleſs and proſper that Nation after that time; as appears 2 *Chron.* 15. 19. 2 *Kings* 11. 20. And we have a Promiſe for it, *Deut.* 21. 12, 13. *That thou ſhouldſt enter into Covenant with the Lord thy God, &c. That he may eſtabliſh thee to day for a People unto himſelf, and that he may be unto thee a God, &c.* And therefore to be a *Covenant-refuſer*, is to make our Miſeries perpetual.

Reaſon 2. Becauſe as it is the higheſt Act of *God's Love* to Man, to vouchſafe to engage himſelf by *Oath* and *Covenant* to be his God, ſo it is the higheſt Demonſtration of Man's *Love to God*, to bind himſelf by *Oath and Covenant* to be God's. There is nothing obligeth *God* more to us, than to ſee us willing to tye and bind our ſelves faſt unto his Service. And therefore they that in this Senſe are *Anti-covenanters*, are Sons of *Belial*; that refuſe the Yoak of the Lord, that ſay, as *Pſalm* 2. 3. *Let us break his Bands aſunder, and caſt away his Cords from us*; ſuch as *Oderunt vincula pietatis*, which is a ſoul-deſtroying, and land-deſtroying Sin.

Reaſon 3. Becauſe that the Union of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, into one *Covenant*, is the chief, if not the only *preſervative* of them at this time. You find in our *Engliſh Chroniclers*, that *England* was never deſtroyed, but when divided within it ſelf. Our civil Diviſions brought in the *Romans*, the *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*. But now the *Anti-covenanter*, he divides the Parliament within it ſelf, and the City within it ſelf, and *England* againſt it ſelf; he is as a *Stone ſeparated* from the Building, which is of no uſe to it ſelf, and threatneth the Ruin of the Building. *Jeſus Chriſt* is called in Scripture the *Corner-ſtone*, which is a *Stone* that unites two Ends of a Building together; *Jeſus Chriſt* is a Stone of Union, and therefore they that ſow Diviſion, and ſtudy unjuſt Separation, have little of *Jeſus Chriſt* in them. When the *ten Tribes* began to divide from the other two Tribes, they preſently began to war one againſt another, and to ruin one another. The *Anti-covenanter* he divides, and ſeparates, and diſunites; and therefore he makes the times perilous.

My chief Aim is at the ſecond Doctrine; which is,

Doct. 2. *That for a Covenant-taker to be a Covenant-breaker, is a Sin that makes the times perilous.*

For the opening of this Point, I muſt diſtinguiſh again of *Covenants*. There are *civil*, and there are religious *Covenants*. A *civil Covenant*, is a *Covenant* between *Man* and *Man*; and of this the Text is *primarily*, though not only to be underſtood,

understood. Now for a Man to break Promise and Covenant with his Brother, is a *Land-straying*, and *Soul-devouring abomination*. We read 2 *Sam.* 21. that because *Saul* had broken the *Covenant* that *Joshua* made with the *Gibeonites*. God sent a Famine in *David's* time of three years continuance: To teach us, that *if we falsifie our Word and Oath*, God will avenge *covenant breaking*, *though it be forty years after*. Famous is that Text, *Jer.* 34. 17, 18, 19, 20 *Because the Princes and the People break the covenant which they had made with their servants* (though but their servants) God tells them, *Because ye have not hearken'd unto me in proclaiming liberty every to his brother, &c. Behold, I proclaim liberty for you, saith the Lord to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine: and I will make you to be removed into all the Kingdoms of the Earth; &c.* We read also *Ezek.* 17. 18, 19, 20. That God tells *Zedekiah*, because he brake the Covenant he had made with the King of *Babylon*, that therefore he *would recompence upon his head the Oath that he had despised, and the Covenant that he had broken, and would bring him to Babylon, and plead with him there for the trespass which he had trespassed against the Lord.* *David* tells us, *Psal.* 15. 4. that it is a sin that shuts a man out of Heaven. The *Turkish* Histories tells us of a Covenant of Peace made between *Amurath* the Great *Turk* and *Ladislaus* King of *Hungary*, and how the *Pope* absoved *Ladislaus* from his Oath, and provoked him to renew the War. In which War the *Turk* being put to the worst, and despairing of Victory, pulls out a Paper which he had in his Bosom, wherein the League was written; and said, *O thou God of the* Christians, *if thou beest a true God, be revenged of those that without a cause have broken the League made by calling upon thy Name.* And the Story saith, that after he had spoken these words, he had as it were a *new Heart* and *Spirit put into him and his Soldiers*, and that they obtained a glorious Victory over *Ladislaus*. Thus God avenged the Quarrel of Man's Covenant. The like Story we have of *Rodolphus* Duke of *Swevia*, who by the *Pope's* instigation waged War with *Henry* the Fourth Emperor of *Germany*, to whom he had sworn the contrary. The *Pope* sent a Crown to him with this Motto, *Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho*; but in the Fight it chanced that *Rodolphus* lost his *Right Hand*; and falling sick upon it, he called for it, and said, *Spectate hanc dextram legitima supplicia expendentem, quæ fidem sacramento munitam, & Henrico Domino meo datam, vobis urgentibus, præter æquum & jus temere violavit.* Behold this Right Hand with which I subscribed to the Emperor, with which I have violated my Oath, and therefore I am rightly punished. I will not trouble you in relating the gallant Story of *Regulus*, that chose rather to expose himself to a cruel Death, than to falsifie his Oath to the *Carthaginians*. The sum of all is, if it be such a *crying abomination* to break *Covenant* between Man and Man; and if such Persons are accounted as the *off-scouring* of Men, not worthy to live in a *Christian*, no not in a *Heathen Commonweal*; if it be a sin that draws down Vengeance from Heaven, and excludes a Man from Heaven; much more for a Man to enter into a Covenant with the Great *Jehovah*, and to break such a Religious Engagement: This must needs be a destroying and Soul-damning sin. And of such Religious Covenants I am now to speak.

There are two Covenants that God made with Man; *a Covenant of Nature*, and *a Covenant of Grace*. The Covenant of Nature (or of Works) was made with *Adam*, and all Mankind in him. This Covenant *Adam* broke, and *God* presently had a quarrel against him for breaking of it, *Gen.* 3. 8, 9. And to avenge the quarrel of the *Covenant*, he was thrust out of *Paradise*; and there was a *Sword* also placed

ced at the East end of the Garden of *Eden*, to avenge Covenant-breaking. And by Nature we are all Children of Wrath, Heirs of Hell, because of the Breach of that Covenant. And therefore we should never think of *Original Sin*, or of the *sinful and cursedness of our Natural condition, but we should remember what a grievous sin Covenant-breaking is.*

But after Man was fallen, God was pleased to strike a new Covenant, which is usually called *A Covenant of Grace*, or Reconciliation; a Copy of which you shall read in *Ezek.* 16. 7, 8, 9. This was first propounded to *Adam* by way of *Promise*, Gen. 3. *The Seed of the Woman shall bruise the Serpent's head.* And then to *Abraham* by way of *Covenant*, Gen. 17. *In thy Seed shall all the Nations of the world be blessed.* And then to *Moses* by way of Testament, *Ex.* 33. it is nothing else but *the free and gracious tender of Jesus Christ, and his rich purchases to all the lost and undone sons of* Adam, *that shall believe in him*; *or*, as the Phrase is *Isai.* 56. 4. *that shall take hold of the Covenant.* Now you must know that Baptism is a Seal of this Covenant, and that all that are baptized, do sacramentally at least, engage themselves to walk before God, and to be upright; and God likewise engageth himself to be their God. This Covenant is likewise renewed when we come to the *Lord's Supper*, wherein we bind our selves by a Sacramental Oath unto thankfulness to God for *Christ*. Add further, that besides this General Covenant of Grace whereof the Sacraments are Seals, there are Particular and Personal, and Family, and National Covenants. Thus *Job* had his Covenant, *Job* 20. and *David*, *Psal.* 119. 106. And when he came to be King, he joined in a Covenant with his People to serve the Lord. And *Asa*, *Jehoiada*, and *Josiah*, &c. Thus the People of *Israel* had not only a Covenant in *Circumcision*, but renewed a Covenant in *Horeb*, and in *Moab*; and did often again and again bind themselves by Vow and Covenant. And thus the Churches of the *Christians*, besides the Vow in Baptism, have many Personal and National Engagements unto God by Covenant, which are nothing else but the Renovations and particular Applications of that first Vow in Baptism. Of this nature is that you are to renew this day, &c.

Now give me leave to shew you what a *Sword-procuring*, and a *Soul-undoing* sin, this sin of *Covenant-breaking* is; and then the Reason of it. Famous is that Text, *Levit.* 26. 25. *And I will send my Sword which shall avenge the quarrel of my Covenant.* The words in *Hebrew* run thus, I will avenge the avengement. In *Greek*, ἐνδίκη σω ἐνδίκησιν. The *Latins Ulciscar ultionem*; which importeth thus much. That God is at open war and at *publick defiance* with those that break his Covenant, he is not only angry with them, but he will be revenged of them. The Lord hath a Controversie with all Covenant-breakers, *Hos.* 4. 1. or as it is *Levit.* 26. 23. The Lord will walk contrary to them. In the 29. of *Deuter.* first God takes his People into Covenant, and then he tells them of the happy Condition they should be in, if they did keep the Covenant. But if they did break Covenant, he tells them, *vers.* 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25. *That the Lord will not spare him; but the anger of the Lord and his jealousies shall smoak against that man, and all the curses that are written in this book shall lie upon him, and the Lord shall blot out his name from under heaven. And the Lord shall separate him, &c. And when the nation shall say, Wherefore hath the Lord done thus into this land? What meaneth the heat of his anger? Then shall men say, Because they have forsaken the Covenant of the Lord God of their Fathers, &c.* This was the Sin that caused God to send his People of *Israel* into Captivity, and to remove the Candlestick from the *Asian* Churches.

It

It is for this Sin that the Sword is now devouring *Germany*, *Ireland* and *England*, &c. God hath ſent his Sword to avenge the quarrel of his Covenant.

The Reaſons why this Sin is a God-provoking Sin, are,

Reaſ. 1. Becauſe that *to ſin againſt the Covenant*, is a greater Sin than to *ſin againſt a Commandment* of God; or to ſin againſt a *Promiſe*, or to ſin againſt an *Ordinance* of God. First, It is a greater Sin than to break a *Commandment* of God. For the more Mercy there is in the thing we ſin againſt, the greater is the Sin. Now there is more Mercy in a *Covenant*, than in a bare *Commandment*. The Commandment tells us our Duty, but gives no Power to do it. But the Covenant of Grace gives Power to do what it requires to be done. And therefore if it be a Hell-procuring Sin to break the leaſt of God's Commandments, much more to be a Covenant-breaker, *Heb.* 10. 28, 29. Secondly, It is a greater Sin than to ſin againſt a *Promiſe* of God; becauſe a Covenant is a Promiſe join'd with an Oath, it is a mutual Stipulation between God and us. And therefore if it be a great Sin to break Promiſe, much more to break Covenant. Thirdly, It is a greater Sin than to ſin againſt an *Ordinance*, becauſe the *Covenant* is the Root and Ground of all the *Ordinances*. It is by vertue of the *Covenant* that we are made partakers of the *Ordinances*. The *Word* is the Book of the *Covenant*, and the *Sacraments* are the Seals of the *Covenant*. And if it be a Sin of an high nature to ſin againſt the Book of the *Covenant*, and the *Seals* of the *Covenant*, much more againſt the *Covenant* it ſelf. To break the Covenant is a *Fundamental Sin*, it raſeth the very *Foundation of Chriſtianity*; becauſe the Covenant is the Foundation of all the Privileges and Prerogatives, and Hopes of the *Saints* of God. Therefore we read, *Epheſ.* 2. 12. that a *ſtranger from the Covenant*, is one without *Hope*. All Hope of Heaven is cut off, where the Covenant is willingly broken. *To break Covenant is an univerſal Sin*, it includes all other Sins. By vertue of the Covenant we tye our ſelves to the Obedience of God's Commandments, we give up our ſelves to the guidance of *Jeſus Chriſt*, we take Him for *Lord and King*. All the Promiſes of this Life and that that is to come, are contained within the Covenant. The *Ordinances* are fruits of the Covenant. And therefore they that forſake the Covenant, commit *many Sins in one*; and bring not only many, but all Curſes upon their Heads. The ſum of the firſt Argument is, *If the Lord will avenge the quarrel of his Commandment*; if God was avenged upon the *Stick-gatherer* for *breaking* the *Sabbath*, much more will he be *avenged* upon a *Covenant-breaker*. If God will avenge the quarrel of a *Promiſe*, if the *quarrel* of an *Ordinance*; if they that reject the Ordinances ſhall be puniſhed; *Of how much ſeverer puniſhment ſhall they be thought worthy, that trample under their feet the Blood of the Covenant?* If God was avenged of thoſe that abuſed the *Ark* of the *Covenant*, much more will he puniſh thoſe that abuſe the *Angel* of the *Covenant*.

The Second *Reaſon* why *Covenant breaking* is ſuch a Land-ſtroying Sin, is, becauſe it is a Solemn and Serious thing to enter into *Covenant with God*; a matter of ſuch great Weight and Impotance, that it is impoſſible but God ſhould be exceedingly provoked with thoſe that ſlight it and diſreſpect it. The Vow in *Baptiſm* is the *Firſt*, the moſt General and Solemneſt Vow that ever any *Chriſtian* took, ſaith *Chryſoſtom*; wherein it doth not only promiſe, but engage himſelf by Covenant in the ſight of God and his holy Angels, to be the Servant of *JESUS CHRIST*, and therefore God will not hold him guiltleſs that breaks this Vow. The Solemnity and Weightineſs of Covenant-taking conſiſteth in three things.

1. Becauſe it is made with the Glorious *Majeſty* of Heaven and Earth, who will not be trifled and baffled withal. And therefore what *Jehoſhaphat* ſaid to his Judges, 2 *Chron.* 18. 6. *Take heed what you do, for ye judge not for men, but for the Lord, who is with you in Judgments; wherefore now let the Fear of the Lord be upon you, &c.* The like I may ſay to every one that enters into Covenant this Day, *Take heed what you do, for it is the Lord's Covenant, and there is no Iniquity with the Lord, wherefore now let the Fear of the Lord be upon you. For our God is a holy God, he is a jealous God, he will not forgive your Tranſgreſſions, nor your Sins,* as *Joſhua* ſaith, *Joſh.* 24. 19.

2. Becauſe the Articles of the Covenant are weighty and of great Importance. In the Covenant of Grace God engageth himſelf to give Chriſt, and with him, all temporal, ſpiritual, and eternal Bleſſings, and we engage our ſelves to be his faithful Servants all our Days. In this *Covenant* we oblige our ſelves to do great Matters that nearly concern the Glory of God, the Good of our own Souls, and the Happineſs of three Kingdoms. And in ſuch Holy and Heavenly Things which ſo nearly concern our everlaſting State, to dally and trifle muſt needs incenſe the Anger of the Great Jehovah.

3. The Manner uſed both by *Jews*, *Heathens*, and *Chriſtians*, in entring into *Covenant*, doth clearly ſet out the *Weightineſs* of it, and what a horrible Sin it is to break it. The Cuſtom amongſt the *Jews* will appear by divers Texts of Scripture: *Jer.* 34. 18. it is ſaid, *And I will give the Men that have tranſgreſſed my Covenant which they had made before me, when they cut the Calf in twain, and paſſed between the Parts thereof.* The Words they uſed when they paſſed between the Parts were, So God divide me, If I keep not Covenant. *Neh.* 5. 12. *Nehemiah* took an Oath of the Prieſts, and ſhook his Lap, and ſaid, *So God ſhake out every Man from his Houſe, and from his Labour, that performeth not this Promiſe, even thus be he ſhaken out and emptied. And all the Congregation ſaid, Amen.* In the 15. of *Geneſis*, *Abraham* divided the Heifer, and She-Goat, and a Ram, *&c. And when the Sun was down, a ſmoaking Furnace and burning Lamp paſſed between theſe Pieces.* This did repreſent God's Preſence, ſaith *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and it was as if God ſhould ſay, Behold, this Day I enter into Covenant with thee, and if thou keepeſt Covenant, I will be as a *burning Lamp* to enlighten and to comfort thee. But if thou breakeſt Covenant, I will be like a *ſmoaking furnace* to conſume thee. Thus alſo *Exod.* 24. 6. *Moſes* makes a Covenant with *Iſrael*, and offers Sacrifices, and takes the Blood of the Sacrifice, and half of it he ſprinkles upon the Altar, (which repreſented God's Part) and the other half he ſprinkled upon the People. as if he ſhould ſay, *As this Blood is divided, ſo will God divide you if you break Covenant.* This was the Cuſtom amongſt the *Jews*. Amongſt the *Romans*, *Cæſa firmabant fœdera porca.* And when it was divided, the *Feciales* gave one half to one Party, and the other half to the other, and ſaid, *So God divide you aſunder if you break this Covenant, and let God do this, ſo much the more by how much he is the more able. Hinc fœdus à fœdo animali (ſcilicet porco) diviſo.* Sometimes they make Covenants by taking a Stone in their Hands, and ſaying, *If I make this Covenant ſeriouſly and faithfully, then let the great* Jupiter *bleſs me: If not, ſo let me be caſt away from the Face of the Gods, as I caſt away this Stone.* This was called *Jurare per Jovem lapidem.* All theſe Things are not *empty Notions*, and *metaphorical Shadows*, but real and ſubſtantial Practices, ſignifying to us, That *God will, and muſt* (for it ſtands with his Honour to do it) *divide and break them in Pieces that break Covenant*

venant with him. This Day you are to take a Covenant by the lifting up of your Hands unto the moſt High God, which is a moſt emphatical Ceremony; whereby we do, as it were, call God to be a *Witneſs* and a *Judge* of what we do, and a *Rewarder* or a *Revenger*, according as we keep or break the Covenant. If we keep it, *the lifting up of our hands* will be as an *Evening Sacrifice*; if we break it, *the lifting up of our hands* will be as the *lifting up of the hands of a Malefactor at the Bar*, and procure Woe and Miſery, and *wringing of Hands* at the great Day of Appearing.

The third Reaſon why God will be avenged of thoſe that are Covenant-breakers, is, becauſe that a *Covenant* is the *greateſt Obligation*, and the moſt forcible *Chain* that can be invented to tye us to Obedience and Service. *God* may juſtly challenge Obedience without *covenanting* by Virtue of *Creation*, *Preſervation*, and *Redemption*; he hath made us, and when loſt, he hath purchaſed us with his Blood. But being willing more abundantly to manifeſt his Love, and that we might be the more faſtned to him, he hath tied himſelf to us, and us to him by the ſtrong Bond of a *Covenant*; as if God ſhould ſay, Oh ye Sons of Men, ſee you are rebellious, and Sons of *Belial*, and therefore if it be poſſible, I will make you ſure. I will engage you unto me, not only by *Creation*, *Preſervation* and *Redemption*, but alſo by Right of *Covenant* and *Aſſociation*. I will make you mine by *Promiſe* and *Oath*. And ſurely he that will break theſe Bonds, is as bad as the Man poſſeſſed with the *Devil* in the *Goſpel*, whom no Chains could keep faſt. When we enter into Covenant with *God*, we take the Oath of *Supremacy*, and ſwear unto him that he ſhall be our chief *Lord* and *Governor*; and that we will admit no foreign Power or Juriſdiction, but that God ſhall be all in all. We likewiſe take the Oath of *Allegiance* to be his Servants and Vaſſals, and that he ſhall be our Supreme in Spirituals and Temporals. Now for a *Chriſtian* that believes there is a *God*, to break both theſe Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, it is a curſed *Treaſon* againſt the *God* of Heaven, which ſurely *God* will be avenged of. Amongſt the *Romans*, when any Soldier was preſſed, he took an Oath to ſerve the Captain faithfully, and not to forſake him; and he was called *Miles per ſacramentum*. Sometimes one took an Oath for all the reſt, and the others only ſaid, *The ſame Oath that A. B. took, the ſame do I.* And theſe were called *Milites pro conjurationem*, or *Milites evocati*. And when any Souldier forſook his Captain, he had Martial Law executed upon him. Thus it is with every Chriſtian: He is a profeſſed *Soldier of Chriſt*, he hath taken Preſs-Money; he hath ſworn and taken the *Sacrament* upon it to become the *Lord's*; he is *Miles per ſacramentum*, and *Miles per conjurationem*. And if he forſake his Captain, and break Covenant, the great *Lord of Hoſts* will be avenged of him, as it is written, *Jer.* 11. 3. *Curſed be the Man that obeyeth not the Words of this Covenant.* To break Covenant is a Sin of *Perjury*, which is a Sin of high Nature; and if *for Oaths the Land mourneth*, much more for Breach of Oaths. To break Covenant is a Sin of ſpiritual Adultery; for by covenanting with God we do as it were *joyn our ſelves in Marriage to God*, as the Hebrew Word ſignifieth, *Jer.* 50. 5. Now to break the *Marriage Knot* is a Sin for which God may juſtly give a Bill of Divorce to a Nation. To *break Covenant* is a Sin of *Injuſtice*; for by our Covenant we do enter, as it were, into *Bond* to *God*, and engage our ſelves as a Creditor to his Debtor. Now the Sin of Injuſtice is a *land-deſtroying Sin*.

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The fourth Reaſon why God muſt needs be avenged of thoſe that are *Covenant-breakers*, is, becauſe it is an Act of the higheſt *Sacrilege* that can be committed. For by Virtue of the Covenant the Lord lays Claim to us as his peculiar Inheritance, *Ezek.* 16. 8. *I ſware unto thee, and entered into Covenant with thee, and thou becameſt mine*, *Jer.* 31. 33. *I will be their God, and they ſhall be my People.* It is worthy Obſervation, that in the Covenant there is a double *Surrender*, one on *God's Part*, another on our Part. God Almighty makes a *Surrender* of himſelf, and of his *Son*, and of the *Holy Ghoſt*. Behold, ſaith *God*, I am wholly thy *God*; all my Power, and Mercy, and Goodneſs, *&c.* is all thine; my *Son* is thine, and all his rich Purchaſes; my *Spirit* is thine and all his Graces. This is *God's Surrender*. On our Parts, when we take hold of the Covenant, we make a Delivery of our Bodies and Souls into the Hands of God, we chooſe him to be our Lord and Governor, we reſign up our ſelves into his Hands. Lord we are thine at thy diſpoſing; we alienate our ſelves from our ſelves, and make a Deed of Gift of our ſelves, and give thee the Lock and Key of Head, Heart, and Affections, *&c.* This is the Nature of every religious Covenant, but eſpecially of the Covenant of Grace. But now for a Chriſtian, to call in as it were his *Surrender*, to diſclaim his *Reſignation*, to ſteal away himſelf from God, and to lay Claim to himſelf after his Alienation; to fulfil his own Luſts, to walk after his own Ways, to do what he liſts, and not what he hath Covenanted to do, is the *higheſt degree of Sacrilege*, which God will never ſuffer to go unpuniſhed. And if the Stick-gatherer, that did but alienate a little of God's Time; and *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, that witheld but ſome Part of his Eſtate: and if *Belſhazzer* for abuſing the Conſecrated Veſſels of the Temple, were ſo grievouſly puniſhed; how much more will God puniſh thoſe that alienate themſelves from the Service of that God, to whom they have ſworn to be obedient? It is obſerved by a Learned Author, of three famous Commanders of the *Romans*, that they never proſpered after they had defiled and robbed the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. Firſt, *Pompey* the great, he went into the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, a Place never before entered by any but the *High Prieſt*, and the Lord blaſted him in all his Proceedings after that Time. *Ut illi qui terram non habuit ante ad victoriam, deeſſet illi terra at ſepulturam*: That he that before that Time wanted Earth to overcome, had not at laſt Earth enough to bury him withal. The next was *Craſſus*, who took away 10000 Talents of Gold from the Temple, and afterwards dyed, by having Gold poured down his Throat. The third was *Caſſius*, who afterwards killed himſelf. If then God did thus avenge himſelf of thoſe that polluted his *conſecrated Temple*; much more will he not leave them unpuniſhed that are the *living Temples* of the *Holy Ghoſt*, conſecrated to God by a *Covenant*, and afterwards proving *ſacrilegious*, robbing God of that Worſhip and Service which they have ſworn to give him.

The fifth Reaſon why this Sin makes the Time perilous, is, becauſe *covenant-breakers* are reckon'd amongſt the Number of thoſe that have the *Mark* of *Reprobation* upon them. I do not ſay that they are all Reprobates; yet I ſay that the *Apoſtle* makes it to be one of thoſe Sins which are committed by thoſe that are given up to a reprobate Mind, *Rom.* 1. 28. 31. The Words are ſpoken of the *Heathen*, and are to be underſtood of Covenants made between Man and Man. But then the Argument will hold *à fortiori*. If it be the Brand of a Reprobate to break Covenant with Man, much more a *Covenant* made with the great *Jehovah* by the lifting up of our Hands to Heaven.

The laſt Reaſon is, becauſe it is a Sin againſt ſuch infinite Mercy, ſuch Bowels of God's unexpreſſible Mercy, It is ſaid, *Jer.* 31, 22. *Which Covenant they brake, although I was a Husband to them.* That is, although I had choſen them for my Spouſe, and married my ſelf unto them with an everlaſting Covenant of Mercy, and intailed Heaven unto them, yet they have broken my Covenant. This was a great Provocation. Thus *Ezek.* 16. 4, 5. *When thou waſt in thy Blood, and no Eye pitied thee to have Compaſſion upon thee, I ſaid unto thee when thou wert in thy Blood, Live*; yea, *I ſaid unto thee, Live.* It is twice repeated; as if God ſhould ſay, Mark it, O *Iſrael*, when no Eye regarded thee, then I ſaid unto thee, Live. *Behold*, ſaith God, ver. 8. *thy time was the time of Love.* Behold and wonder at it, *and I ſpread my Skirt over thee, and covered thy Nakedneſs; yea, I ſware unto thee, and entered into Covenant with thee*, ſaith the Lord, *and thou becameſt mine.* And yet for all this thou haſt ſinned grievouſly againſt me. *Woe, Woe unto thee, ſaith the Lord God*, Ezek. 16. 23. There is a *fivefold Mercy* in the *Covenant*, (eſpecially in the Covenant of Grace) that makes the Sin of *Covenant-breaking* to be ſo odious.

1. It is a Mercy that the great *God* will vouchſafe to enter into *Covenant* with Duſt and Aſhes. As *David* ſaith in another Caſe, *Is it a ſleight Matter to be the Son-in-Law of a King?* So may I ſay, Is it a ſleight Matter for the Lord of Heaven and Earth to condeſcend ſo far as to *covenant* with his poor Creatures, and thereby to become their *Debtors*, and to make them as it were his *Equals?* When *Jonathan* and *David* entered into a Covenant of Friendſhip, though one was a King's Son, the other a poor Shepherd, yet there was then a kind of Equality between them. But this muſt be underſtood warily, according to the Text, 2 *Cor.* 2. 9. *Bleſſed be God who hath called us into the Fellowſhip of his Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* He is ſtill our Lord, though in Fellowſhip with us. It is a Covenant of infinite Condeſcenſion on God's Part, whereby he enters into a League of Friendſhip with his People.

2. The Mercy is the greater, becauſe this *Covenant* was made after the Fall of *Adam*; after we had broken the firſt Covenant. That the Lord ſhould try us the ſecond time, is not only an Act of infinite Goodneſs of God, but of infinite Mercy. There is a Difference between the *Goodneſs* and the *Mercy* of God. *Goodneſs* may be ſhewed to thoſe that are not in *Miſery*; but *Mercy* ſuppoſeth *Miſery*: And this was our Condition after the Breach of the firſt Covenant.

3. That God ſhould make this Covenant with *Man*, and not with *Devils*.

4. This ſets out the Mercy of the *Covenant*, becauſe it contains ſuch rare and glorious Benefits, and therefore it is called a *Covenant of Life and Peace*, Mal. 2. 5. *an everlaſting Covenant, even the ſure Mercies of* David, *Eſa.* 54. 3. It is compared to the *Waters of* Noah, *Eſa.* 54. 6. Famous are thoſe two Texts, *Exod.* 19. 5, 6. *Jer.* 32. 40, 41. Texts that hold forth *ſtrong Conſolation.* By Virtue of the *Covenant*, Heaven is not only made poſſible, but certain to all Believers, and certain by way of *Oath.* It is by Virtue of the *Covenant* that we call God Father, and may lay Claim to all the Power, Wiſdom, Goodneſs and Mercy, &c. that is in *God.* As *Jehoſhaphat* told the King of *Iſrael*, to whom he was joined in Covenant, *I am as thou art, my People as thy People, my Horſes as thy Horſes:* So doth God ſay to all that are in *Covenant* with him; *My Power is thine, my Goodneſs is thine*, &c. By Virtue of this Covenant, whatſoever thou wanteſt *God* cannot deny it thee, if it be

good

good for thee. Say unto God; *Lord, thou haſt ſworn to take away my Heart of Stone, and to give me a Heart of Fleſh. Thou haſt ſworn to write thy Law in my Heart, thou haſt ſworn to circumciſe my Heart, thou haſt ſworn to give me Chriſt to be my King, Prieſt, and Prophet, &c.* And God cannot but be a *Covenant-keeper*. By Virtue of this *Covenant*, God cannot but accept of a poor penitent Sinner, laying hold upon Chriſt for Pardon, 2 *Chron.* 7. 14. *Jer* 3. 14 *Promiſſa hæc tua ſunt, Domine; & quis falli timet cum promittit ipſa veritas?* In a word, we may challenge Pardon, and Heaven by our Covenant; 1 *Joh.* 1. 9. God is not only *merciful* but *juſt* to forgive us. We may challenge Heaven through Chriſt out of Juſtice.

5. Add laſtly, That the Conditions of the Covenant on our part ſhould be upon ſuch eaſy terms, therefore it is called a *Covenant* of *Free-grace*. All that God requires of us, is to take hold of this Covenant; *Iſa.* 56. *to receive this gift of righteouſneſs*, *Rom.* 5. to take *all Chriſt* as he is tendred in the Covenant. And that which is the greateſt Conſolation of all, God hath promiſed in his Covenant to do our part for us, *Jer.* 31. 33, 34. Therefore it is called a *Teſtament*, rather than a *Covenant*. (In the New Teſtament the Word Διαθήκη is always uſed by the Apoſtle, and not Συνθήκη) *Heaven* is conveyed unto the Elect by way of Legacy; It is part of God's *Teſtament* to write his Law in our Hearts, and to cauſe us to walk in his ways, &c. Put theſe things together. Seeing there is ſuch infinite Mercy in the Covenant. A Mercy for *God to enter into Covenant with us, to do it with us, and not the Angels, with us fallen, with us upon ſuch eaſy terms; and to make ſuch a Covenant, that contains ſo many, and not only ſo, but all Bleſſings here and hereafter in the womb of it*; it muſt needs be a Land-deſtroying, and Soul-deſtroying Sin to a *Covenant-breaker*.

The Uſe and Application of this Doctrine is four-fold.

Uſe 1. *Of Information.* If it be ſuch a *Land-devouring Sin* to be a *Covenant-breaker*, let us from hence learn the *True Cauſe* of all the Miſeries that have happened unto *England* in theſe late Years. The *Womb* out of which all our Calamities are come. *England* has broke *Covenant* with GOD, and now GOD is breaking *England* in pieces, even as a Potter breakes a Veſſel in pieces. GOD *hath ſent his Sword to avenge the quarrel of his Covenant.* As CHRIST whipt the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple, with Whips made of the Cords which they brought to tye their Oxen and Sheep withal. A *Covenant* is a Cord to tye us to GOD, and now GOD hath made an Iron Whip of theſe Cords, which we have broken aſunder, to whip us withal.

We are a Nation in *Covenant with* GOD, we have the *Books of the Covenant*, the Old and New Teſtament; we have the *Seals of the Covenant*, Baptiſm and the Lord's Supper. We have the *Meſſengers of the Covenant*, the Miniſters of the Goſpel. We have the *Angels of the Covenant*, the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, fully and clearly ſet out before us in the Miniſtery of the Word. But alas! are not theſe Bleſſings amongſt us, as the *Ark* was amongſt the *Philiſtines* rather as *Priſoners* than as *Privileges*; rather *in teſtimonium & ruinam quam in ſalutem*, rather for our Ruine than for our Happineſs? May it not be ſaid of us, as Reverend *Meulin* ſaid of the *French Proteſtants*; *While they burned us* (ſaith he) *for reading the Scriptures, we burnt with zeal to be reading of them: now with our Liberty is bred alſo Negligence, and Diſeſteem of God's Word?* So is it with us. While we were under the *Tyranny of the* Biſhops, oh how ſweet was a *Faſting-day!* how *beautiful*

were

were the feet of them that brought the Gospel of peace unto you? How dear and precious were God's People one to another, &c. But now how are our Fasting days slighted and vilified? how are the People of God divided one from another, railing upon (instead of loving) one another? And is not the *Godly Ministery* as much persecuted by the Tongues of some that would be accounted Godly, as heretofore by the *Bishops* Hand? Is not the *Holy Bible* by some rather *wrested* than *read*? wrested I say, by Ignorant and Unstable Souls, to their own Destruction. And as for the *Seals of the Covenant*: 1. For the *Lord's Supper*; How often have we spilt the *Blood of Christ* by our unworthy Approaches to his Table? and hence it is that he is now spilling our Blood. How hard a matter is it to obtain power to keep the Blood of *Christ* from being profaned by ignorant and Scandalous Communicants? and can we think that God will be easily intreated to sheath up his bloody Sword, and to cease shedding our Blood? 2. For the *Sacrament of Baptism*; how cruel are Men grown to their little *Infants*, by keeping of them from the Seal of Entrance into the *Kingdom of Heaven*, and making their Children (their own Children) to be just in the same condition with the Children of *Turks* and *Infidels*? I remember at the beginning of these Wars, there was a great fear fell upon Godly People about their little Children, and all their care was for the Preservation and their Safety; and for the continuance of the Gospel to them, &c. But now our little Children are likely to be in a worser Condition than ever. And this is come upon us as a just punishment of our *Baptismal Covenant breaking*. And as for *Jesus Christ* who is the *Angel* of the *Covenant*; are there not some amongst us that *unged Jesus Christ*? and is it not fit and equal that God should *unchurch* us, and *unpeople* us? are there not thousands that have sworn to be *Christ's Servants*, and yet are in their Lives the *Vassals of Sin* and *Satan*? and shall not God be avenged of such a Nation as this? these things considered, it's no wonder our Miseries are so great; but the wonder is, that they are no greater.

The Second *Use*, is an Use of Examination.

Days of *Humiliation* ought to be the days of *Self-examination*. Let us therefore upon such a day as this, examine whether we be not amongst the number of those that makes the times perillous? whether we be not *Covenant-breakers*? Here I will speak of three Covenants. 1. *Of the Covenant we made with God in our Baptism.* 2. *Of the Covenant we have made with God in our Distresses.* Thirdly, and especially of this *Covenant you are to renew this day.*

First, Of the Covenant which we made in *Baptism*, and renew every time we come to the *Lord's Supper*, and upon our Solemn days of Fasting. There are none here, but may say of them, The *Vows of God are upon you.* You are *Servi nati, empti, jurati*; you are the *born, bought* and *sworn Servants* of *God*, you have made a *Surrender* of your selves to *God* and *Christ*. The Question I put to you is this: How often have you *broke Covenant with God?* It is said, *Isa.* 33. 14. *The sinners of Sion are afraid; who shall dwell with everlasting torments? who shall dwell with devouring fire*, &c. When God comes to a *Church-sinner*, to a Sinner under the Old Testament, much more to a *Christian-sinner*; a Sinner under the Old Testament; and layeth to his charge his often *Covenant-breaking*, *fearfulness shall possess* him, and he will cry out, Oh! wo is me, *who can dwell with everlasting burnings?* Our *God* is a *consuming fire*, and we are as *stubble* before him. *Who can stand before his indignation?* (Nah 1 6.) *who can abide in the fierceness of his anger? when his fury is poured forth like fire, and the rocks are thrown down before him?* Who can stand? Of all sorts of Creatures, a sinful Christian shall never be able to stand before the Lord, when he comes to visit the World for their Sins. For when a Christian sins against God, he sins not only against the *Commandment*, but against the *Covenant*. And in every Sin he is a *Commandment-breaker*, and a *Covenant-breaker*. And therefore whereas the Apostle saith, *Tribulation and anguish upon every Soul*

that ſinneth, but firſt upon the Jew, &c. I may add, Firſt upon the *Chriſtian*, then upon the *Jew*, and then upon the *Grecian*; becauſe the Covenant made with the Chriſtian is called a *Better Covenant*; and therefore his Sins hath a higher aggravation in them. There is a notable paſſage in *Auſtin*, in which he brings the Devil thus pleading with God, againſt a wicked Chriſtian, at the day of Judgment: *Æquiſſime Judex, judica quod æquum eſt, judica meum eſſe qui tuus eſſe noluit poſt renunciationem; Ut quid invaſit pannos meos? Quid apud eum laſcivia, incontinentia, &c. quibus ipſe renunciaverit? Quid intemperantia, quid gula, quid faſtus, quid cætera mea? Hæc omnia mea poſt renunciationem invaſit. Meus eſſe voluit, mea concupivit: Judica, æquiſſime Judex, quoniam quam tu non dedignatus es tanto pretio liberare, ipſe mihi poſtmodum voluit obligare.* That is, Oh thou righteous Judge, give right judgment: Judge him to be mine, who refuſed to be thine, even after he had renounced me in his Baptiſm; What had he to do to wear my Livery? What had he to do with Gluttony, Drunkenneſs, Pride, Wantonneſs, Incontinency, and the reſt of my Ware? All theſe things he hath practiſed ſince he renounced the Devil and all his Works. Mine he is, judge righteous judgment: For he whom thou haſt not diſdained to die for, hath obliged himſelf to me by his Sins.

Now what can God ſay to this Charge of the Devil's, but, *Take him Devil*, ſeeing he would be thine; take him, torment him with everlaſting torments? *Cyprian* brings in the Devil thus ſpeaking to *CHRIST*, at the great day of Judgment: *Ego pro iſtis quos mecum vides nec alapas accepi, nec flagella ſuſtinui, nec crucem pertuli, nec ſanguinem fudi, ſed nec regnum cœleſte illis promitto, nec ad paradiſum evoco, & tamen ſe mihi ſuaque omnia conſecrarunt.* I have not (ſaith the Devil) been whipt and ſcourged, and crucified, neither have I ſhed my Blood for theſe whom thou ſeeſt with me: I do not promiſe them a Kingdom of Heaven, &c. And yet theſe Men have wholly conſecrated themſelves to me and my Service. Indeed if the Devil could make ſuch gainful Covenants with us, and beſtow ſuch Glorious Mercies upon us as are contained within the Covenant, our ſerving of *Satan* and Sin might have ſome excuſe. But when as his Covenant is a Covenant of Bondage, Death, Hell, and Damnation: and *GOD*'s Covenant is a Covenant of Liberty, Grace, and eternal Happineſs; it muſt needs be a Sin inexcuſable, to be willing and willfully ſuch a Covenant-breaker.

2. Let us examine concerning the Vows, which we have made to *GOD* in our Diſtreſſes; in our Perſonal Diſtreſſes, and our National Diſtreſſes. Are we not like the Children of *Iſrael*, of whom it is ſaid, *Pſal.* 78. 34. *When he ſlew them, then they ſought him, and they returned and enquired early after God*, &c. *Nevertheleſs they did but flatter him with their mouth*, &c. *For their heart was not right with him, neither were they ſtedfaſt in his Covenant?* Are we not like unto little Children, that while they are whipping will promiſe any thing, but when the Whipping is over will peform nothing? Or like unto Iron, that is very ſoft and malleable while it is in the fire, but when it is taken out of the fire, returns preſently to his former hardneſs? This was *Jacob*'s fault: He made a Vow when he was in diſtreſs, *Gen.* 28. 22. But he forgat his Covenant, and God was angry with him, and chaſtiſed him in his Daughter *Dinah*, *Gen.* 34. 5. and in his two Sons *Simeon* and *Levi*. And at laſt God himſelf was fain to call to him from Heaven to keep Covenant. And after that time, God bleſſed *Jacob* exceedingly, *Gen.* 35. 9. 11, 12. We read of *David*, *Pſal.* 56. 13, 14, 15. that he profeſſeth himſelf, That he *would go into God's houſe, and pay the vows which his lips had uttered, and his mouth had ſpoken when he was in trouble*. But how few are there that imitate *David* in this thing?

Thirdly: Let us examine our ſelves concerning this Solemn League and Covenant, which we are to renew this day. And here I demand an Anſwer to this Queſtion.

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Q. Are we not *Covenant-breakers*? Do we not make the times perilous by our falsifying of our Oath and *Covenant with God*?

In our Covenant we swear to Six things.

1. That we will *endeavour* to be *humbled for our Sins and for the Sins of the Kingdom*, But where shall we find a *Mourner* in *England* for his own Abominations, that are committed in the midst of us? it is easie to find a Censurer of the Sins of the Land, but hard to find a true Mourner for the Sins of the Land.

2. We swear, *That we will endeavour to go before one another in the example of a real Reformation.* But who makes Conscience of this part of the Oath? What Sin hast thou left; or in what one thing hast thou been reformed since thou tookest this Covenant? We read, *Ezra.* 10. 7. *That they entered into Covenant, to put away their Wives and their Children by them:* which was a very difficult and hard Duty, and yet they did it. But what Bosom Sin, what Beloved Sin, as dear to thee as thy dear Wife and Children, hast thou left for God's sake since thou tookest this Oath? I read, *Nehem.* 5. 13. That the People took an Oath to make *Restitution*; which was a costly Duty, and yet they performed it, saith the Text. But alas! where is the Man that hath made Restitution of his ill-gotten Goods, since he took this Covenant? I read, 2 *Chron.* 15. 15. that King *Asa* deposed his Mother *Maachah, her, even her, from being Queen*, after he had entered into Covenant: and that the People, 2 *Kin.* 11. 18. after they had sworn a *Covenant, brake in pieces all the Altars of Baal thoroughly.* But where is this *thorough Reformation*, this *thorough* Amendment of Life? Indeed here is much talk of a *Reformation*, but little Practice of a *Reformation.* We say we *fight* for a *Reformation*; but I fear lest in a little time we should *fight* away our *Reformation*; or if not *fight* it away, yet we should dispute it away. For now all our Religion is turned into *Utrum's*, into *Questions*; insomuch as that there are some that call *Religion* into question, and in a little while will lose all *Religion* in the crowd of *Questions. Inter disputandum veritas, & Religio amittitur.* There was a time not many years ago, when God did bless our Ministery in the City, to the Conversion of many People unto God; but now there are many that study more to gain *Parties* to themselves, than to gain Souls to God. The great Work of *Conversion* is little thought on. And never so few (if any at all) converted, as in these days wherein we talk so much of Reformation. And is this to keep Covenant with God?

3. We swear, *To endeavour to amend the Lives, and reform not only our selves, but also those that are under our Charge.* But where is this Family-reformation? Indeed I read of *Jacob*, that when he went to perform his Vow and Covenant, he first reformed his Family, *Gen.* 35. 3. And that *Joshua* resolved (and performed it) *for himself and his Family to serve the Lord.* And so did *Josiah*, 2 *Chron.* 34. And oh that I could add, *And so do We!* But the wickednesses committed in our Families, proclaim the contrary to all the World. What *Nohlemans*, what *Aldermans*, what *Merchants* Family is more reformed since the Covenant, than before? We speak and contend much for a *Church-reformation*, but how can there be a *Church-reformation*, unless there be a *Family-reformation*? What tho' the *Church-worship* be pure, yet if the *Worshippers* be impure, God will not accept of the *Worship*? And if Families be not reformed, how will your Worshippers be pure?

4. We swear, *To endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms, to the neareſt Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church-government, Directory for Worship and Catechizing*, &c. But are there not some that write against an *Uniformity* in Religion, and call it an *Idol*? Are there not many that walk professedly contrary to this Clause of the *Covenant*? There are three Texts of Scripture that People keep the quite contrary way. The first is *Mat.* 6. 34. 31, 25. *Take no thought what you shall eat, &c, take no thought for to morrow.* And most People take thought for nothing else. The

ſecond Text is, *Mat.* 6. 33. *Seek ye firſt the kingdom of God and his righteouſneſs, &c.* And moſt People ſeek this laſt of all. The third Text is, 6, 27. *Labour not for the meat that periſheth, but for the meat that endureth for ever, &c.* And moſt People labour not for the meat that endureth for ever, but for the meat that periſheth. As theſe three Texts are kept, ſo do many People keep this part of the Oath; for there were never more *Diviſions* and *Differences* in the Church, never more *Diſformity*, and pleading againſt *Uniformity*, than now there is.

5. We ſwear, *To endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, Superſtition, Hereſie, Schiſm &c.* And yet notwithſtanding there are ſome that have taken this Oath, that contend earneſtly for a Toleration of all Religions.

6. *We ſwear againſt a deteſtable Indifferency and Neutrality in this Cauſe which much concerneth the Glory of God, &c.* And yet how many are there amongſt us that are like unto *Gallio*, that care not what becomes of the *Cauſe of God*, ſo they may have peace and quiet; That will not be *backwardeſt* of all, and yet will be ſure not to be too *forward*, for fear leſt if the times turn, they ſhould be noted amongſt the chief of the *Faction*? That are very indifferent which ſide prevail, ſo they may have their Trading again? That ſay as the *Politician*, *That they would be careful not to come too near the heels of Religion, leſt it ſhould daſh out their Brains:* And as the King of *Arragon* told *Beza*, *That he would wade no further into the Sea of Religion than he could ſafely return to ſhore?*

In all theſe Six Particulars, let us ſeriouſly ſearch and try our Hearts, whether we be not amongſt the number of thoſe that make the times perilous.

The Third Uſe is for *Humiliation*. Let the Conſideration of our *Covenant-breaking*, be a *Heart-breaking* Conſideration to every one of us this day. Let this be a mighty and powerful Argument to humble us upon this day of Humiliation.

There are Five Conſiderations, that are exceedingly *Soul-humbling*, if God bleſs them unto us.

1. The Conſideration of the many *Commandments* of God, that we have often and often broken.

2. The Conſideration of the breaking of *Jeſus Chriſt* for our Sins, how he was rent and torn for our Iniquities.

3. The Conſideration of the *Breaking* of the *Bread*, and the *Pouring* out of the *Wine* in the Sacrament, which is a Heart-breaking Motive and Help.

4. The broken Condition that the Kingdom of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and that *Germany* is in at this time.

5. The many *Vows* and *Covenants* that we have broken; our *Sacrament-covenants*, our *Faſting-covenants*, our *Sick-bed covenants*. And eſpecially the Conſideration of our often breaking of our *National-covenant*, which you come this day to renew. This is a Sin in *Folio*, a Sin of a *High Nature*: add if ever God awaken Conſcience in this Life, a Sin that will lye like a heavy *Incuba* upon it. A greater Sin than a Sin againſt a *Commandment*, or againſt an *Ordinance*. A Sin not only of *Diſobedience*, but of *Perjury*. A Sin of *Injuſtice*, of *Spiritual Adultery*. A Sin of *Sacrilege*. A Sin of great *Unkindneſs*. A Sin that makes us not only diſobedient, but diſhoneſt. For we account him a diſhoneſt Man that keeps not his Word. A Sin that not only every good *Chriſtian*, but every good *Heathen* doth abhor. A Sin that not only brings *Damnation* upon us, but caſteth ſuch into horrible *Diſgrace* and *Reproach* upon God, that it cannot ſtand with God's Honour not to be avenged of a *Covenant-breaker*. *Tertullian* ſaith, That when a Chriſtian forſakes his Covenant, and the Colours of Chriſt, and turns to ſerve as the Devil's Soldier, he puts an unſpeakable Diſcredit upon God and Chriſt. For it is as much as if he ſhould ſay, *I like the Service of the Devil better than the Service of God.* And it is juſt as if a Soldier that hath waged War

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under a Captain, and afterwards forſaking him, turns to another; and after that leaves this other Captain, and returns to his former Captain. This is to prefer the firſt Captain before the ſecond. This makes God complain, *Jer.* 24. *What iniquity have your fathers found in me that they are gone from me*, &c. And in the 11. Ver. *Hath any Nation changed their God, which are yet no Gods? but my People have changed Glory for that which doth not profit.* *Baſil* brings in the Devil inſulting over *Chriſt*, and ſaying, *I never Created nor Redeemed theſe Men, and yet they have obeyed me, contemned thee, O Chriſt, even after they have Covenanted to be thine.* And then he adds, *Equidem ego iſtam futuram adverſus Chriſtum gloriationem hoſtis inſolentem gravius longe eſſe ſtatuo quam Gehennæ ſupplicia.* That is, *I eſteem this Inſulting of the Devil over Jeſus Chriſt at the Great day, to be more grievous to a true Saint, than all the Torments of Hell.* A Saying worthy to be written in Letters of Gold. Seeing then that *Covenant-breaking* is ſo great an Abomination, the Lord give us Hearts to be humbled for this great Abomination this day. And this will be a notable Preparation to fit you to the Renewing of your Covenant. For we read that *Nehemiah* firſt called his People to faſt, before he drew them into a Covenant. According to which Pattern you are here met to pray, and humble your Souls for your former *Covenant-breaking*; and then to bind your ſelves anew unto the *Lord our God.* As Wax when it is melted will receive the Impreſſion of a Seal, which it will not do before; ſo will your Hearts, when melted into Godly-ſorrow for our Sins, receive the Seal of God abidingly upon them, which they will not do when hardned in Sin.

Is every Man that ſins againſt the *Covenant* to be accounted a *Covenant-breaker*, and a *Perjured Sacrilegious* Perſon;

By no means. For as every *Failing* of a *Wife* doth not break a Covenant between her and her Husband; but ſhe is to be accounted a Wife till ſhe by committing Adultery, break the Covenant. So every miſcarriage againſt the *Covenant of Grace*, or againſt this *National-covenant*, doth not denominate us in a *Goſpel account Covenant-breakers.* But then God accounts us according to his *Goſpel* to break Covenant, when we do not only ſin, but commit ſin againſt the Covenant, when we do not only ſin out of *Weakneſs*, but out of *Wickedneſs*; when we do not only *fail*, but *fall* into ſin; when we *forſake* and *renounce* the Covenant, when we deal *treacherouſly* in the Covenant, and enter into *League* and *Covenant* with thoſe Sins which we have ſworn againſt. When we walk into *Anti-covenant* Paths, and willingly do contrary to what we ſwear; then are we perjured and unjuſt, and ſacrilegious, and guilty of all theſe things formerly mentioned.

The fourth Uſe preſents unto you a *Divine*, and therefore a *ſure Project* to make the times happy. And that is, *Let all Covenant-takers labour to be Covenant-keepers.* It hath pleaſed God to put it in your Hearts to renew your Covenant. The ſame God inable you to keep Covenant. It is ſaid, 2 *Chron.* 34. 31, 32. *The King made a Covenant before the Lord*, &c. *And he cauſed all that were preſent in* Jeruſalem, *and* Benjamin *to ſtand to it.* And 2 *Kings* 23. 3. *The King ſtood by a Pillar, and made a Covenant before the Lord*, &c. *and all the People ſtood to the Covenant.* This is your Duty; not only to *take the Covenant*, but to *ſtand to the Covenant*; and to *ſtand* to it, *maugre* all Oppoſition to the contrary. According as we read, 2 *Chron.* 15. 12, 13. *And they entered into Covenant to ſeek the Lord God of their Fathers*, &c. *That whoſoever would not ſeek the Lord God of* Iſrael, *ſhould be put to Death, whether ſmall or great, whether Man or Woman.* For it is not the *taking*, but the *keeping* of the Covenant that will make him happy. God is ſtiled, *A God keeping Covenant*, *Deut.* 9. 4. *Neh.* 1. 5. O that this might be the Honour of this City! That we may ſay of it, *London is a City keeping Covenant with God.* Great and many are the Bleſſings entailed upon *Covenant-keepers*, *Exod.* 19. 5, 6. *Now therefore if you will obey my Voice indeed, then you ſhall be a peculiar Treaſure unto me above all People; for all the Earth is mine: And ye ſhall be unto me a Kingdom of Prieſts, and*

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an Holy Nation, &c. Pſal. 25. 10. *All the paths of the Lord, are Mercy and Truth unto ſuch as keep his Covenant, &c.* Pſal. 15. 4.

There are *three Covenants*, I ſhall perſwade you in an eſpecial Manner to ſtand to.

1. *The Covenant you made with God in Baptiſm.* A Chriſtian (ſaith *Chryſoſtome*) ſhould never *ſtep out of Doors*, or *lie down in his Bed*, or *go into his Cloſet*, but he ſhould remember that Word *Abrenuncio*; that is, *He ſhould remember the time when he did renounce the Devil and all his Works.* Oh let us not forget that which we ought always to remember! Let us remember to keep that Covenant, as ever we deſire God ſhould remember us in Mercy at the Great Day.

2. *The Covenants which we make unto God in our Afflictions.* Famous is that Paſſage of *Pliny*, in one of his Epiſtles to one that deſired Rules from him how to order his Life aright. I will (ſaith he) give you one Rule which ſhall be inſtead of a thouſand; *Ut tales eſſe perſeveremus ſani, quales nos futuros eſſe profitemur infirmi. That we ſhould perſevere to be ſuch when we are well, as we promiſe to be when we are ſick.* A Sentence never to be forgotten. The Lord help us to live accordingly.

3. *The Covenant which you are to take this Day.* The Happineſs or Miſery of *England* doth much depend upon the keeping or breaking of this Covenant. If *England* keep it, *England by keeping Covenant ſhall ſtand ſure*, according to that Text, *Ezek.* 7. 14. If *England* break it, God will break *England* in pieces. If *England* ſleight it, God will ſleight *England*. If *England* forſake it, God will forſake *England*. And this ſhall be written upon the *Tomb* of periſhing *England*: *Here lyeth a Nation that hath broken the Covenant of their God.* Remember what you have heard this Day, That it is the *Brand of a Reprobate* to be a Covenant breaker, *&c.* It is the part of a *Fool* to *vow*, and not to *pay his Vows*. And *God hath no delight in the Sacrifice of Fools. Better not vow, than to vow and not to pay*, Eccl. 5. 4, 5. It is ſuch an high Prophanation of Gods Name, as that God cannot hold a *Covenant-breaker* guiltleſs. It is *Perjury*, *Injuſtice*, *ſpiritual Adultery*, *Sacriledge*, *&c.* And the very *lifting up* of our Hands this Day (if you do not let Heart and Hand on work to keep Covenant) *will be ſufficient Witneſs againſt you at the great Day.* We read, *Gen.* 31. 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 52, 53. *That* Jacob *and* Laban *entred into Covenant, and took a heap of ſtones, and made them a witneſs, and ſaid, This heap is a witneſs, &c. And they called the Name of the Place* Mizpah: *The Lord watch between me and thee, &c. The God of* Abraham *judge betwixt us, &c.* Such is your Condition this day. You enter into Covenant to become the *Lord's*, and to be valiant for Truth, and againſt his Enemies. And the very *ſtones* of this *Church* ſhall be againſt you, if you *break Covenant*. The *Lord* will *watch* over you for good, if you keep it, and for evil, if you break it. And all the Curſes contained in the Book of the Covenant ſhall light upon a willing *Covenant-breaker*. The Lord faſten theſe Meditations and ſoul-awaking Conſiderations upon your Hearts. The Lord give you Grace to keep cloſe to the Covenant: and in keeping of it to *keep God* and a *good Conſcience*, which are both loſt by *Covenant-breaking*.

There are 4 things which I ſhall perſuade you unto in Purſuance of your Covenant.

1. To be humbled for your own Sins, and for the Sins of the Kingdom; and more eſpecially, *Becauſe we have not as we ought valued the ineſtimable Benefit of the Goſpel, that we have not laboured to receive Chriſt in our Hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our Lives, which are the cauſes of other Sins and Tranſgreſſions ſo much abounding among ſt us. Goſpel-ſins* are greater than *legal ſins*, and will bring *Goſpel-curſes*, which are greater than *legal curſes*. And therefore let us be humbled according to our Covenant for all our *Goſpel-abominations*.

2. You muſt be ambitious to *go before one another in an Example of real Reformation.* You muſt ſwear vainly no more, be drunk no more, break the Sabbath no more, *&c.* You muſt remember what *David* ſaith, *Pſal.* 50. 16. *But unto the wicked God ſaith, What haſt*

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thou to do to take my Covenant in thy Mouth? seeing thou hateſt Inſtruction, and caſteſt my Words behind thee. To ſin willingly after we have ſworn not to ſin, is not only to ſin againſt a *Commandment*, (as I have ſaid) but to ſin againſt an *Oath*; which is a *double Iniquity*, and will procure a *double Damnation*. And he that takes a Covenant to reform, and yet continued unreformed, his Covenant *will be unto him as the bitter water of jealouſie was in the Woman guilty of Adultery, which made her Belly to ſwell and Thigh to rot, &c. Numb.* 5. 22.

3. You muſt be careful *to reform your Families according to your Covenant*, and the Example of *Joſhua*, *Jacob*, and the godly Kings before mentioned.

4. You muſt endeavour *according to your Places and Callings to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms to the neareſt Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion.* &c. O bleſſed *Unity!* how comes it to paſs that thou art ſo much ſleighted and contemned? Was not Unity one of the chief Parts of *Chriſt's Prayer* unto his *Father* when he was here upon Earth? *Joh.* 17. 11. Is not *Unity* one of the ſtrongeſt Arguments to perſwade the *World to believe in Chriſt*, John 17. 21. Is it not the chief Deſire of the *holy Apoſtles* that we *ſhould all ſpeak the ſame things, and that there ſhould be no Diviſions amongſt us*, &c. 1 *Cor.* 1. 10, *Phil.* 2. 1, 2, 3, &c. Is not *Unity the happineſs of heaven?* Is it not the Happineſs of a City to be at *Unity within it ſelf?* Is it not a *good and pleaſant thing for brethren to dwell together in Unity?* how comes it then to paſs that this part of the Covenant is ſo much forgotten? The Lord mind you of it this Day! And the Lord make this City *a City of holineſs*, and a City at *Unity within it ſelf*! For if *Unity* be deſtroyed, *Purity* will quickly alſo be deſtroy'd. The Church of God is *una* as well as *ſancta*. It is but *one Church* as well as it is *holy Church*. And *Jeſus Chriſt gave ſome to be Apoſtles, &c. till we all come to the Unity of the faith.* The Government of Chriſt is appointed for the keeping of his Church in *Unity* as well as *Purity*. Thoſe things which God hath joined together, let no Man put aſunder. That Government which doth not promote *Unity* as well as *Purity*, is not the Government of Chriſt. Oh the Miſery of that Kingdom where Church-diviſions are nouriſhed and fomented! *A Kingdom or a Church divided againſt it ſelf cannot ſtand.* Would it not be a ſad thing to ſee twelve in a family, and one of them a *Presbyterian*, another an *Independent*, another a *Browniſt*, another an *Antinomian*, another an *Anabaptiſt*, another a *Familiſt*, another for the *Prelatical* Government, another a *Seeker*, another a *Papiſt*, and the tenth it may be an *Atheiſt*, the eleventh a *Jew*, and the twelth a *Turk*? The Lord in his due time heal our Diviſions, and make you his choice Inſtruments according to your Places, that the *Lord may be one, and his Name one in the three Kingdoms!*

Q. But ſome will ſay, How ſhall I do to get up my Heart to this high Pitch that I may be a Covenant-keeper?

I will propound theſe three Helps.

1. Labour to be *always mindful of your Covenant*; according to that Text, 1 *Chron.* 15. 16. *God is always mindful of his Covenant.* It was the great Sin of the People of *Iſrael* that they were unmindful of the Covenant, *Neh.* 9. 17. They firſt forgot the Covenant, and afterwards did quickly *forſake it.* He that forgets the Covenant, muſt needs be a Covenant-breaker. Let us therefore remember it, and carry it about us as *quotidianum argumentum*, and *quotidianum munimentum*. Firſt, let us make a Covenant a *daily Argument* againſt all Sin and Iniquity; and when we are tempted to any Sin, let us ſay, *I have ſworn to forſake my old Iniquities:* and if I *commit this Sin*, I am not only a Commandment-breaker, but an Oath-breaker; I am *perjur'd*, I have ſworn to *reform my Family*, and therefore I will not ſuffer a *wicked Perſon* to tarry in my Family. I have ſworn againſt *Neutrality* and *Indifferency*, and therefore I will be *zealous in God's Cauſe*, &c. Secondly, let us make this Covenant a *daily Muniment*, and *Armour of Defence*, to beat back all the fiery Darts of the Devil. When any one tempts thee to promiſe of Preferment to do contrary to thy Covenant, or by threatning to ruin thee for the hearty purſuing

ſuing of thy Covenant, here is a *ready Anſwer*; *I am ſworn to do what I do*, and if I do otherwiſe, I am a *perjur'd Wretch*.

This is a Wall of braſs to reſiſt any Dart that ſhall be ſhot againſt thee for well-doing, according to thy Covenant. Famous is the Story of *Hannibal*, which he told to King *Antiochus*, when he required aid of him againſt the *Romans*. *When I was nine years old* (ſaid he) *my Father carried me to the Altar, and made me take an Oath to be an irreconcilable foe to the* Romans. *In purſuance of this Oath, I have waged War againſt them 36 Years. To keep this Oath I have left my Country, and am come to ſeek aid at your hands, which if you deny, I will travel all over the world to find out ſome enemies to the* Roman *State. Odi, odioq; ſum Romanis.* If an Oath did ſo mightily operate in *Hannibal*, let the Oath you are to take this Day, work as powerfully upon you; and make your Oath an Argument to oppoſe perſonal Sins, and Family-ſins, and to oppoſe Hereſy, Schiſm, and all Profaneneſs, and to endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three Kingdoms, to the neareſt Conjunction, and Uniformity, &c. And let this Oath be Armour of proof againſt all temptations to the contrary. And know this one thing, that if the *Covenant* be not a daily Argument and Muniment againſt ſin, it will become upon your breaking of it, *quotidianum teſtimonium, & æternum opprobrium.* A daily witneſs againſt you, as the Book of the Law was, *Deut.* 31. 26. and an everlaſting ſhame and reproach unto you and yours.

2. Let us have high Thoughts of the *Covenant*. Actions and Affections follow our Apprehenſions. If thy Judgment be *beleapred* with a corrupt opinion about the Covenant, thy Affections and Actions will quickly be *beleapred* alſo. And therefore you ought to endeavour according to your places, that nothing be ſpoken, or written, that may tend to the Prejudice of the *Covenant*.

3. You muſt take heed of the curſed ſin of *Self-love*, which is placed in the forefront as the cauſe of all the Catalogue of ſins here named; *becauſe Men are lovers of themſelves*, therefore they are covetous, &c. and therefore they are *Covenant-breakers*. A *Self-ſeeker* cannot be a *Covenant-breaker*; this is a ſin that you muſt hate as the very gates of *Hell*. And this is the *ſecond ſin* that I promiſed in the beginning of my Sermon to ſpeak to; but the time and your other occaſions will not permit. There is a *Natural Self-love*, and *Divine Self-love*, and a *Sinful Self-love*. This *Sinful Self-love* is when we make our ſelves the laſt end of all our Actions, when we ſo love our ſelves, as to love no Man but our ſelves, according to the Proverb, *Every man for himſelf, &c.* When we pretend *God* and his *Glory*, and the *Common good*; but intend our ſelves, and our own private gain and intereſt; when we ſerve *God* upon politick deſigns: Of this Sinful Self-love the Apoſtle ſpeaks, *Phil.* 2. 21. For *all ſeek their own, and not the things of Jeſus Chriſt*. And if we had a Window to look into the Hearts of moſt People, we ſhould find their Hearts made up all of this idolatrous Self-love. All their deſigns are for to promote themſelves. They monopolize and ingroſs all to themſelves, as if made for themſelves. Where this Sinful Self-love dwells, there dwells no *love to God*, no *love to thy Brother*, no *love to Church nor State*. This Sinful Self-love is the *Caterpillar* that deſtroyeth *Church* and *Commonwealth*. It is from this Sinful Self-love that the *Publick Affairs* drive on ſo heavily, and that *Church-government* is not ſettled, and that our *Covenant* is ſo much neglected. Of this ſin I cannot now ſpeak: But when *God* ſhall offer opportunity, I ſhall endeavour to uncaſe it for you. In the mean time, the Lord give you grace to hate it as *Hell it ſelf*.

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FINIS.

To the READER.

THis Pamphlet was Torn from me by thoſe who ſay they cannot Rob, becauſe all is Theirs: They found it where it had ſlept many Years forgotten; but they waken'd it, and made Falſe Tranſcripts. They Exciz'd *what they liked not; ſo mangled and* Reform'd, *that 'twas no Character of an* Aſſembler, *but of Themſelves. A Copy of that* Reformling *had crept to the Preſs. I ſeiz'd and ſtopt it, unwilling to father other Men's Sins. Here therefore you have it (as 'twas firſt ſcribled) without Addition of a Syllable; I wiſh I durſt ſay here's nothing lopt off; but Men and Manners are chang'd, at leaſt they ſay ſo. If yet this Trifle ſeem Born with Teeth, you know whoſe Hands were Knuckle-deep in the Blood of that Renowned Chancellor of* Oxon (*Arch-biſhop* LAUD) *tho' when they Cut up that great Martyr, his Two greateſt Crimes were the Two greateſt Glories* Great-Britain *can boaſt of, St.* Paul's Church, *and the* Oxford Library. *Where you find no coherence, remember this Paper hath ſuffer'd* Decimation; *better Times have made it worſe, and that's no fault of*

J. B.

AN *Aſſembler* is part of the *State's* Chattles; nor *Prieſt*, nor *Burgeſs*, but a *Participle* that ſharks upon Both: He was choſen, as Sir *Nathaniel*, becauſe he knew leaſt of all his Profeſſion; not by the Votes of a whole Dioceſs, but by one whole Parliament-man. He has ſate Four Years *towards* a new Religion, but in the interim left none at all; as his Maſters, the *Commons*, had a long Debate *whether Candles or no Candles*, but all the mean while ſat ſtill in the Dark: And therefore when the Moon quits her old Light, and has acquir'd no new, Aſtronomers ſay, ſhe

Brento

is in her *Synode*. Shew me ſuch a Picture of *Judas* as the *Aſſembler*, (a Griping, Falſe, Reforming Brother; Rails at *Waſt* ſpent upon the *Anointed*; Perſecutes moſt thoſe Hands which *Ordain'd* him; brings in *Men with Swords and Staves*; and all for Money from the Honourable *Scribes* and *Phariſees*) one Touch more (a Line tyed to his Name-ſake *Elder Tree*) had made him *Judas* Root and Branch. This *Aſſembly* at firſt was a full Century, which ſhould be reckon'd as the Scholiaſt's *Hecatomb*, by their Feet, not Heads; or count them by Scores, for in things without Heads Six Score to go to an Hundred. They would be a New *Septuagint*, the Old Tranſlated Scripture out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, theſe turn it to *Four Shillings a Day*; and all theſe *Aſſemblers* were Begot in One Day, as *Hercules*'s Fifty Baſtards all in One Night. Their firſt Liſt was ſprinkled with ſome Names of Honour; (Dr. *Sanderſon*, Dr. *Morley*, Dr. *Hammond*, *&c.*) But theſe were *Divines*; too Worthy to mix with ſuch *Scandalous Miniſters*, and would not *Aſſemble* without the *Royal Call*. Nay, the firſt Liſt had One Arch-biſhop, One Biſhop, and an Half, (for Biſhop *Brownrigg* was then but *Elect*) but now their *Aſſembly* (as Philoſophers think the World) conſiſts of *Atoms*; petty ſmall *Levites*, whoſe *Parts* are not *Perceptible*: And yet theſe inferior Poſtern Teachers have intoxicated *England*; (for a Man ſometimes grows Drunk by a Clyſter) When they all meet, they ſhew Beaſts in *Africk*, by promiſcuous Coupling Ingender Monſters. Mr. *Selden* viſits them (as *Perſians* uſe) to ſee *Wild Aſſes* Fight: When the *Commons* have tyr'd him with their New Law, theſe Brethren refreſh him with their Mad Goſpel: They lately were Gravell'd 'twixt *Jeruſalem* and *Jericho*; they knew not the diſtance betwixt thoſe Two Places, one cry'd Twenty Miles, another Ten, 'twas concluded Seven,

for

for this Reaſon, that *Fiſh was brought from* Jericho *to* Jeruſalem *Market*: Mr. *Selden* Smil'd, and ſaid, *perhaps the Fiſh was Salt-Fiſh*; and ſo ſtopp'd their Mouths. Earl *Philip* goes thither to hear them *Spend*; when he heard them toſs their National, Provincial, Claſſical, Congregational; he Swore *Damnably*, that a Pack of Good Dogs made better Muſick: His Alluſion was proper, ſince the *Elder's Maid* had a Four-Legg'd Husband. To ſpeak *Truth*, this *Aſſemly* is the *Two Houſes Tiring-Room*, where the *Lords* and *Commons* put on their Viſards and Masks of Religion: and their *Honours* have ſo *Sifted* the Church, that at laſt they have found the *Bran* of the Clergy. Yet ſuch poor Church-Menders muſt Reform and Shuffle, though they find Church-Government may a thouſand ways be chang'd for the Worſe, but not one way for the better. They have lately Publiſh'd Annotations on the Bible, where their firſt Note (on the word Create) is a Libel againſt Kings for creating of Honours. Their *Annotation* on *Jacob's* two Kids, is, that *Two Kids are too much for one Mans Supper*; but *he had* (ſay they) *but one Kid, and the other made Sauce.* They obſerve upon *Herod* what a *Tyrant* he was, to kill Infants under two Years Old, *without giving them a legal Tryal* that they might ſpeak for themſelves. Commonly they follow the *Geneva* Margin, as thoſe Sea-men who underſtood not the *Compaſs* crept along the Shore. But I hear they threaten a *Second Edition*, and in the interim thruſt forth a paultry *Catechiſm*, which expounds Nine *Commandments*, and Eleven Articles of the *Creed*. Of late they are much in love with *Chronograms*, becauſe (if poſſible) they are duller than *Anagrams*: O how they have torn the poor Biſhops Names to pick out the Number 666! Little dreaming that a whole Bakers Dozen of their own *Aſſembly* have that Beaſtly Number in each

of

of their Names, and as exactly as their *Solemn League and Covenant* conſiſt's of 666 Words. But tho' the *Aſſembler*'s Brains are Lead, his Countenance is Braſs; for he Damn'd ſuch as held two Benefices, while himſelf has Four or Five, beſide his Concubin-*Lecture*. He is not againſt *Pluralities*, but *Dualities*: He ſays 'tis unlawful to have two of his own, though Four of other Mens, and obſerves how the *Hebrew* word for *Life* has no Singular Number: Yet 'tis ſome Relief to a Sequeſter'd Perſon to ſee two *Aſſemblers* Snarl for his *Tithes*; for of all kind of Beaſts, none can match an *Aſſembler* but an *Aſſembler*. He never enters a Church by the Doors, but Clambers up through a Window of *Sequeſtration*, or ſteals in thro' Vaults and Cellars by Clandeſtine Contracts with an Expecting Patron. He is moſt ſure no Law can hurt him, for Laws died in *England* the year before the *Aſſembler* was born. The beſt way to hold him, is (as our King *Richard* bound the King of *Cyprus*) in *Silver Chains*. He loves to diſcourſe of the *New Jeruſalem*, becauſe her Streets are of *fine Gold*; and yet could like *London* as well, were *Cheapſide* Pav'd with the *Philoſophers Stone*. Nay, he would ſay his Prayers with Beads, if he might have a Sett made all of Diamonds: This, this is it which tempts him to ſuch mad Articles againſt the *Loyal Clergy*, whom he dreſſes as he would have them appear; juſt as the Ballad of *Dr. Fauſtus* brings forth the Devil in a *Fryars Weed*. He accus'd one Miniſter, for ſaying *the Bleſſed Virgin was the Mother of God*, (Θεοτόκος, as the Antients call her.) Another he charg'd for a common Drunkard, whom all the Country knows has drunk nothing but Water theſe ſix and twenty Years. But the *Aſſembler* himſelf can drink Widows Tears, tho' their Husbands are not dead. Sure, if *Paracelſus*'s Doctrine were true, (that *to eat Creatures alive will perpetuate Man's Life*) the *Aſſembler* were immortal,

mortal, for he ſwallows quick Men, Wives and Children; and devours *Lives* as well as *Livings*; as if he were born in that Pagan Province, where *None might Marry till he had Kill'd twelve Chriſtians.* This makes him kneel to Lieut. General *Cromwell* (as *Indians* to the *Devil*;) for he ſaw how *Oliver* firſt threw ——, then ——, and can with a Wink do as much for ——: like *Milo* in the *Olympicks*, by practiſing on a *Calf* grew ſtrong enough for a *Bull*, and could with Eaſe give a Lift to an *Aſs.* The Great *Turk* was ſending his Ambaſſador, to Congratulate the *Aſſembly*'s Proceedings againſt the *Chriſtians*; He order'd them Thanks for Licenſing his *Alcoran* to be *printed in Engliſh*; but hearing *Ottoman Cromwell* had talk'd of *Marching to the Walls of Conſtantinople*, that Embaſſy was ſtopt. The only difference 'twixt the *Aſſembler* and a *Turk*, is, that one plant's Religion by the *Power of the Sword*, and the other by the *Power* of the *Cymetar.* Nay, the greateſt ſtrife in their whole Conventicle, is who ſhall do worſt; for they all intend to make the Church but a *Sepulchre*, having not only *Plunder'd*, but *Anatomiz'd* all the true Clergy; whoſe Torment is heightned in being deſtroy'd by ſuch *dull* Inſtruments; as the Prophet *Iſaiah* was ſawn to Pieces with a *Wooden Saw.* The *Aſſembler* wonder's that the King and his Friends live ſtill in *Hope*; he thinks them all in St. *Clemens*'s Caſe, drown'd with an Anchor ty'd about his Neck. He has now got power to *Viſit* the *Univerſities*; where theſe blinking *Viſitors* look on eminent Scholars [as the Blind-Man who ſaw *Men* like *Trees*] as Timber growing within the Root-and-Branch *Ordinance.* The *Aſſembler* has now left Scholars ſo poor, they have ſcarce Rags wherewith to make Paper. A Man would think the *Two Houſes* intend to *Tranſport* the *Univerſities*, ſince they load Aſſes with College-Revenues. For tho' theſe *Aſſemblers* made themſelves *Heads*, they are rather the *Hands* of Colleges,

Colleges, for they all are Takers, and take all. And yet they are ſuch creeping Tyrants, that Scholars are Expell'd the Two *Univerſities*, as the old *Thracians*, forc'd from their Country by Rats and Mice. So that Learning now is ſo much advanc'd, as *Arrowſmith's* Glaſs-Eye ſees more than his Natural. They never admit a good Scholar to a *Benefice*, for the *Aſſembly's* Ballance is the *Lake* of *Sodom*, where Iron ſwims and Feathers ſink. Their Divinity-diſputations are with Women or Laymen; and 'tis only on one Queſtion [*Epiſcopacy*] where the *Aſſembler* talks all that he and his Friends can ſay [tho' his beſt *Medium* to prove *Preſbyters* more antient than *Biſhops*, is, that *Scribes*, *Phariſees*, *Prieſts* and *Elders* were before the *Apoſtles*;] Yet if a Scholar or good Argument come, he flies them as much as if they were his *Text*. This made him curſe *Dr. Steward*, *Dr. Laney*, and *Dr. Hammond*; and had he not had more Braſs in his Face than in his Kitchin, he had hang'd himſelf at *Uxbridge*, and ended with that *Treaty*. For he has naught of *Logick*, but her *Clutch'd Fiſt*, and rail's at *Philoſophy* as Beggars do at Gentlemen. He has very bad Luck when he deals in *Philology*, as one of them [and that no mean Man] who, in his Preface to the *Reader*, ſays, that *St. Paul had read Euſtathius upon Homer*, tho' the *Apoſtle* died a thouſand years before *Euſtathius* was born. The *Aſſembler's Diet* is ſtrangely different, for he dines wretchedly on dry Bread at *Weſtminſter*, four *Aſſemblers* for Thirteen pence: But this ſharpens and whets him for Supper, where he feeds *Gratis* with his City Landlord, to whom he brings a huge Stomach and News; for which Cramm'd Capons cram him. He ſcrews into Families where there is ſome rich Daughter or Heir; but whoever takes him into their Boſom, will die like *Cleopatra*. When it rain's he is Coach'd (a *Claſſis* of them together) rowling his Eyes to mark who beholds

beholds him. His ſhorteſt things are his Hair and his Cloak. His Hair is cut to the figure of 3; two high Cliffs run up his Temples, whoſe Cape of Shorn Hair ſhoots down his Forehead, with Creeks indented, where his Ears ride at Anchor. Had this falſe Prophet been carried with *Habbakuk*, the *Angel* had caught faſt hold of his *Ears*, and lead him as he lead his Auditory. His Eyes are part of his Tithe at *Eaſter*, which he boils at each Sermon. He has two Mouths, his Noſe is one, for he ſpeaks through both. His Hands are not in his Gloves, but his Gloves in his Hands, for 'twixt Sweatings, that is, Sermons, he handles little elſe, except his dear Mammon. His Gown [I mean his Cloak] reaches but his Pockets: When he rides in that Mantle, with a Hood on his Shoulders, and a Hat above both, Is he not then his own *Man of Sin* with the *Triple Crown?* You would ſwear ſome home honeſt Carpenter dreſs'd him, and made him the Tunnel of a Country Chimney. His Doublet and Hoſe are of dark *Blew*, a Grain deeper than pure *Coventry*: but of late he's in Black, ſince the Loyal Clergy were Perſecuted into Colours. His two longeſt Things are his *Nayls* and his *Prayer*. But the cleaneſt thing about him is his Pulpit-Cuſhion, for he ſtill beats the Duſt out of it. To do him right, commonly he wears a pair of good Lungs, whereby he turns the Church into a Belfry, for his Clapper makes ſuch a Din, you cannot hear the *Cymbal* for the *Tinkling*. If his Pulpit be large, he walks his Round, and ſpeaks as from a Garriſon, [his own Neck is Palizado'd with Ruff.] When he firſt enters his Prayer before Sermon, he Winks and Gaſps, and Gaſps and Winks, as if he prepar'd to preach in another World: He ſeems in a Slumber, then in a *Dream*; then Rumbles a while; at laſt he Sounds forth, and then throws ſo much Dirt and Nonſenſe towards Heaven, as he durſt not offer to a Member of Parliament.

Now becauſe Scripture bids him *not Curſe the King in his Thought*, he does it in his Pulpit by Word of Mouth; tho' Heaven ſtrike him dumb in the very Act, as it did *Hill* at *Cambridge*, who while he Prayed, *Depoſe him, O Lord, who would depoſe us*, was made the *dumb Devil*. This (one would think) ſhould *Gargle* his foul Mouth. For his only hope why God ſhould hear him againſt the *King*, is the Devil himſelf [that Great *Aſſembler*] was heard againſt *Job*. His whole Prayer is ſuch an Irrational Bleating, that, without a Metaphor, 'tis the *Calves of his Lips*: And commonly 'tis Larded with fine new Words, as *Savingable*, *Muchly*, *Chriſt-Jeſuſneſs*, &c. and yet he has the Face to Preach againſt *Prayer in an unknown Tongue*. Sometimes he's Founder'd, and then there is ſuch Hideous Coughing! But that's very ſeldom, for he can glibly run over Nonſenſe, as an empty Cart trundles down a Hill. When the *King* girt round the Earl of *Eſſex* at *Leſtithiell*, an *Aſſembler* complain'd, that *God had drawn his People into the Wilderneſs*, and told him, *He was bound in Honour to feed them*; *for, Lord*, ſaid he, *ſince thou giv'ſt them no Meat, we pray thee, O Lord, to give them no Stomachs*. He tore the *Liturgie*, becauſe, forſooth, it ſhackled his Spirit, (he would be a *Devil* without a *Circle*) and now if he ſee the Book of *Common-Prayer*, the Fire ſees it next, as ſure as the Biſhops were Burn'd who compiled it. Yet he has Mercy on *Hopkins* and *Sternhold*, becauſe their *Metres* are Sung without Authority (no Statute, Canon, or Injunction at all) only, like himſelf, firſt crept into private Houſes, and then into Churches. Mr. *Rous* mov'd thoſe *Metres* might be Sequeſtred, and his own new Rithmes to enjoy the Sequeſtration; but was Refus'd, becauſe *John Hopkins* was as Antient as *John Calvin*; Beſides, when *Rous* ſtood forth for his Tryal, *Robin Wiſdom* was found the better Poet. 'Tis true, they have a *Directory*, but 'tis good

good for nothing but *Adoniram*, who ſold the Original for 400 *l.* And the Book muſt ſerve both *England* and *Scotland*, as the *Directory Needle* points North and South. The *Aſſembler*'s only Ingenuity is, that he prays for an *extempore* Spirit, ſince his Conſcience tells him he has no Learning. His Prayer thus ended, he then looks round, to obſerve the Sex of his Congregation, and accordingly turn's the Apoſtle's *Men, Fathers, and Brethren* into *dear Brethren and Siſters*. For, his uſual Auditory is moſt part *Female*; and as many Siſters flock to him, as at *Paris* on Saint *Margaret*'s day, when all come to Church that are or hope to be with Child that Year. He divides his Text as he did the Kingdom, makes one Part fight againſt another: or as *Burges* divides the Dean of *Paul*'s Houſe, not into *Parts*, but *Tenements*, that is, ſo as 'twill yield moſt Money. And properly they are *Tenements*; for each Part muſt be *dwelt* upon, tho' himſelf comes near it but once a *Quarter*; and ſo his Text is rather *Let out* than *Divided*. Yet ſometimes (to ſhew his Skill in *Keckerman*,) he *Butcher*'s a Text, cut's it (juſt as the *Levite* did his *Concubine*) into many dead Parts, breaking the Senſe and Words all to pieces, and then they are not divided, but *ſhatter'd*, like the Splinters of *Don Quixot*'s Lance. If his Text be to the Occaſion, his firſt Diſh is *Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver*; yet tells not the People what *Pictures* thoſe were. His Sermon and Prayer grin at each other, the one is *Presbyterian*, the other *Independent*, for he preaches up the *Claſſes*, yet prays for the *Army*. Let his *Doctrine* and *Reaſon* be what they will, his *Uſe* is ſtill to ſave his *Benefice* and augment his *Lecture*. He talks much of *Truth*, but abhors *Peace*, leſt it ſtrip him as *naked* as *Truth*; and therefore hates a *Perſonal Treaty*, unleſs with a Siſter. He has a rare Simpring way of Expreſſion; he calls a Marry'd Couple *Saints that enjoy the My-*

ſtery; and a Man Drunk, is a *Brother full of the Creature.* Yet at Wedding Sermons he is very Familiar, and [like that Picture in the Church at *Leyden*] ſhew's *Adam* and *Eve* without *Fig-Leaves.* At Funerals he gives infallible Signs that the Party is gone to Heaven; but his chief Mark of a *Child of God*, is *to be good to God's Miniſters.* And hence 'tis he calls his Preachment *Manna*, fitted not to his Hearers *Neceſſity*, but their *Palate*, for 'tis to feed himſelf, not them: If he chance to tire, he refreſhes himſelf with the People's Hum, as a Collar of Bells do chear up a Pack-Horſe. 'Tis no wonder he'll Preach, but that any will hear him; (and his conſtant Auditors do but ſhew the length of their Ears) for he is ſuch an Ἀξελτεξόκοπνυξ, that to hear him makes good Scholars Sick, but to read him is Death. Yet tho' you heard him three Hours he'll ask a Fourth. as the Beggar at *Delph* craves your Charity *becauſe he Eats Four Pound of Bread at a Meal.* 'Twas from his Larum the *Watch-makers* learn'd their *Infinite Skrew.* His Glaſs and Text are equally handled, that is, once an Hour; nay ſometimes he Sallys and never returns, and then we ſhould leave him to the Company of *Lorimers*, for he muſt be held with Bit and Bridle. Whoever once has been at his Church can never doubt the Hiſtory of *Balaam.* If he have got any new Tale or Expreſſion, 'tis eaſier to make Stones ſpeak than him to hold his Peace. He hates a Church where there is an *Eccho*; for it Robs him of his dear *Repetition*, and confounds the Auditory as well as he: But of all Mortals I admire the *Short-hand-men*, who have the patience to write from his Mouth; had they the Art to ſhorten it into Senſe, they might write his whole Sermon on the back of their Nail; for his Invention conſiſts in finding a way to ſpeak Nothing upon any thing, and were he in the *Grand Seignior*'s Power, he would lodge him

with

with his *Mutes*; for *Nothing* and *Nothing to Purpoſe* are all one. I wonder in Conſcience he can Preach againſt *Sleeping* at his *Opium-Sermons*: He Preaches indeed both in Seaſon and out of Seaſon; for he Rails at Popery, when the Land is almoſt loſt in Presbytery, and would cry out *Fire, Fire*, in *Noah's Flood*; yet all this he ſo acts with his Hands, that in this Senſe too his Preaching is a *Handicraft*: Nor can we complain that *Plays* are put down while he can Preach, ſave only his Sermons have worſe Senſe, and leſs Truth. But he blew down the *Stage* and Preach'd up the Scaffold, and very wiſely, leaſt Men ſhould track him, and find where he pilfers all his beſt *Similes*, (the only thing wherein he's commendable, Sr. *Paul* himſelf having cull'd Sentences from *Menander's* Thais, tho' 'twas his worſt, that is, unchaſt Comedy) Sometimes the *Aſſembler* will venture at the Original, and then (with the Tranſlator of *Don Quixot*) he miſtakes *Sobs and Sighs*, for *Eggs and Collops*: But commonly (for want of *Greek* and *Latin*) he learns *Hebrew*, and ſtreight is *Illuminated*, that is, Mad; his Brain is broke by a Brick-Bat caſt from the Tower of *Babel*: And yet this empty windy Teacher has *Lectur'd* a War quite round the Kingdom; he has found a *Circulation of Blood* for *Deſtruction* (as famous *Harvey* for *Preſervation*) of Mankind. 'Twas eaſie to foreſee a great Mortality, when Ravens were heard in all *Corporations*; for, as Multitude of Frogs preſage a Peſtilence, ſo Croaking *Lectures* foretold an *Aſſembly*. Men come to Church, as the Great *Alexander* went to Sacrifice, led by Crows. You have ſeen a ſmall *Elder Tree* grow in Chinks and Clefts of Church-Walls, it ſeems rather a *Weed* than a *Tree*; which, lend it growth, makes a Rent in the Wall, and throws down the Church. Is not this the *Aſſembler*? Grown from Schiſms (which himſelf begot) and if permitted, will

make

make the Church but a *Floor* or *Church-Yard*; yet, for all this, he will be call'd *Chriſt's Miniſter* and *Saint*, as the Rebels againſt King *John* were *the Army of God*. Sure when they meet, they cannot but Smile, for the dulleſt among them needs muſt know, that they all Cheat the People: Such groſs, low Impoſtors, that we Die the Death of the Emperor *Claudius*, Poyſon'd by *Muſhrooms*. The old Hereticks had Skill and Learning, (ſome excuſe for a Seduced Church) thoſe were *Schollars*, but theſe are *Aſſemblers*; whoſe very Brains (as *Manichæus*'s Skin) are ſtuff'd with *Chaff*: For they Study little, and Preach much, ever Sick of a *Diabete*; nor do they *Read*, but *Weed* Authors, picking up cheap and refuſe Notes, that with *Caligula* they gather Cockle-ſhells, and with *Domitian* retire into their Study to catch Flies. At *Faſts* and *Thankſgivings* the *Aſſembler* is the *States* Trumpet; for then he doth not *Preach*, but is *Blown*; Proclaims News very Loud, the Trumpet and his Forehead being both of one Metal. (and yet, good Man, he ſtill Prays for Boldneſs) He Hackneys out his Voice like a Crier, as a kind of *Spiritual Agitant*, and receives Orders and ſpreads them. In Earneſt, the *States* can't want this Tool, for without him the *Saints* wou'd ſcarce *Aſſemble*: And if the Zealots chance to fly out, they are Charm'd Home by this *Sounding Braſs*. There is not on Earth a baſer Sycophant, for he ever is Chewing ſome *Vote* or *Ordinance*, and tells the People how *Savory* it is; like him who lick'd up the Emperor's Spittle and Swore 'twas Sweet. Would the *Two Houſes* give him *Cathedral Lands*, he would prove *Lords* and *Commons* to be *Jure Divino*; but ſhould they offer him the *Self-denying-Ordinance*, he would juſtify the Devil, and Curſe them to their Faces. (his Brother Kirk-man did it in *Scotland*) 'Tis pleaſant to obſerve how finely they Play into each others Hands; *Marſhall*

ſhall procures Thanks to be given to *Sedgwick* (for his great Pains) *Sedgwick* obtains as much for *Marſhall*, and ſo they all Pimp for one another. But yet (to their great Comfort be it ſpoken) their whole ſeven Years Sermons at *Weſtminſter*, are now to be Sold in *Fetter-Lane* and *Pye Corner*. Before a Battle, the *Aſſembler* ever ſpeaks to the Soldiers; and the holding up of his Hands muſt be as neceſſary as *Moſes*'s againſt the *Amalekites*: For he pricks them on, tells them that *God loves none but the Valiant*: but when Bullets fly, Himſelf runs firſt, and then cry's *All the Sons of Adam are Cowards!* Were there any *Metempſychoſis*, his Soul wou'd want a Lodging; no ſingle Beaſt could fit him, being wiſe as a Sheep, and innocent as a Wolf. His ſole Comfort is, he cannot out-ſin *Hugh Peters*: Sure, as Satan hath poſſeſs'd the *Aſſembler*, ſo *Hugh Peters* hath poſſeſſed Satan, and is the Devil's Devil. He alone would fill a whole Herd of *Gadarens*. He hath ſuck'd Blood ever ſince he lay in the *Butcher*'s Sheets; and now, like his *Sultan*, has a Shambles in his Countenance; ſo crimſon and torrid, you may there read how St. *Laurence* died, and think *The three Children* were deliver'd from his Face. This is St. *Hugh*, who will *Level* the *Aſſembler*, or the *Devil's an Aſs*. Yoke theſe Brethren; and they two couple line a *Sadducee* and a *Phariſee*, or *Turk* and a *Perſian*, both Mahumetans. But the *Aſſembler*'s deepeſt, higheſt Abomination, is his *Solemn League and Covenant*; whereby he ſtrives to *damn* or *begger* the whole Kingdom; out-doing the Devil, who only *Perſwades*, but the *Aſſembler forces* to *Perjury* or *Starving*. And this, whoever lives to obſerve it, will one day ſink both him and his Faction: for he and his *Oath* are ſo much one, that were he half-hang'd and let down again, his firſt word would be *Covenant! Covenant!*

But

But I forget a *Character* ſhould be Brief: tho' *tedious Length* be his beſt Character. Therefore I'll give ye, what he denies the Sequeſter'd Clergy, but a *Fifth Part*. For weigh him ſingle, and he has the Pride of three Tyrants, the Forehead of ſix Gaolers, and the Fraud of twelve Brokers. Or take him in the Bunch, and their whole *Aſſembly* is a Club of *Hypocrites*, where ſix dozen of Schiſmaticks ſpend two hours for Four Shillings apiece.

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